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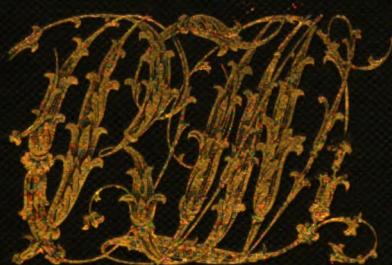
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INSTITUTED MAY, 1841,

**FOR THE PUBLICATION OF THE WORKS OF THE FATHERS AND EARLY
WRITERS OF THE REFORMED CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.**

THE
CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE

REV. ROBERT WODROW,
MINISTER OF EASTWOOD, AND AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF THE
SUFFERINGS OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

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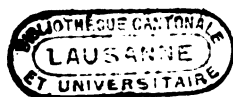
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THE
WODROW CORRESPONDENCE.

LETTER I.

TENETS OF PROFESSOR SIMSON.

To the Rev. Mr John Simson, Professor of Theology at Glasgow.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I return you the letters between you and Mr R. I have not got through them, nor can form any judgment by the cursory view I have taken, in the first branch of your debate, which is what only I have read—*Num ratio sit principium et fundamentum theologiæ?* I think the sense you put upon *ratio*, evident propositions naturally revealed, seems, at first view, strained; these I have sometimes found reckoned *lex naturalis*, but I do not mind to have found them expressed by *ratio*. And as to the other term, you confound *fundamentum*, yea, *ultimum fundamentum*, with *argumentum*, which I do not mind to have met with in my reading, and to me they are knit with very different notions; though, in your explication, you come pretty much in as to the matter understood by the terms in your sense. Though, indeed, I cannot ultimately found my belief of the Scriptures on the rational arguments ordinarily mustered up as proofs of them, but in the power and ef-

ficacy I hope I have felt them to have upon my spirit, which is self-evident, and hath a greater brightness and conviction coming along with it than propositions naturally revealed. But it's long since I was weary of debates about the sense of words, and the manner of explaining of things, and now my head is off thir things. This copy, in as far as I have read, needs to be helped in some words, and I would be glad you would direct me where I may have an exact copy, or correct this, that I may, when your leisure allows, have a double of it, since you tell me there are several copies of it abroad; and pray let me have your last letter. I'll be glad of it when you can want it better, and I read it to better purpose. I am yours, &c.

Jan. 12, 1715.

LETTER II.

DEATH OF MR PLENDERLEITH.—PROFESSOR SIMSON.

To the Rev. Mr James Hog, Minister at Carnock.

REV. DEAR SIR,—I had yours of the 1st only upon Saturday the 14th, and having the occasion of the bearer, John Kidd, I could not but with him return you my most hearty respects, and thanks for yours. I have no time with him to write at the length I would incline to. Your thoughts upon my difficulties are very satisfactory;¹ but I know not how far the laws appoven by an oath of allegiance are to be restricted to fundamental. I apprehend they may go further, at least, into such laws as relate to the station of the swearer; allegiance, I think, importing a subjection to the laws

¹ Mr Hog, in a long letter, explains more fully his sentiments on the queries respecting the Abjuration Oath which he proposed to Wodrow, and animadverts on the answers of Wodrow to these.

which relate to that particular station the person is in who takes the oath.

When I want time to write at length, this comes to regret with you the removal of honest Mr Plenderleith.¹ We have a worthy and eminent minister dead in this Church last week, Mr William Lindsay of Dundonald. May the residue of the Spirit be poured down on those that remain!

I have disposed of some dozens of your Essay on Enmity. I was the less willing to be seen in this, because of the passage in it which relates to Professor Simson, with respect to whom, you know, my circumstances are peculiar. In harvest, when your Essay came out, he expressed himself to me displeased with it, and said he would print an answer to it. I advised him first, according to his own rules, which he complains Mr Webster has not kept, first to write to you upon the head, and I doubted not but you would give him all satisfaction, that you designed not to insinuate he was an affecter, and the like, as he had been told. I am glad he has writ to you, and you to him, upon that head. Both my curiosity, and especially

¹ Mr Plenderleith of Saline was one of the most devout, zealous, and evangelical ministers of his day. He died suddenly, about the beginning of January this year, of a violent fever, on his way to Aberdeen, where he was buried.—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. ix. No. 7.)—Mr William Wilson, afterwards minister of Perth, in a letter to Wodrow, dated January 19, 1715, thus writes on that event:—"I give you the trouble of this, with the melancholy news (if you have not yet heard them) of that dear and worthy servant of Christ, Mr Pat. Plenderleith, minister of Saline, his death; he died of a high fever near to Aberdeen. The more particular circumstances of his death have not yet come to me. The dispensation is heavy and afflicting. He was a man zealous for the Lord's glory, eminently faithful in his generation, a wrestler in Israel; unwearied in the work of the Gospel. The gain is his, and the loss is ours. Alas! how are we broken with breach upon breach in all corners of the land! O, what do such dispensations of Providence presage to this poor Church and land!"—(*Ibid.* vol. ix. No. 10.) In another letter to Wodrow, Mr Wilson writes as follows:—"The last week I had a letter from Mr Mair, giving the following sweet and refreshing account of the death of the worthy Mr P. P., viz., that amidst some roivings in his fever he was kept most lively and spiritual, always desirous to sing, and longing to be where the song would be uninterrupted. He triumphed over death, and saw his bed guarded with angels ready to carry his soul to glory, and thus died full of joy and peace in believing."—(*Ibid.* vol. ix. No. 36.)

some other things, make me wish for a double of yours to him, and his to you, if there be nothing in them but what may be communicate. You may, perhaps, be surprised at this request, but I want not reasons for it.

Meanwhile, pray let me hear frequently from you. There are several questions I had in my view to have proposed as a subject of our further correspondence, but the hurry I am in at present does not allow me to think on them, save this one which offers when writing: How far a minister settled since the act anent patronages, either with or without a presentation, may make use of a presentation given, or which his patron is willing to give, in prosecution of his stipend before civil courts, where this is necessary, without homologating the sinful law. I am, Rev. Dear Brother, yours in a most endeared way,

R. W.

Jan. 16, 1715.

I am scribbling some things as to the History of our Sufferings from the Restoration till the Revolution. If you have any thing by you, or any papers of others relative to their sufferings, or any acts of council, or any public papers, I'll be glad of an account of them, and that you'll communicate them. I have very little, almost nothing, as to the sufferings in Fife.

LETTER III.

STATE OF THE FOREIGN CHURCHES.

*Mr Thomas Harvie to Wodrow.*¹

SIR,—I have inquired for Les Ouvrages de Scavans for the 10, 1711, 1712, 1713, 1714, in many of the booksellers'

¹From Letters to Wodrow, vol. xx. No. 32.

shops at Leyden, and likewise at Amsterdam, and cannot find them. Mr Leers at Rotterdam has given over his business; I went to the gentlemen who have taken it up, and they tell me that work is not continued further than the year 1709, by reason of the author's death. If I can be serviceable in any other thing, let me have your commands. I lodge at the sign of the Queen's Head in the Rapenburgh, Leyden.

The Cocceian¹ interest in Holland is very prevalent, particularly

¹ The founder of this sect was the celebrated John Cocceius. He "was born at Bremen in 1603, and in 1630 he was made Hebrew Professor in the University there. In 1650 he was chosen Professor of Theology at Leyden, and rendered himself distinguished by the peculiarity of his opinions. In explaining the Scriptures he always looked beyond the literal meaning to the mysterious; regarded the Old Testament as a perpetual representation or mirror of the history of Christ and his chosen, and maintained that all the Psalms and Prophecies have a relation to Christ, and that his miracles, actions, and sufferings, and those of his apostles, were types of future events. He was peculiarly attached to the book of Revelations, and believed, in common with many divines, in almost every age, that there should be a visible reign of Christ upon earth, which should destroy the kingdom of Antichrist." Cocceius, says Dr Mosheim, "laid it down as a fundamental rule of interpretation, 'that the words and phrases of Scripture are to be understood in every sense of which they are susceptible, or, in other words, that they signify in effect every thing which they can possibly signify;' a rule this, which, followed by a man who had more imagination than judgment, could not fail to produce very extraordinary comments on the sacred writings." (*Mosheim's Church History*, Cent. 17.) The following extract from a letter of Mr John M'Laurin, then at Leyden, and afterwards minister of Glasgow, to Professor Simson of Glasgow, may be given as a specimen of the strange interpretations which this sect put upon the Scriptures:—"Professor Mark tells us there are three for one among the ministers Cocceians, and they who are of the Cocceian party having most influence, it's with much difficulty that any man is admitted to the ministry if he be not of the same opinions. These gentlemen are turning so wild in their exposition of the Scriptures, that lately, when a minister was admitted, for his inaugural discourse to the people, he chose for his text, Eccles. x. 19, 'A feast is made for laughter, and wine maketh merry; but money answereth all things;' of which he gave this explication:—By the feast is meant the Gospel, which is a joyful convivium; wine, that is, the Holy Spirit, who, by his graces, comforts his people; and money, that is, the righteousness of Christ, which merits all things for believers. Such interpretations have the vogue of wit and penetration into the true and hidden meaning of the Scriptures throughout this Church." (*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xx. No. 33.)

Cocceius was opposed in several of his darling tenets by Voet; hence in Church History we have the party names of Cocceians and Voetians. Cocceius died at Leyden in 1669, and his works were collected and published in ten volumes folio.

at Amsterdam, and here at Leyden. Generally through the country the Cocceian ministers are three to one, and likely to increase; for, as I have it from Mr Mark, the Cocceians do what they can to hinder any probationer's being admitted to the ministry who is not of the new way, as they call it. As for the people, the greater part are likewise inclined that way. But if I may credit the accounts I have from some of themselves of my acquaintance, the more serious sort incline the other way. That which takes most with the people is the Cocceian doctrine about the Sabbath, and their method of explaining Scripture, the novelty of which makes them to be thought to understand the meaning of the Old Testament history particularly, a great deal better than other divines. One would wonder to hear what uncouth, squeezed, and typical sense they give to the most plain history. I shall not adventure to say any thing harsh of them, only, as for the instances I have heard, there appear very much variety and affectation of singularity in their way of explaining Scripture from the pulpit, and this pleases the people so well, that when the best of the Voetian ministers preach at Leyden, their auditors are very poor, both with regard to number and quality.

I mind in your letter you desired me to inform myself of the state of the controversy among the French clergy about Father Quesnel's Commentaries.¹ I have not yet been able to learn any thing

¹ This refers to a French translation of the New Testament with notes, chiefly of a practical kind, by Quesnel, a priest of the Oratory at Paris. These notes, which were written in a style of much seriousness and elegance, were richly impregnated with the sentiments of the Jansenists, which, in matters of doctrine, nearly agree with those of Calvin. The popularity of this work, and the influence it had in bringing many to embrace the doctrines of Jansenism, roused the indignation of the Jesuits. In 1703, their interest with the ignorant and bigoted King of Spain was employed against Quesnel, and he was arrested and thrown into prison, from which, however, he was in less than four months delivered by the ingenuity of a Spaniard, who contrived to open a passage in the walls of the prison, through which he escaped and made his way to Holland. They afterwards instigated Lewis XIV. to apply to Pope Clement XI., who had formerly issued a decree condemning Quesnel's notes on the New Testament in general terms, to issue a more definite decree. Upon which his Holiness appointed an assembly of cardinals, prelates, and divines, to examine

particularly about it, but what is known even from the public prints, that the Cardinal de Noailles' party incline to the Jansenists, and, particularly, that they are for the people's reading of the Scriptures, and are against image worship, &c. It is commonly, however, thought here, that if there be a Synod in France anent this affair, the Jesuits will be too much for the cardinal's party, which yet is pretty strong. I hope, in a little time, to get a more full account of this affair in a print than I can get by conversation, and if I can fall on that book I'll send it home for your satisfaction.

The Socinians are not tolerated here, nor yet the Arminians, though the last are connived at. I don't hear of any considerable person suspected of Socinianism, if it be not Le Clerc of Amsterdam.¹

You know, Sir, Rouellius² opinion as to the generation of the Son,

minutely the obnoxious work, and the result was the issuing of the celebrated Bull Unigenitus in September 1713, which pronounced heretical 101 propositions extracted from it. "The dissensions and tumults excited in France by this edict," says Dr Mosheim, "were violent in the highest degree. A considerable number of bishops, and a large body, composed of persons eminently distinguished by their piety and erudition, both among the clergy and laity, appealed from the Bull to a general council. It was more particularly opposed by the Cardinal De Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, who, equally unmoved by the authority of the Pontiff, and by the resentment and indignation of Lewis XIV., made a noble stand against the despotic proceeding of the Court of Rome." But the Bull at length received the sanction of the Parliament, and took its place among the laws of the kingdom; while those who defended the doctrines of Jansenism were subjected to no small measure of hardship. Quesnel published various other works besides his Commentary on the New Testament. He spent the last years of his life at Amsterdam, and died in 1719, in the 86th year of his age.

¹ Jean Le Clerc was born at Geneva in 1657, and died in 1736 at Amsterdam, where he long taught the languages and belles-lettres. He is chiefly famed for his *Bibliothèque*, a work extending to 82 volumes.

² Herman Alexander Roell, a celebrated Protestant divine, was born in 1653 at Doelberg at Westphalia. He enjoyed the advantages of the best education which his native country and the United Provinces could afford. Having been chaplain for some time to Elizabeth, Abbess of Hervorden, and daughter of Frederic, King of Bohemia, and afterwards to Albertine, Princess of Orange, and widow of William of Nassau, he was, in 1686, elected Professor of Divinity at the University of Franeker. In 1704 he accepted an invitation to fill the divinity chair in the University of Utrecht, a situation which he filled till his death in 1718, when he was in the 66th year of his age. He was the author of many works, chiefly on theo-

that he denies it to consist in the eternal communication of the Divine essence from the Father, though the Synod have got him to subscribe his believing three co-existing persons in the Godhead; but he will not allow the order of their subsisting to be any way different, or that one person can be said to have the Essence from another. It is owing to the care of their Synod here that this does not much take, for all students are obliged to renounce this opinion when they are licensed; yet there are some who go into his opinion, with the only difference that, whereas he makes the generation of the Son temporal, and refers it all to Christ as *θεογενής*, and the part he bears in the economy of salvation, they make it eternal, and refer it to his being from eternity designed to this work of Mediator.

Limborch's system, with a small addition of thirty-one pages, is lately printed. They say there are likewise several additions in the body of the book. It is sold for nine gilders here. I have bought one for John Edmonstone, if you desire to see it. There is lately printed by Reeland a new edition of Bochart's works, and a book of his own entitled *Palæstina*, of which I have sent a copy to Mr Cha. Morthland. A new edition of Homer's *Odyssey*, by Mad. Dacier, is a printing now at Rotterdam, and here at Leyden, Herodotus, with Gronovius' notes. Mr Perizonius seems to be a

logical subjects. Roell held erroneous views on various doctrines of revealed truth, which were condemned by the Dutch Synods. We may, however, observe, in passing, that there was no real heresy in denying, as this letter says he did, "the eternal communication of the Divine essence from the Father" to the Son. The communication of the Divine essence from the Father to the Son, although a mode of expression used by old orthodox divines when writing on this mysterious subject, on which we are so apt to darken counsel by words without knowledge, can evidently convey no intelligible ideas but such as are erroneous, namely, the priority and superiority of the Father to the Son; and to speak of the *eternal communication* of the Divine essence is a contradiction in terms. But Roell, in denying the eternal communication of the Divine essence from the Father to the Son, not merely found fault with these terms as an incorrect mode of expressing Christ's eternal and necessary relation to the Father as his Son, but he denied this truth, and maintained that the Sonship of Christ is temporal, and not eternal, and that it refers to him solely as Mediator.

dying here, which will make our stay the shorter,—his college or Turzelline being almost the only thing we cannot have at home.

If you please to give my service to Mr Simson when you see him, he'll give you an account of two or three more books we wrote to him of which are lately printed, or a printing here.

I would not, Sir, have troubled you with this, if I had not had this private hand, by whom I would not neglect to inform you how you might write to me if you had any occasion, though I had nothing to make the subject of a letter worth your reading. I am not to trouble you any further, but subscribe myself, Rev. Sir, your most humble servant,

THOMAS HARVIE.

Leyden, Dec. 17, 1714.

LETTER IV.

NUMEROUS QUERIES AS TO THE FOREIGN CHURCHES.

To Mr Thomas Harvie, Student of Divinity, at the Queen's Head in Rapenbourg, Leyden.

DEAR SIR,—I have yours, Leyden, December 17, and, upon Saturday, the professor favoured me with yours of the 24th of November. I regret very much the corruption that is getting in by the Cocceian expositions of Scripture, which, I fear, will exceedingly expose us to the jest of Papists, especially the better sort of them. I long for that book you hope for, containing an account of Father Quesnel's business. I thank you, in particular, for your account of Roell at Utrecht, which I did not hear before. Pray inquire how far Mr Whiston's revival of Arianism is like to take in the Netherlands. I fear Roell be a favourer of him. I heard Le Clerc was, and he had a design to get his Primitive Christianity reprinted in Latin, and a Synod stopped it.

I have a hundred things, were not I at present throng, to pro-

pose to you, for your inquiry in Holland and in England, if you come home by London. At present what offers to me is, whether there be any oaths of allegiance imposed upon the ministers in Holland? whether they were, when there was a Church in France? and what are the circumstances of the ministers in Germany, Hungary, &c., with respect to the imposition of oaths? I have sometimes fancied this imposition of State oaths is peculiar to Britain. Are there any acts of the Synod in Holland, since that of Dort, printed? What are the reasons they have no General Synods? What the present state of the Barnavelt party in the Netherlands? Whether strong and growing, or declining? Whether there be any correspondence among their Synods, or any general representation of the Churches in the Netherlands like our Commission? Whether the Church do appoint any fasts or thanksgivings, or the Magistrate only? Whether they use generally a trine aspersion in Baptism, as I hear was used in some of the provinces? As particular an account of the Lutheran worship as you can, and what reason they give for being covered in singing of Psalms and Hymns, which I hear is usual. Whether there be any other thing printed as to the discipline of the Churches in Holland, except the *Ordo et ratio Disciplina Belgica*? Who supplies Pontanus' room at Utrecht? If Cocceianism be spread there, where I mind no Voetian, but Leydecker? I suppose there are none but Cocceians at Franequer and Groningen. Pray let me have all you can gather anent the present state of the Calvinist Churches in Germany; what number of ministers there may be in Hesse, Brandenburg, Brunswick, &c.; if they have any Assemblies or Synods; if there be any printed accounts of their acts; of the present state of Geneva, and all you can gather anent the attempts to spread, and the actual spreading of the Liturgy and ceremonies, and favourable impressions of the hierarchy in the foreign Churches; the state of the Lutheran Churches; the nature of their superintendents; if there be any body of their discipline, or acts of any of their General Synods printed. All you can gather as to the state of the Protestants in the Palatinate, if any remain; in Savoy and the Valleys. I hope you will be in case

to get some account of the circumstances of the Churches in Silesia, their number, discipline, government, &c. ; the attempts made upon, and number of Protestants in Poland ; the state of Socinianism there, with the case of the Churches in Hungary, Bohemia, and Transylvania, from students at Leyden, and the professors.

Inquire what numbers of the Reformed may be in France ; if there be any considerable numbers in the south ; if there be any thing of an inclination among the French clergy to favour Jansenism, or any breathings after a reformation ; what weight may be laid on Jurieu's accounts of the songs in the air, at the beginning of the persecution ? What are the sentiments of the people of Holland anent the French prophets ; their enduring burning in the fire, &c. ? Whether there have been any processes in Holland for witchcraft, and their method in them ? I hear there were never any in Holland. I would gladly have an account of the societies for reformation, and schools for charitable education of children at Halle ; of Dr Frankins [Franke] his reputation among your Dutch divines ; of the state of religion in Denmark, Sweden, and the northern crowns. If there be any societies for reformation of manners, and schools for charitable education of poor children in Holland. If there be any numbers of devout people among the Lutherans ; if there be any prospect of an union between them and the Calvinists ; if Arminianism be as general as some say among the Lutheran divines, and they be bitter and persecuting in their temper where they have power.

I would gladly have an account, if there be any thing like a society in Holland for the propagating of religion and Christian knowledge. What progress the Danish missionaries are making in the East Indies ; and the Dutch plantations, their success in propagating Christianity in the East Indies. Any books, of late, upon the state of the Protestant Churches, their discipline, and of the progress of the Christian religion through the world, in French or Latin, I would gladly have. I wonder what your professors or ministers, who are given to Apocalyptical studies, their thoughts are

as to the era 1716, that Whiston, the Mathers, Peden, and many others, seem to centre in as the time of a remarkable revolution in favour of the Reformation? What hopes your sensible people have of our King's influence for the benefit of religion, and the Protestant interest in Germany? Whether any of your professors have found the Greek Church in the Revelation? It seems odd that no part of that prophetic history, which relates to so many minute things in the Christian Church, should altogether pass [refer to] that great body of Christians. I shall be glad of any accounts you can get of the present state of the Greek Church, or of the Jews, from your excellent conversation.

This is a rhapsody of things, just as they come in my head, without any order. Write as oft about them as may be, and what you write not dash down in your *Analecta*.

Buy for me Bayle's Letters, three volumes, if within three or four gilders, and one of the best and cheapest journals of books for 1712, 13, 14; any theses and catalogues of new books. The acts of the National Synods in France were printed lately at Amstelod. 2 vols. quarto. Inquire for them their price, and if exacter than Quick's Synodicon, and the esteem your professors have of them. Praying your return may be safe, and your studies blessed for the good of the Church, I am, yours most affectionately,

R. W.

Jan. 16, 1715.

LETTER V.

ANSWER TO QUERIES IN THE FOREGOING LETTER.

*Mr Thomas Harvie to Wodrow.*¹

Leyden, 22d March 1715, N.S.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I am very much obliged to you for yours of the 16th of January in our style, which I received the 15th of

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xx. No. 34.

March, N.S. In it you have directed me to very useful inquiries, and such things as I think are not to be known otherwise than by converse. Certainly you'll expect I should get very exact information of these things, and I confess I should think so too, if it were not that I find by experience several such things are not very circumstantially known, nor, indeed, so well vouched, as that one can depend upon them otherwise than hearsay stories.

Besides, I must go, perhaps, six or seven times to the Professors, (who are almost the only proper persons of my acquaintance,) before I can find them once at leisure, they are troubled with so much company; yet of what I have had occasion to talk about, I shall give you shortly the sum, and if there should be nothing but what you have already had from better hands, or if what I write (as I am confident it will be so) be but trifling scraps, you'll excuse it, and take it as the best I can give.

The place of Pontanus is supplied by two Cocceians, who were ministers at Amsterdam, viz. Burman and Van Alphen.¹ I gave you before an account of the party shortly. They are generally in their philosophy Cartesians, and some of them of the highest sort; and from these Cartesian-Cocceians, the Voetians think religion most in danger, and we have generally occasion to fear that natural knowledge, which puffeth up, will be irreverently meddling and proudly extending itself into the mysteries of our holy religion, if it be not sanctified; but what are the particular opinions of Cartesius, from which they dread most harm, I cannot yet give you a full account. As for these two gentlemen who succeed Pontanus, I'll have their character better afterwards.

The last day I had occasion to converse very freely with Mr Taco Hajo Van den Honert,² our new Professor here at Leyden,

¹ Francis Burman was born at Utrecht in 1671, and died there in 1719. His father, of the same name, was likewise a professor in the University of Utrecht. Francis, the son, was celebrated as a theologian, and wrote several learned treatises. Though a Cocceian in his views of Scripture, he was as distinguished for his piety as his learning. His colleague in the Theological chair, Jerome Simon Van Alphen, was born at Hanau in 1686.—(*Biblioth. Bremense*, class. iii. pp. 160, 734.)

² This distinguished professor, who published a variety of works, chiefly on Bib-

who is a gentleman of much gravity and temper, is well read in the most polite parts of learning, as his colleagues do discover, and the books he has wrote. This is his character with those I converse. He has wrote a book, *De Stylo Novi Testamenti*, in which he asserts the purity of its Greek against one Monsieur Benoist, French minister at Delft. He has wrote a large book in Dutch of The true Way to God, from which he has excerpted aphorisms, which he has for his text in his College of Natural Theology. This book is writt designedly against one Duyrhove, a wright by trade at Amsterdam, who is a subtile man, and not only vents many strange notions, but teaches them to his followers, who wait upon him stately for that end. Of this man, whom I design to visit when at Amsterdam, I'll be able to inform you more fully in my next, or at meeting.

When I had the honour of Van den Honert's conversation, I came particularly upon the Cocceian opinions as they differ from the Voetians. That debate, whether Christ was, with respect to the Old Testament saints, *fidejussor* or *expromissor*, he said was a strife of words which he could wish had been dropped; for they all agreed that the Old Testament believers were for Christ's sake, and by faith in him, brought into favour with, and to the enjoyment of God in heaven.

As to that of the Sinaitical Covenant, he acknowledged that he did not think that ever the Covenant of Works was, or could be, set up or made with fallen man, or that properly that Sinai Covenant ever had any form of the Covenant of Works in any other sense than this, that whereas in the first promulgation of the law from Sinai, God did graciously manifest himself as God, and their God, to the nation of the Jews, his church, which was a full and plain declaration of the Covenant of Grace; so after the sin of idolatry in the matter of the calf, God gave them a heavier yoke of ceremonies than otherwise he would have done, and that so the lical Criticism and Antiquities, died at Leyden in 1740. His last work was on the Creation of the World, the Situation of Eden, the Primeval Language of Man, and its Propagation into its various Dialects.—(*Miscell. Groningana*, tom. iii. p. 678.)

grace of the Covenant was not so openly manifested as being some way veiled by this heavy punishment of the imposition of the ceremonies. This, I think, was his conclusion, that this question, whether the Sinaitical Covenant had ever the form of the Covenant of Works, and when it received it, was likewise a logomachy, for that whatever differences there had been in the several dispensations or economies, there never had been any other Covenant entered into with, or promulgated unto the church, but the Covenant of Grace, either more clearly or more obscurely as to the nature and contents of it.

As for what concerns their way of explaining Scripture, it cannot so properly, I think, be called an opinion, because they don't lay down any new rules as to the interpretation of it; only they differ in the particular application of them, laying, perhaps, sometimes too much stress on their grammatical observations, and running the mystical spiritual sense too far, though they allege, in general, such interpretations are not to be allowed, but when founded either in the text and context, or in some other places of Scripture. One remarkable instance I shall notice, because I heard it myself from Van den Honert in his public college the other day; and, indeed, it goes upon the very foundation of their way of explaining Scripture prophecies. I don't doubt but you have heard of their dividing the time of the world's duration into seven periods; and for that Mr Van den Honert said to me in private conversation, that it was arbitrary into how many periods the division was made, only they chose that of seven, because they met with that number so often in the Revelations, as the seven trumpets, &c. That, Sir, which I am about to tell you of,—Mr Van den Honert's application of Scripture, according to this division, is, that when he was explaining the Mosaical account of the creation, he always gave us the mystic sense of every day's work; that is, he found some agreement betwixt the first day's work and the first period, &c.; that the state and condition of the Church, in its several periods, had some spiritual resemblance to the things created every day, which I neither fully mind, nor would it be fit to set down here. Yet,

for the general rules of explaining Scripture, he agreed, in his private discourse with me, to what our Protestant divines teach in opposition to the Papist's multiplying the sense and meanings of the Scripture.

As for the Sabbath, in that, indeed, I think his notions are very strange; though, in general, I must do him the justice to say he is for the strict observation of it, but from the general rule of doing all things decently and in order. But having forgot to say any thing of this, I cannot cram in more in this place.

Quesnel's affair, I suppose you'll know very near as much of it from the public news as I can write you. Mr Amelot, from the King of France, it seems, was desiring of the Pope that a Synod might be called on these things, which it seems he would not grant, as generally, it is thought here, he is afraid to let a Synod meet, lest they should do something in favour of Jansenism. Though the King and the Court are on the Jesuits' part, I read this day, though that the Pope has proposed to accommodate that difference by an explication of his constitution, Mr Amelot yet continues negotiating that affair at Rome; but I suppose I'm writing what you have in your article from Rome, with less exactness than you have it there. One thing I shall add, because, if it have been omitted by our newspapers, I know you'll be content to know it, because it is a plain proof of the Court's being against that party; that is, that, by order of the Parliament, a copy of a book favouring Quesnel's was torn lately,—the rest of the copies called in under a penalty, and ordered to be suppressed. Pierre Quesnel I hope to see when I go to Amsterdam, where he lives. I was last day in company with one Monsieur Bernard, a French minister and professor of philosophy here at Leyden. He told me, that the Protestants have no greater enemies than Quesnel and his party; that as Arnauld and the other Jansenists (as is very well known) prosecuted with no good will, but much cruelty, Monsieur Claude and the Protestants in their time, that this party is in that regard the same; that Quesnel, though protected in this country, cannot forbear writing against us; that many of those who join with this party in France

are Deists and profane persons, who care for no religion, but are glad of any occasion to join in against the Church; that a great many Socinians are among them; that the factions of Jesuit and Jansenist, or Quesnellist, are more state political factions than ecclesiastical and religious; in short, that with respect to truth, when they have explained their opinions, they are very near alike far from it; and that we'll be in the wrong, if we flatter ourselves much from that air. Whether things be thus or not, I cannot say, further than, as we say, to give you tale and talesman.

Perizonius is yet in a very dangerous condition, though people begin to hope for his recovery. I don't hear of any work of his for the press if he die, if it be not an edition of Fabier's *Thesaurus*, which he has used all along himself, and having it interleaved with clean paper, has marked his own observations that have occurred in his reading.

Roell is not thought Arian or Socinian in the great point of the Deity of Christ, but rather a Tritheist, though I am informed, in the matter of justification, he goes in to them and in other things. But if I have occasion to converse with himself, I'll know the truth of this. I have seen a printed dispute between him and Vitringa, in one part of which he maintains what I wrote you before about the generation of the Son; in the second part, that the afflictions and death of the saints are proper punishments. I am sorry to hear that when he taught at Franequer, where those from Hungary study, he sent his scholars home bigotted to his principles, so that generally the ministers in Hungary are Roellian.

Le Clerk [Le Clerc] has caused publish some of Whiston's pieces. Of the Synod's hindering any thing of that kind I don't hear.

There are no oaths imposed on the ministers here, but an oath of purgation from simoniacal contracts, which they take at their ordination. There have been no acts printed since these of Dort, nor any General Synod, because of no emergents, for which it has been thought fit to call one.

Mr Mark and Wesselius here, Leydecker at Utrecht, and I suppose Vitringa at Franequer, are Voetians.

In the Palatinate the Reformed are few and daily failing. They are very poor, and have no sustenance almost but what they have from Holland yearly.

In Brunswick there is but one Calvinist Church, granted by the mediation of Sophia and the States.

As to the number of Protestant ministers, I cannot learn particularly what it is in Germany, nor the nature of superintendents among the Lutherans, besides that they moderate in the classes and dispose of vacancies. Lately in Prussia the King caused remove a superintendent upon hearing that he had got money from a candidate, so that they have them among the Calvinists too in some places.

In Savoy and the Valleys, they say the Protestants are much oppressed since the peace.

The Church in Switzerland and at Geneva, I think, is generally thought to be corrupting by degrees, both as to doctrine, worship, and government, which is imputed to a triumvirate of their ministers who have correspondence with the Church of England, viz., Mr Turretine at Geneva, who is much reflected against by the people; another at Neuschattel, [Neufchatel,] whose name I know not, and one at Basil called Werenfelsius, who has lately writt in Latin a book of Logomachies, which I have seen translated in English. From the title, and what I have said, you'll know this is an accommodating piece.

Reverend Sir, I have here heaped together several things in haste. I don't expect to be able to write or inform you of things so fully as I myself would desire, and probably you'll expect; but if any thing offer I shall write you with the next opportunity of a ship; and am, meantime, Rev. and Dear Sir, your most humble servant,

T. H. [THOMAS HARVIE.]

LETTER VI.

ANTIJACOBITISM OF THE SCOTTISH CLERGY.

To the Rev. Mr James Hart, Minister at Edinburgh.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—It was only on Saturday last I heard of your safe return from London, for which I heartily bless the Lord. No doubt, you will be throng for some time after your home coming, and I will be very loath to desire you to write to one of your most useless correspondents till you have leisure. This only comes to tell you how useful yours have been formerly to me, and to let you know how acceptable the renewal of them will be when your more important affairs allow. You will have abundance of matter to satisfy your friends with, and I'll look for some hints now and then, both of news and the observations you have made of the state of religion, learning, and how matters are like to go with this Church.

I am much afraid new impositions do us very much hurt, and am persuaded they do not serve the King's interest, who advise to any thing which may widen our rents. I am of opinion, those who had not clearness to qualify have given a new evidence of their real and true concern in the peace of the Government, and of their affection to his Majesty King George, more to be valued than the oaths of too many of our nobility and gentry, who qualify themselves for posts; and that is their hearty opposition, at least in this country, to the Jacobite design for addressing to dissolve the Union.¹ Their thoughts are still the same as to that burden,

¹ The Presbyterians of Scotland were unanimously friendly to the dissolution of the Union, and to effect this were "ready to go into right measures, in a cleanly way and seasonable time;" but they saw through the design of the Jacobites in the project they set on foot of addressing the King on this subject, and gave it no support. "The Jacobites' address was certainly contrived for raising a ferment in the spirits of those well affected to the present Government and constitution, and creating differences

yet they are willing to be under the pressure, till it can be got removed in a way less hazardous to the nation's [well-being,] and in a method which the Jacobites can make no handle of for their wicked designs. And if this be overlooked, as many other evidences we have given of our Antijacobitism, there is no help for it. We have this additional satisfaction within our breasts, that we have given no just ground to jealousy us, nor burden us needlessly with oaths, upon every new turn of affairs, when we give daily and solemn evidences of our heartiness for the Government. This is a load peculiar to ministers in Britain and Ireland for any thing I can understand, and no where else imposed upon the ministers of the Gospel. I am, &c. R. W.

Jan. 16, 1715.

LETTER VII.

MR LINNING.—WHIGS AND THE UNION.

To L.-C. E. [Lieutenant-Colonel Erskine.]

DEAR C.,—It was with the greatest satisfaction I had yours of the 28th yesterday. I bless the Lord you are returned to us safe in Scotland; I hope the Lord has more service for you, and I know it's in your heart to employ the new lease of your life Providence gives to build him a house. I pray and hope you shall be, as in some measure you have been helped through grace hitherto, singularly useful.

and animosities among honest people, and in the issue to alienate the affections of people from his Majesty's Government; in a word, it was a contrivance fitted for doing execution, turn whatever way it would. But, blessed be God, who hath in a great measure broken that design, both here and in other places. The advocates here, [Edinburgh,] in their annual meeting, had a tough debate about it, but at last it was by vote thrown out of doors; but it's said, that a great many of them resolve to subscribe it, each one for himself. Some Jacobites are busy going through Libberton parish with it, seeking subscriptions among the tenants and others of the vulgar, (as Mr Semple informs me,) [but] very few or none subscribe it, except boys and servantmen."—(*Principal Wishart to Wodrow, Jan. 28, 1715.*)

Mr Wylie is dangerous, and I fear dying. Mr Linning's refusal to preach on the thanksgiving¹ with Mr B., [Black,] makes great noise with such as know not, or will not know, the concert between them to preach day about. And to show it was neither disloyalty nor Non-jurancy hindered him, he went over that day and preached at Lanark with Mr Orr.

I am impatient now to have your thoughts of things at full length. The business of addressing against the Union, I think, is come to nothing in this country. I own unless the Union be broke by Whigs and not Jacobites, and till we have, if I may call them, limitations even in a Scots Parliament, and conditions of England, which we might have had, if the Jacobites had not driven England and some of our Presbyterian and Revolution party into the Union, I am not fond of addressing. Write frequently to yours most sincerely.

Feb. 2, 1715.

LETTER VIII.

DEATH OF MR WYLIE.—REIMPOSITION OF OATH OF ABJURATION.

*To the Rev. Mr J. W. [John Williamson,] Minister at M.
[Musselburgh.]*

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 10th on the 12th most seasonably. I take it as a new proof of your undeserved kindness. I had made a return by Monday's post, had I not been obliged yesterday early to pay my last respects to worthy Mr Wylie, who is now got safe beyond all the reproach of tongues, and died on the 14th just about two of the clock in the morning, in full peace and security, with no pain or sickness, but a perfect decay of nature. For any thing I can learn, he said nothing as to

¹ This was a thanksgiving appointed by the Government to be observed January 22d this year, for the peaceable accession of George I. to the throne. The Commission had appointed a thanksgiving day, but in their act left the day blank.

the public [cause,] but that *our hazard was like to flow from ourselves, as still it had done*. He had been a fit person to have advised with anent the lamentable account you give me in your last; but he is got safe to his harbour and rest, and we are left behind to grapple with the storm. The Lord help us to do it faithfully and wisely!

It is matter of regret to me that I cannot be in Edinburgh at the time you write.¹ It's needless to trouble you with reasons; I have a complication of them, and I know our brethren will have no want of me. I pray the Lord may direct them, and shall very heartily as I can be concerned and stir up others to come in, though I am of the opinion it's a season of the year when few can be expected.

Since I cannot be with you, though my heart is with you, I shall give you what offers to me with all freedom. I am of opinion, be they brethren or noblemen, or be they who they will, they have taken a great load upon them, who have either marred application to the King for his information of the true state of affairs, or been active in getting the oath reimposed, and I pray the Lord may open their eyes, and let them see what they have done.²

¹ Namely, at a meeting of Non-jurors, proposed to be held, about the 1st of March, in order to concert measures for preventing the reimposition of the Abjuration Oath, and to appoint Commissioners to wait on those of the sixteen Scotch Peers in whom they had confidence, and represent to them the danger to which the Church would be exposed by the reimposition of the oath.

² " I had a visit yesterday from Mr N——l M——r, minister of W——k, who informed me he had last week a long conversation with Mr Wm. M——l, and that he interrogate him particularly if they had done any thing to prevent the reimposition of the oath; who answered they were prevented in that, for they were very soon, after their arrival at London, called together by several Scots noblemen about court, and peremptorily told that the reimposing of the Oath of Abjuration was a thing unavoidable, and that it would be very ill taken if they should move any thing against it, and so they did nothing in that matter. . . . He acquainted me further, that he himself had lately a conversation with one of the Lords of Session; I suppose it might be the President himself; that he spoke to that Lord about the and consequences that would certainly follow if the oath were reimposed, who answered, there was no shunning it, that nobody of judgment could countenance us in our obstinate refusal; that we supported the Jacobite interest by it; that our best friends were straitened to appear in our favours; that it was necessary, both for the vindi-

I am heartily for the proposal of dealing with our members of Parliament, both Peers and Commons, though I own I have little prospect of prevailing with them; they are all parties in this affair, and already involved; and we are ill stated in arguing with them, much of what we can say being against their own practice; and one word from, and much more the former practice, and willingness of our Jurant brethren to repeat it, takes off all we can say against ministers being troubled with oaths. We have ourselves given up our rights with our own hands, and I can see little can be said, which, in their circumstances, will have any influence. However, I am far from being against dealing with them; we know not where a conviction may light.

I come next to consider the other two branches of the proposal, a pressing of the Commission's application to the King to prevent the reimposition of the oaths, and a sending up of some of ourselves.¹ I shall very freely lay before you my difficulties as to both. As to the Commission's application, it will be urged that it will be unseasonable, (as was done before,) seeing the King knows not what his Parliament will be; it will render him uneasy to have the Church of Scotland, many of whom have already taken the oaths at a time less favourable than now, making application against them at such a juncture; and though it should be said we have moral assurance the Parliament will be Whiggish, it will be further urged that it is too early to apply till we know what is imposed; that we are talking at rovers, and upon we know not

cation of those who had taken it and to reach the curates, that it should be imposed. When Mr N——I urged the danger it would expose the Church to, to throw out so many ministers, he answered, It was naturally to be expected many Nons would now comply, and there were abundance of young men who would take it to fill the churches of such as should continue to refuse, and if men would, without all reason, expose themselves to hardships, who could help it? * * * * * Mr N——I likewise told me that he had a conversation with some judicious Non-jurors, who are firmly of opinion that the spring of this is from some Jurant brethren who have put some noblemen about court upon it; that their grand plot is to get some clause in the narrative of a new act that may vindicate them."—(*Williamson to Wodrow.*)

¹ Some Non-jurors were of opinion that, if the Commission would not agree to send up Commissioners in their name to represent the danger of a reimposition of the oath, the Non-jurors should do it themselves.

what; and it will be urged that the oaths may be such as few or none will refuse them, and it will be but exposing the Church to apply till they can do it distinctly, and it will import a jealousy that the King is to be harsh on us, and I know not what. I fancy, by this time, you will be beginning to jealousy me that I have got new light, and will be clearer now than before; but you will wrong me if you do. I am representing what difficulties offer to me in the proposals you make. And yet I see no answer to them but one, and that is, if it could be gone into, which I am far from expecting, that it might be moved, that no oath be imposed upon ministers till a General Assembly sit, and take measures to prevent the breaking of this poor Church, and ripely and gravely consider the matter of them, and measures for harmony as much as may be. I am very sensible this wants not its own difficulties, and is what I do not expect will be got done. But, in my opinion, this is the true stand ministers ought to make, both in point of duty and prudence, and till we come to somewhat like this we will infallibly crumble into pieces. I humbly think this might be urged in the Commission as the most habile way to prevent the ruin of this Church, and if the Commission go not into somewhat like this, I wish I may be mistaken, but I tremble at the consequences. I see well enough that an Assembly can never regulate brethren's practice, but they may make such declarations as may do much, in my opinion, to prevent our own breaches. And since, in all probability, we may have an Assembly before the time of the taking the oaths imposed, I am of opinion the Commission might, without giving any just ground of exception, humbly lay before the King the Church's concern for her own unity and harmony, and her unquestionable right to judge for herself in this case. I am sensible enough this proposal may fall heavy enough upon some brethren who have no great liking to any public oaths in the circumstances we are under; and, perhaps, I may be of that number; but I declare sincerely, that though I see this method will fall heavy upon such, yet I take it to be the road of harmony among the rest who have clearness, and though a few of this sentiment

should be under the burden, yet if the Church be kept from splitting, though a few should be under hardships, if my heart deceive me not, I would be the less affected.

By this time you'll guess my sentiments anent sending up some of our own number, in case the Commission should refuse, as I suspect they will, to concern themselves, in a judicative way, in their brethren's difficulties. I freely own to you I do not yet see how this is practicable, with any advantage to the cause, at least as yet. I do not insist on their charges, nor the difficulty of their having access at court, when all our leading men reckon us little better than fools. I think both these might be got over, though they want not their own weight. But my great difficulty is the hazard we may be in of giving a handle to further breaches in the Church, by our taking public and different measures from the Commission. And pray what shall he or they who go up represent? we have not yet a *materia substrata* to work upon, till we precisely know what is to be imposed. If all of us were of one sentiment anent the reasons of refusing the Abjuration, even upon the supposition of taking away the reference, and other alterations, we may at random suppose may be made, the case, in my opinion, were easier; and far more if we were joint against even an Allegiance till we knew what is under *allegiance*, and how far it looks to our present constitution, and had a plain declaration what is under it by the power imposing the oath. But when, if I mistake not, we are very far from these, I freely acknowledge I know not the advantage of sending up some of our number. Had we a nobleman (though I know none) or a gentleman who himself had real difficulties anent the oaths, and ability and inclination fairly to propose them to the managers about court, and, if possible, to our King, I humbly conceive it would do a great deal better one such were at court, before and in the time of the Parliament, than a minister or ministers, and when the oaths are imposed, which I do not see it almost possible to evite, ministers then might, in my opinion, with a far better grace, make their representation than they can do now at random.

Thus you have what offers to me in the general upon the pro-

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posals you lay before me. I do think our circumstances are such, what from our own different practices, and the unanimous practice of our nobility and gentry, that persons, who have real scruples at oaths, are in a miserable taking; and unless the Lord in his kind Providence open some door of relief, I do not see what we can do.

Perhaps the numbers of such who in the issue will have scruples will be so very few, that it will be best for them very much to keep silence, and cast their burden upon the Lord, and resolve upon suffering in his strength.

I expect your thoughts on all I have laid before you in much confusion, and I hope you'll correct what is wrong, and ripen what you fall in with, and allow [me,] by our mutual friendship, to request full accounts of all the reasonings in all your meetings, and what the Commission does when it meets. I am, in great sincerity, yours, &c.

Feb. 15, 1714, [1715.]

LETTER IX.

DEATHS OF MINISTERS, ETC.

To the Very Rev. Cotton Mather, D.D., Minister at Boston.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I gave you the trouble of two letters last year, which I wish may have come safe to hand. The last in December contained a pretty large account of the circumstances of affairs with us. Since that time I have very little to add; but hearing of the bearer, Mr Dinwoody's, coming by London to Boston, I could not miss the occasion to send my best wishes to you and yours, and own the many favours I have received, and beg the continuance of your correspondence, which I value so very much.

This winter we have sustained great loss in this Church by the

frequent deaths of ministers. Five or six have been removed within these few weeks, and upon Monday last the Rev. Mr R. Wylie of Hamilton, in this neighbourhood, who hath left few behind him comparable to him. This is a token for evil amidst many mercies.

The five brethren sent up to congratulate the King's accession are returned, and have been very kindly received.¹ Nothing can be done for our relief from our burdens until the Parliament sit, to which the elections, which are over, promise well. We shall have few Tories in. [We] hear, and are assured, the Whigs in England are vastly supernumerary. But we dare not trust in man or instruments.

We are assured the oaths will be reimposed upon ministers in this Church, and if they be, I am afraid of the consequences, and that our old wound, not yet healed, break out with more violence. Pray much for us.

I give my dearest respects to your venerable parent, if you yet enjoy him, and long very much for a full account of your circumstances, and the Churches of Christ with you, after this great turn of Providence, with your thoughts on the aspect of the times, and whatever you please to favour me with from America. Great grace be with you! I am, Rev. Dear Sir, yours, most affectionately in the Lord,

R. W.

Feb. 18, 1715.

A few weeks ago the old C. [Countess] of Sutherland died, who was, I think, an acquaintance of your father's.

¹ "Our Commissioners," says one of Wodrow's correspondents, "returned from London on Monday, and give a very comfortable account of the King, Prince, and Princess, particularly of their real affection to our Church, which is now in very much credit and esteem with all the King's friends."—(*Rev. James Grierson to Wodrow*, January 13, 1715.) But although the Commissioners were much gratified by the kind reception they had met with at the court, and had been frequently with the King, to whose attention and care they recommended the concerns of the Church, they do not appear to have received any satisfactory assurances that the grievances of the Church would be redressed.—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. ix. Nos. 28, 47.)

LETTER X.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1715.¹*To Mrs Wodrow, No. 1.*

May 4, 1715.

MY DEAREST,—I jealousy you shall not have such full accounts as I use to give you of the Assembly and other things, for this day I am got in to the Council Records, and have I do not know how many volumes in folio to go through; and this being my main work, I am like not to wait so well on the Assembly as I use to do, that, if possible, I may get through them as soon as may be, and stay as short while away as I can from my work and my dearest. I have this day met with as much as I would have come in this length for. Our news this night, though I have not been in the coffee-house, are, that the King of France's illness continues, and the report goes at London, he is either dead or in great hazard; but, for my own part, I do not yet believe it, I wish it so much.

This day we had an excellent sermon from Mr Mitchell, from Ps. lxiv. 9, 10. From the context, he described the late state of affairs in the opposition [which] was made to the King, from that which was made to David, most home and cautiously. In the explication of the text, he had a turn upon the good actions of persons in a state of nature, or of all men, which I did not like so well. He described the wise consideration of God's works of Providence most charmingly, and improved it very agreeably. Mr Carstairs was chosen Moderator, almost unanimously. When he came in, the former Moderator had a speech to him, telling that the Church of Scotland

¹ From Letters to Wodrow, vol. ix. Nos. 66–70.

had again expressed their sense of his ability to serve them, and it would be agreeable to him to know it was almost unanimous, and he was the first Moderator after such a remarkable turn. The King's Letter is very kind. He begins with acknowledgments, that the Church of Scotland had so firmly appeared for the Protestant succession and his family, even when they had no small discouragements so to do. He tells he had chosen the Earl of Rothes, because he had given evidences of his firmness to the Protestant succession, and his good affection to the interest of the Church of Scotland when things were not very encouraging. He assures that he will inviolably preserve the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and preserve all her rights and privileges, and suffer nothing to alter his affection towards her, and deliver the Church from the insults and invasions made upon her. He recommends unity, and expects they will guard against any thing that may divide; recommends the bearing down of vice and immorality, and, as far as I mind, we have nothing anent moderation to those of a different persuasion. The Commissioner's speech was neat and handsome, and very obliging. . Mr Carstairs', a very long speech. He took notice of the great turn of affairs since their last meeting, and enlarged, pleasantly, upon the surprising Providence, and how convincing it might be to Atheists. He commended the King much, and craved leave to signify, that we had real and heavy grievances, and we expected redress, and hoped for the King's favourable interposition for this end; and yet assured the Commissioner, this Assembly would be very cautious in pressing things too far. He commended the Commissioner for his noble descent, the pious and virtuous education he had been blessed with, his firmness to the interests of the Protestant succession and of this Church, even when he had no small discouragements from his neighbours. And, after he had done with him, he turned to the Assembly, and told them his growing old age, he feared, might hinder him from discharging the trust they had put on him; and that he would endeavour after all candour and fairness, and he took this choice, as a testimony of the Church's disregarding of what reproaches had been

cast on him, and their accepting of his essays to pursue what he took to be the true interest of this Church ; and it was a wonder to him that, after all the vicissitudes, and changes, and obloquies he had undergone, he was so oft in that chair. This is all I have time to write. The committee for answering the King's Letter are Messrs Mitchell, Wishart, Hamilton, Linning, Cameron, Logan, Earl of Haddington, Lord Torphichen, President, Sir James Stewart, Baron Clerk, and some others.

May 5.

This day, forenoon, was spent in prayer ; afternoon, the Answer to the King's Letter was transmitted to the Assembly. There is little remarkable in it. The grievances are left to an after application. There is no notice taken of the King's kind promise to deliver us from insults, which I wonder at. This night Mr Simson's affair came into a sub-committee, who are to meet tomorrow at eight. The Assembly will probably remit it to a committee for that effect.

I have no time to read over this.

My Dearest, take a special care of yourself, and comfort yourself in the Lord, and seek much of him. I hope he is with you and the children. I long to hear from you, and am very well. This night I have yours, which is most acceptable. Pray take a care you write not much. The Lord be with you in your loneliness ! I gave both the ring and the silk away the first day I came in, and shall mind them.

LETTER XI.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1715.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 2.

May 7.

MY DEAREST,—Yesterday the Assembly met, and the King's Letter was read. An amendment anent putting in a sentence about grievances was not gone into, because another application is designed. It was approven. A letter was presented from the Synod of Perth and Stirling, and an hour's debate was whether to read it in open Assembly, being directed to it, or remit it to the committee of overtures. The last was acquiesced in, after some debate.

The afternoon was spent in receiving the instructions at one committee, and in reading representations. In the overtures, there is a most lamentable one from Angus. And in a debate of a double election from Zetland to the Assembly, both were sustained; but it gave occasion to discover lamentable differences among ministers in that country upon civil business, which makes them strive who shall come up to the Assembly, their expenses being borne by the public. The Bills were preparing the affair anent Mr Simson and Mr Webster.

This day Mr Simson's affair was before the Assembly, and they sat from ten to five in the afternoon upon it; and, after all, referred the consideration of it to the committee of overtures. There was a long reasoning on the affair, after a historical account of it from the bills, and there were not few appeared with warmth enough on both sides. But I love not to write on this head, neither do I yet see where it will land.

We have no news this night. The King of France has been ill, most say of an apoplexy, and is better; resolves to spend his time

in devotion very much after this. Sweden is damped at his defeat at sea. There is no report from the secret committee at London.¹

My Dearest, I am perfectly well, but [was] never so throng. I am jealous, now, I be detained some time with the records after the Assembly is up, for I meet with odd things there, and am pressed to stay; but I shall write to you and Mr Love next week. I have got no time to send for yours this night, but expect one. The Lord be with you and the bairns, and send good accounts!

LETTER XII.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1715.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 3.

May 9, 1715.

MY DEAREST,—Yesterday Mr Anderson of Dumbarton preached in the forenoon. He lectured upon Gal. vi. 1–5, and preached on verse 16th very clearly and distinctly. In the afternoon, we had a sermon from Mr Scott of Glasgow, upon Deut. xxxii., I have forgot the verse, “O! foolish people and unwise, do ye thus requite the Lord?” upon unthankfulness for mercies. Both of them abstracted very much from any thing that is called public.

This day we had a process against two brothers, Mr James and John Maitland, in the Synod of Aberdeen, and the Presbytery of

¹ This was a committee of twenty-one persons, chosen by ballot, to examine the papers relating to the late peace between France and the allied powers, consisting of fourteen large folio volumes, which were laid before the House of Commons by General Stanhope. On the 9th of June Mr Walpole, their chairman, read their report, which occupied seven hours. The result was, that the Parliament resolved to impeach Viscount Bolingbroke, the Earl of Oxford, and others, for high treason and other misdemeanours, and ordered the committee to bring in their evidence against them.—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. ix. Nos. 60, 62, 82, 83, 85.)

Turriff, which took another turn than I expected. Thir two men have bred trouble enough to the Assembly and that Synod. They both refused to keep the thanksgiving, Jan. 20, for the King's accession, and never prayed for the King since his accession. Their Presbytery consists but of six members, and by methods they took, the matter was overlooked by the Presbytery, and the Synod of Aberdeen took the matter in their hands at their last meeting, and called the two brothers, and they declined their authority, complaining, that, according to the Form of Process, no minister can be processed but first before their [his] own Presbytery. The Synod found their own Presbytery neglective, and ordered them to answer questions that were plain, whether they kept the thanksgiving, and whether they prayed for King George? They would not answer, though they were told that the scandal and offence was very great, and they might relieve themselves from it, by declaring themselves candidly. Upon their refusal, the Synod suspended them till June next, and they appealed to the Assembly. When the matter was brought in, the Assembly unanimously approved the Synod's sentence, and ordered them thanks for their seasonable interposing. Then they called in the two brothers, and proposed the same questions, which they refused to answer to, whereupon the Assembly went on, and, by their unanimous vote, deposed them both. Mr Carstairs had a very pathetic speech to them, aggravating their guilt. One of them submitted with some kind of modesty, and the other said, "He desired to take it as he did all other things, out of the hand of Providence, and he believed Providence had remarked it, and it would be noticed elsewhere." One said, not openly, "That none, he believed, would notice it in his sense, except the Court at Barleeduck,¹ and they might go over to the Court of France, and be chaplains to Bullenbrook."² This sentence, I believe, will tend much to the credit of this Assembly, and will make a noise elsewhere.

In the afternoon, the Instructions transmitted to the Committee

¹ Bar-le-duc, the residence of the Pretender in France.

² Bolingbroke, who had fled to France.

of Overtures their opinion, that an address should be made by the Assembly, or a representation anent the Church's grievances, the patronages, toleration, imposition of the sacramental test on those of our communion, and the abjuration's not being reimposed. Two other grievances were not transmitted, but delayed till next meeting, anent the manner of application to the Parliament, and for a court anent the civil sanction; but what shape these may take before they come to the Assembly, or how far they will be gone into, I know not.

In the afternoon, Mr Simson's affair came into the Committee of Overtures. After they had agreed to lay aside the manner of coming in by appeal, and finding the matter as of general concern, before them, Mr Linning proposed that the matter of fact might be tried to the bottom, and a committee of thirty ministers and six elders be appointed to dip into it, and bring it before the next General Assembly, and that the Moderator, Messrs Mitchell, Horsburgh, Linning, and Cameron, be appointed to name them. There was a long debate what instructions they should have, and whether that committee should find Mr Simson's exculpation should be taken first, whether adjected senses should be added to Mr Simson's propositions, and whether Mr Webster should be obliged to prove his representation additional, as well as the libel? These were discoursed upon, and some were declined by the parties as being witnesses, and others as having writt on that head. Mr Simson accused Mr A. Logan as having preached against him; and Mr Webster craved that none of his witnesses should be named as judges. All was remitted to the committee.

We have no news this night; but the report of the secret committee will be reported to-morrow at London. They talk the Princess is with child, and the King of France better. This may serve for this day's accounts.

May 10.

This day I was not in the Assembly, being taken up about my other work. There was a transportation came in of a minister to Ferry-Port-on-Craig, and he was transported. It seems he was

not unwilling. The committees are to meet this night about public affairs, and I am just going to them. I know not if I shall get much more writ this night. It's talked that there will be a change of hands in Scotland, but I do not believe it.

LETTER XIII.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1715.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 4.

May 11, 1715.

MY DEAREST,—This day the Committee of Overtures met, and had the affair of addressing the King anent the grievances of the patronages and toleration, the imposition of the sacramental test, and the inconveniences that may happen to come from our different practices anent the Abjuration Oath; and the reasonings were very long what should be done. It seemed, at first, to be agreed, that the King should be addressed by the Assembly; but the time of presenting, because of the present embarrassings of affairs, to be left to the Commission. But when that was yielded by such who were for an address, the question was stated against any application from the Assembly. It was urged that the Dissenters in England had agreed not to apply at this juncture, when the cry of the Church was so great, that there could be no redress at present; and, on the other hand, it was urged, that the Assembly should apply at this time, otherwise the opportunity would be lost; that some things, particularly that anent the imposition of the oath, needed present application; that we applied for nothing but what was legal; that the Commission would not have weight as the Assembly. However, upon the letters which were alleged from friends at Court against any application, (though it was alleged there were letters for an application too, and it is certain there are different parties above at present,) when the vote came, Address by the Assembly, or Prepare heads of a Representation to be laid

before the Commission, to be laid before the King and Parliament as they find cause. The last carried in the Committee of Overtures, and a committee was appointed to bring them in. What turn this will take in the Assembly I know not, but it will probably be debated there, and I wish there be no difference stated on it.

In the afternoon the Assembly met, and Mr Black was transported to Rotterdam. There was very great warmth in reasonings. Mr Black lodged all the opposition he met with on his praying for the House of Hanover, and qualifying; tabled a complaint on one of the elders for dissuading him to pray for the succession; complained heavily of his treatment, and alleged an act of transportation would be an act of banishment. Mr H. of Ayr was commissioned to appear for the heritors, and he had some very warm expressions upon the "grammatical schism," as he called it, and heavy insinuations. The vote was almost unanimous, Transport, and a committee was appointed to consider the affair and state of the parish. This is all I mind to-day.

May 12.

This forenoon the committee met, and transmitted the state of the disjunction of a great many parishes in the north to the Assembly, but nothing could be got done for the Act of Parliament appointing three parts of the heritors to consent to the disjunction or annexation, before it be done. Many bills were presented to the Assembly for money matters, and as much was allowed to Mr David Anderson, and others, for carrying on processes about intrusions, as consumes all the Church's money for two years. In the afternoon the commission-book came in, and there were two censures upon them, (but they were not insisted on,) their not ordering the Commissioners that went to London to represent grievances, and their not naming the day for the thanksgiving. There was little reasoning on it, and they were approven. Then the report of the committee anent the state of Lesmahagow came in. The heritors and Mr Linning reasoned the matter fully before a sub-committee, and the sub-committee overtured the form of an act anent it, disapproving of their deserting Mr Black, enjoin-

ing the Presbytery to supply Mr Linning, without distinction, in his great charge; and a general clause was added, recommending no distinctions to be used at communions. It was certainly wrong that the sub-committee brought this in to the Assembly, till it was in the Committee of Overtures, which might have prevented some indecent heats and words that passed. And I lament what I was witness to last meeting and this. But you may keep this letter to yourself, unless it be to Mr Love; and plainly, I fear yet worse heats before we be up, and am at all pains I can in private to prevent an open dissent in the Assembly; and I own some people are driving things to what, I fear, issue in that, which I pray the Lord may prevent. He hath many times disappointed my fears, and can do it yet. I have been this night with some of Mr Hepburn's party, and I hope we may get the setting up of a Presbytery in the south by Mr Hepburn prevented, unless somewhat in the Assembly drive to it, which I very much fear. The Lord guide all! This to very few.

My Dearest, I have yours of yesterday. I bless the Lord matters are no worse. Assure yourself I am very tender of my health, and, blessed be the Lord, never had it better. I think Providence calls me to be here, and have some satisfaction in essays in private, though very little in some other regards. I have got myself kept off Mr Simson's committee with some difficulty. I am deeply concerned about Mr Stirling, and pray he may be preserved. I shall labour to mind what you order about the spectacle case, and the other things. I wrote before that I do not expect to be at home against Cathcart communion. I cannot yet set a time; as matters appear to me yet, I cannot be home next week, nor a part of the following. My self-tenderness will not allow me to spend time at night on the records, and through the day I am taken up, so I get little done. But I assure you I long to have the Assembly well up and to be home, and through the work. I do not expect another opportunity of [this sort,] since the records are to be taken out of the place where now I have access to them in a private house. I beseech you take the same care of yourself. The Lord be

with you and the bairns! Give my love to them all that can understand it. I am your own. I have no time to read this over.

LETTER XIV.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1715.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 5.

May 13, 1715.

MY DEAREST,—This forenoon the Overtures sat, and the sub-committee brought in their overtures as to Mr Simson's affair. I cannot resume them, but in the general it's that, for preservation of the purity of doctrine in the Church, and to put an end to the process in dependance as to Mr Simson, a committee shall meet at Edinburgh the * * * day of * * * with power to adjourn from place to place as they find meet, and they are to inquire into that affair, examine the witnesses, and bring in an overture to the next Assembly. Mr Simson objected against this general clause, that he lay under the slander, and proposed that, at least, the business of the conference at Edinburgh should be tried before the Assembly rose; but it was not gone into. There are six directions given them which I will not resume; that an extract be made of the propositions charged against Mr Simson; that witnesses, letters, &c. be examined; that the business be tried, and both sides allowed to counter-question both's witnesses, and a kind of conjunct probation be led; that the committee have power to inquire into others who have preached and taught contrary to the doctrine of this Church, and into books and pamphlets published by ministers or professors; that the propositions be classed into those contrary to the Word of God, the Confession of Faith, and Catechisms, and those debated among orthodox divines; that Mr Simson be allowed to qualify the propositions he maintains. This is the substance as I mind.

The sub-committee's overture was approved by the Overtures and transmitted. When read in the Assembly, Mr Simson was at first out of the way, and Mr Webster took an instrument that he had prosecute this affair before the Synod of Lothian, [before] last Assembly, before the Presbytery of Glasgow, and now before the Assembly, and he took it to be a general concern, and left it on the Assembly, reckoning he was exonerated.¹ Mr Simson came in and counter-instrumented that he should be obliged to make good his charge or be censured, as he would have been if found guilty. Mr Webster laid himself open to very obvious reflections by this, that he would succumb in the probation. However, the Assembly regarded neither, but went on, and approved the overture, with the instructions above, without a vote.

Then the Assembly considered the way of nominating the committee of thirty ministers and six elders. The sub-committee had a list drawn as ordered by the overtures, but could not agree in it, it seems. It was debated whether the Presbytery of Glasgow should be admitted, and the Assembly agreed they should, as also the witnesses adduced by Messrs Simson and Webster, if named, and ministers, not members of the Assembly, and professors of divinity. All these were agreed; and when I thought it should have been remitted to the sub-committee after the difficulties were removed, of a sudden it was moved that the Committee of Overtures should every one give in subscribed lists, and the clerks bring in the persons, who carried by plurality. I suspect this will be a very rackle-

¹ When reports had been widely circulated, and there was too much ground for believing, that Professor Simson taught heretical doctrines, Mr Webster called the attention of the Presbytery of Edinburgh and Synod of Lothian, of which he was a member, to this subject. In 1714 he brought the matter before the General Assembly, who appointed him to table his complaint before the Presbytery of Glasgow, of which Mr Simson was a member. Mr Webster did so; and to this libel Mr Simson gave in answers, which were printed, and which contained many errors on the most important doctrines of the Christian system. This was the state of Mr Simson's case when it came before the Assembly this year.—(*Libel of Mr James Webster against Mr John Simson, with Mr Simson's Speech, &c.*)—The extract of this libel, and Mr Webster's representation, were carefully collated with the originals by Mr Wodrow.—(*Advertisement to the above pamphlet.*)

handed committee. Thus the matter stands; what turn it takes to-morrow I know not.

For other views they talk of a third chaplain, and Mr Anderson of Dumbarton is named, but I do not believe it. And you'll have heard a bill for shortening Yule vacance is proposed, and several of the Highfliers are declaring themselves Papists.

Mr Elder, in Galloway, is reponed to the ministry.

May 14.

This day, in the forenoon, the lists for the committee for examining Mr Simson's affair were given in to the committee; every member one, and four appointed for the scrutiny, to which I was added, but declined; the report is not, but I jealousy I am one, for I find both sides have named me. I'll do what I can to get off.

As to the business of grievances to be laid before the King, I wrote before what grievances were agreed to, and an address was voted out in the Committee of Overtures, upon which these several nights there have been meetings among ministers, some Jurant, some Non-jurant, and about twenty of them had subscribed this desire, that since there were so many Presbyteries and three Synods, yea, Lothian Synod had instructed on the matter, that the King should be applied to by the Assembly, that, therefore, their names might be marked in the Assembly books as voting according to the instructions of their Synods and Presbyteries, and having no share in the ill consequences of not addressing the King at present, but leaving it to the Commission to address the King and Parliament. For my own part, I was under very great fears when I heard this proposed, and being not a member, declined the meetings these three nights. Yesternight they turned the shape of it to one in Assembly, his craving his vote might be marked, and the rest their adhering, which was called by the other side a protestation and dissent. The noise broke out, and great means were used to prevent it. And I did my own endeavours among both parties to bring matters to some better temper, (let this be seen to none unless it be Mr L. [Love] or your father,) not without some success. A conference was proposed between Messrs

Linning, Logan, Cameron, Joseph Sanderson, and Col. Erskine, and Messrs Carstairs, Mitchell, Ramsay, Hamilton, and the President, before the overture was transmitted. This had a good effect, and they agreed to add, as to the Oath of Abjuration, that members and friends should use their endeavours that the ends of the address of the Assembly 1712, before the taking of it, be followed forth; that the title of the heads of grievances be altered, A Memorial for the Church of Scotland by the General Assembly; that the Commission, their first meeting, transmit it to the Secretary, begging he may lay it before the King, in name of this Church, as soon as may be. And this seems to be an address to the King from the Assembly in other terms, and the great end before all, that his Majesty know our grievances, attained. It was likewise agreed that the Commission address the Parliament upon these heads whenever it is seasonable, and thus it was brought into the Assembly this afternoon. Mr Gillespie spoke long against it, and C. E. [Colonel Erskine] delivered his mind against this way, and for a present address, but we had no marking of votes against it. Mr Gillespie reserved room to speak afterwards; but I hope this difficulty is over, and the thing with some difficulty attained.

The Presbytery of Shetland is disjoined from Orkney, and some other small things. The Assembly will rise on Monday or Tuesday, and the Commission will meet the days after, all the next week. I hope in the beginning of the next again, or by the close of it, I may, through God's good hand, be home. I had yours this night, which mightily refreshes me. I wish your eyes be not the worse of it. I am deeply concerned in dear Mr Stirling, and hope his fears may be disappointed. I am perfectly well, and am like to meet with helps to my designed History in abundance, and will leave as much as I can to others to transcribe for me, but I have strange discovery in the records, and incline to go through them since I am here. The Principal has promised me the day after Cathcart if I get not home, and every body, who knows what I am engaged in, violently presses me to go through what I am on. My Dearest P. do not weary, I shall make all possible haste I can,

without doing what I know you will not allow me, sitting too close, which I very much guard against; and I take a special care of myself. The Lord be with you! and I hope he will, and continue his kindness to the babies and little Ben. I desire frequently to leave you and them on the all present God. Pray remember me to all at Doucathall; it's not possible for me to write to any body. I steal bits of time now and then to you, but to none else. I shall mind the lint. Great grace be with you! Send frequently unto Mr Stirling to see how he is. I have no time to read over this. Give my respects to all at Pollock. I am your own.

LETTER XV.

ERASTIANISM.—DR MATHER'S PREDICTIONS.—RECORDS.

*To the Right Honourable Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees, his
Majesty's Solicitor.¹*

SIR,—I return you the letter upon D. [Domine] Koelman's affair, which I have carefully read over, and reckon it one of the best

¹ Sir James Stewart, Bart., was the son of Sir James Stewart, Lord Advocate, of whom some account has been given in Vol. I. He was Solicitor-General for Scotland under Queen Anne and George I. He died in August 1727. Speaking of his death, Wodrow says, "He was a hearty friend to our interests, and a gentleman that in time might have come in part to have filled his father's room to this Church and this country." Having taken notice before of the death of the Rev. Principal Stirling of Glasgow, and the Rev. William Mitchell of Edinburgh, he adds, "This is three of the members of our committee in March last that are got to heaven, and all the three a sore loss to this Church and the country. I am afraid some sore storm be coming when the pillars are taking away so fast. The Lord appear for his own Church, and raise up instruments in the room of those gone to heaven!"—(*Analecta*, vol. v. p. 355.)—Sir James Stewart was the father of Sir James Stewart of Coltness, the author of "Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy," the first considerable work on this subject which was published in Britain. This son inherited the talents of his father and grandfather, but deserted the Whig principles of his ancestors, and joined the interests of the Pretender in 1745.

papers against Erastian invasions I have seen.¹ It contains some singular thoughts upon imposed forms of prayer and holidays, every way worthy of its excellent author. It's matter of deep regret that there are so few of his valuable remains left.

According to my promise, you have with this a copy of Dr Cotton Mather's letter to me I spoke to you of. I had given him some hint of the imposition of the toleration and patronages upon us, and our hazardous circumstances then. What you have did affect me a little when I got it, though such peremptory assurances before-hand, as to future events, agree not so much with my gust. But I must say, since the first of August last, it hath been several times in my thoughts. I am fond to hear from that good man after this wonderful turn, and when any comes you shall hear of it.

The present aspect of affairs abroad seems perfectly to run counter to the Bishop of Worcester's scheme, and Dr Mather's, and the second woe, in their sense, does not seem to be over, if thir mighty preparations of the Ottoman power come to any thing. I hope when you have any thing from Sir Peter King upon the Bish[op's] scheme, I may presume to have a hint of it at your leisure.

¹ Mr James Koelman was an eminent Dutch divine of the 17th century. "He was ejected (says Dr Stevens) from his charge at Sluis, in Flanders, in consequence of refusing to observe the festival days and formularies of the Dutch Church. He appears to have been a very conscientious, worthy man, and when his pastoral connection with Sluis was at an end, he devoted his time to the composition, as well as the translation, of religious books, most of which he dedicated to his former flock. With the banished Scottish ministers Mr Koelman was on an intimate footing, and was consulted by them in their correspondence with the States-General." He translated into Dutch many of the most useful works of our Scottish divines, to some of which he prefixed biographical sketches of their authors.—(*History of the Scottish Church in Rotterdam*, pp. 72, 73, 79-81.)—"Koelman's affair," however, involved other questions besides that of non-conformity to the formularies of the Dutch Church. He refused to admit scandalous and unworthy persons to the Lord's table; and an appeal having been made to the States, they insisted on his admitting them, claiming the supreme power in these matters. The author of the paper referred to above was, in all probability, the Rev. John Brown of Wamphray, afterwards exiled to Rotterdam, a number of whose papers on the Erastian Controversy, as managed with the States of Holland, are to be found among the Wodrow MSS. in the Advocates' Library, fol. 59, 25; 4to, 100; fol. 58, 67.

I know you are much taken up, and any thing from me needs an apology 'midst your more important business. Perhaps by this time you'll have looked over the First Book of the History of our Sufferings. I'll be fond of your corrections and additions. Some very considerable things may be added to this period from the Council Registers, but more to the following years. There is a volume of the Council Records wanting, from the 1678 to the 1682, and none of the warrants are booked after King Charles' death, which is a great loss. Langshaw has promised access to the Justiciary Books, and I'll need your assistance, perhaps, to make it effectual when I next come east.

Allow me to return my most hearty thanks for the papers which come along with this, and all your kindnesses. My most humble duty to your lady. I pray the Lord may send good accounts of her in due time, and hope you will permit me to subscribe myself, Dear Sir, your very much obliged, and most humble servant.

June 14, 1715.

When your leisure allows to cause double the letter that came in a cover to Sir D. D., it will be most acceptable, and Mr Robert Stewart will send it me.

LETTER XVI.

JERVISWOOD'S TRIAL AND OTHER MATTERS.

*To the Rev. Mr William Carstairs, Principal of the College of
Edinburgh.*

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—In your throng of other affairs, you'll pardon my giving you the trouble of this, to put you in mind of what you were pleased to undertake, when I had last the happi-

ness of being with you, and it is, indeed, the thing you are only in case to do.

I very well know the hurry of business you are engaged in, and am far from setting days; but I promise myself, at your first leisure, you'll draw up what you judge proper in that affair.

I hope you'll have, ere this, fallen upon Jeriswood's printed trial, and in any narrative that is drawn, permit me to suggest that an eye would be had to that, and Spratt's History of the Rye House Conspiracy;¹ and matters of fact, miserably perverted in both, would be set in their true light, and particularly the disingenuous and base innuendo the Advocate makes, and the strained turn he gives to the engagement made to you in his speech to the inquest.² The larger the deduction of plain matter of fact you give, in my opinion, you will do the greater service to the cause.

¹ Thomas Sprat was, in 1668, made Prebendary of Westminster, in 1683 Dean of Westminster, and in 1684 Bishop of Rochester. The work here referred to was published in 1685, under the title of "A True Account and Declaration of the horrid Conspiracy against the late King, his present Majesty, and the present Government." Sprat afterwards repented of having written this work; and when requested by James, after Monmouth's execution, to add a second part, he refused on the ground that the lives of many innocent persons would be thereby endangered.

² There is here an allusion to the faithless conduct of the Privy Council in using, in the trial of Mr Baillie of Jerviswood, the depositions which Mr Carstairs made concerning him. When Mr Carstairs was before the Privy Council, in the beginning of September 1684, he was required by the Lords to answer a list of questions upon oath ingenuously, some of which respected Jerviswood, and refusing, the thumb-screw was applied to him for an hour, and he was threatened with the boots next day if he remained obstinate. Mr Carstairs agreed to answer the questions, upon the faith of the Council being pledged that he should have his Majesty's full pardon; that he should never be brought as a witness against any person or judicatory, directly or indirectly, for any thing contained in his answers; and that nothing he said should be brought, directly or indirectly, against any man on trial. But notwithstanding this solemn promise, Mr Carstairs was brought to Edinburgh a few days before the trial of Jerviswood, which took place about the end of the year 1684, and earnestly entreated to become a witness against him; and when he could not be prevailed upon, his depositions, which he made upon the conditions above stated, in reference to Jerviswood, were brought forward against that excellent person to aid in bringing him to the scaffold for treason. The Lord Advocate disingenuously and shamefully alleged in his speech, that Mr Carstairs gave his deposition "when he knew it was to be used against Jerviswood."—(*Wodrow's History*, vol. iv. pp. 100–109.)

When you are taken up with thir unpleasant reflections, no doubt many things will offer to you upon the illegal and unaccountable severities of those unhappy times, in other things as well as this; and allow me to wish you may dash down some hints of them. There is none alive now that knoweth so much, or hath felt so much, of the barbarity of that period, as yourself; and whatever notices or papers you'll please to communicate, I shall use them under what directions and rules you see good.

The more I dip into that dreadful time, the greater necessity I see of a well vouched account of it. I am truly sorry I should have been put upon the giving a beginning to a design of this nature, who was not born when many of these cruelties were acted, and have no thread to lead me to any inquiries into them; and wish heartily it had been engaged in by any other. But since I am entered on it, and cannot say I want matter, could I shape it right, I am going as far as my materials will carry me, and shall lay my rude draught before you and others, and be entirely directed what to do.

By this time, perhaps, Sir James Stewart will have sent the first draught of the First Book to his cousin the Regent to be given you. I wish you may find time to look over it, and make your amendments and additions upon it. Whenever you have any thing as to what we were discoursing ready, or, in the meantime, if you have any papers or pamphlets that may give light to these times, they may be left at my Lord Pollock's lodgings, or Mr Robert Stewart's, and they will come safe to, Reverend and Dear Sir, yours in the greatest sincerity.

June 14, 1715.

LETTER XVII.

STATE OF MATTERS IN IRELAND.

*John M'Bride to Wodrow.*¹

Belfast, May 16, 1715.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—My long continued indisposition, and some other troubles, have interrupted our correspondence. I being, by the good hand of God, in some measure relieved, judge it proper to revive our acquaintance. Though I have been imprisoned by Bishop *Gout*, I am kept out of another designed for me. And now, blessed be God, my persecutors have their horns cut;—the two that were in this town, one of them is now on his keeping for debt, and the other is turned out of the office of Justice of the Peace. Since the late happy Revolution, our adversaries are brought lower. Though these bears, being robbed of their whelps, are much enraged, yet they are muzzled. The Whigs in this kingdom carry all before them, which is grievous to the greatest part of the clergy. There have been some proposals by friends here to administer the oath to us, with allowance to except against any thing in it at which we scruple; but this being clandestine, I cannot comply with it; for, unless I can preserve both reputation and conscience, I, for my part, resolve to continue as formerly, my time in this world drawing near an end.

None of our brethren have as yet taken the oaths to King George; and though Messrs M'Crackan and Riddell and I are the only persons pursued, yet there are a considerable number of Nons amongst us, but young men ordained since the first taking of it. I am informed by a friend now in London, that was sent from home to

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xx. No. 120.

agent our public affairs there, that there is a purpose to frame the oath, so as that all will be free to take it. This Mr Upton had from the Earl of Rothes, Commissioner to their Assembly. I would gladly know what is doing in that affair as soon as you can. I wish that Nons may take a course that may preserve our credit and unity amongst ourselves. Mr M'Crackan continues in prison, though, as men see, very illegally. Br. Kirkpatrick is very much indisposed this winter, so that we are two invalids. The bearer's haste commands brevity. I expect accounts of the affairs of your Assembly. This, with kind respects to your wife, and all my honest old friends and brethren, is from your affectionate brother,

JOHN M'BRIDE.

LETTER XVIII.

HOW WODROW WAS INDUCED TO COMMENCE HIS HISTORY.

To the Rev. Mr John M'Bride, Minister of the Gospel at Belfast.

REV. DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 16th of May came not to my hand till some time after the Assembly was [over,] and I have been for several weeks since abroad, so that till this time I never had opportunity to tell you how acceptable your renewal of correspondence is to me, and how fond I am to have a line again under your own hand.

Any thing I am taken up with I incline to make very little talking about it, because it is uncertain whether ever it come to any bearing, but I'll venture to give you a hint of it, that I may have your direction and assistance. Before you left this country we were in our Synods and Assemblies, once or twice a year, talking of collections for a History of the Sufferings of this Church under Persecution. I was pitched upon in our Synod to receive them, and a very few accounts came to my hands. And I had some things rela-

tive to that head among the papers I had gathered together for my own diversion. It was thought necessary a beginning should be given to an account of our sufferings, and some papers being in my hand, and others promised me, I was, through my own easiness, and the importunity of others, last year put upon drawing a first draught of this work, in itself so necessary, and so much wanted.

None can regret this business falling into my hands more than I do myself. But as it's usual in things of this nature, every body was willing to roll the labour and toil of it off themselves; and my excess of good nature, which brought me through importunity to essay a beginning to it, has now engaged me, and I must some way or other wrestle through the first rude draught of it.

When I went in to the Assembly, I very luckily fell upon the Registers of our Privy Council, in the hands of a private person, and there, indeed, I met with a black scene. The looking over of these kept me some while in Edinburgh after the Assembly was up. And I am promised access to the books of our Justiciary.

Materials are now swelling pretty much on my hand, and I am like to have work enough to put them in any kind of order. I have now brought my accounts down to the beginning of the 1685, from the Restoration, where I begin. The history itself, with the account of, and reflections upon, the acts of Parliament and Council, and the excesses beyond the then severe laws, in the execution, is already come to near a hundred sheets, and the Appendix, containing the vouchers and principal papers, never before printed, except it be the acts of Parliament and Council, will be very large.

If once the throng of communions were over, and my own upon my anniversary day were by my hand, I hope, if the Lord will, in a few months, to end my first draught, and bring it down to the Revolution, but when this is over, it will be a work of time to look it over, and cast in a great many things that are since come to my hands, when it's transcribed.

I presume to give you this account, that I may have the advantage of your directions, and any accounts relative to that period, which

you have among your papers, and your assistance to procure hints of the sufferings of ministers, gentlemen, and others who were forced over to Ireland, and I promise myself you will not be wanting to gather up what may be useful for this design. They will be welcome, and there will be room to insert them, a good while after this.

This is all the apology I have to make for not answering yours sooner. I heartily bless the Lord for his goodness to you, and this great turn of Providence, which hath made so comfortable a change of affairs with you.

It is too late now to offer at any account of our last Assembly. No doubt, you have it a considerable time ago from better hands. If you want the acts, and acquaint me, I shall send them per next. Things went on pretty smoothly above board, which is a mercy. But under hand the old differences are as sensible as formerly, and I wish in some things they were not on the growing hand.

I am of opinion the oaths will be reimposed. We had a conference with our brethren, and sought their assistance to prevent the reimposition, and were plainly told it was not consistent with the reputation of such as had qualified, and that a reimposition was necessary for their vindication. There is nothing done but letters writt up in private to members of Parliament, pointing at the inconveniences of reimposition. To me there seems no probability of our escaping them, and I fear matters will be worse than ever. Prefaces and narratives, for vindication of such as have taken [the oath,] which is the general form talked of, will but heighten our flame. I shall say nothing of new shapes of oaths till I see them. But I do not yet see that form which will satisfy the most part of conscientious scruplers, and the imposition of State oaths is a very considerable grievance with myself. I'll be very fond to have a full account of the state of matters with you, and what your agent at London has got done. I sympathise very much with dear Mr M'Crackan, to whom let this give my kindest respects. I remember your family most kindly, and hope when you cannot get leisure to write, you will lay it on your son. Any papers or pamphlets,

on both sides of the House, will be most acceptable to yours most affectionately.

Eastwood, June 21, 1715.

LETTER XIX.

ON THE REIMPOSITION OF THE ABJURATION.

To Mr Thomas Smith, Member of Parliament for North Britain.

SIR,—It is with some difficulty I prevail with myself to give you the trouble of any thing from me, when you are so much and so well employed, and no doubt fatigued with applications from so many different hands; and the writing this needs a very great apology, did not the subject I have in mine eye concern me and several others, yea this Church, very nearly, in my opinion.

Many times I have been a writing to you anent the present circumstances of this Church, which I persuade myself lie very near your heart, as a true son of hers; and once and again I projected to have suggested to you my poor thoughts as [to] the burdens we are lying under, and what appeared to me the proper methods, after so great a turn of Providence, and under so auspicious a Government, and such a friendly Parliament, for giving a beginning, at least, to some relief to us.

But when I reflected upon the embarrassments the Government was under, and the multitude of things necessarily falling in at the beginning of a reign, when so many things, abroad and at home, needed to be rectified, I was unwilling to say any thing till I had waited the issues of Providence, and for my own share I would incline to bear up a little under our many abuses as to the Church and nation, till our gracious Sovereign, and our friends in both

Houses of Parliament, had some of the burden of other business off their hands.

Though, in the meantime, the heightening of the cry of the English Church's being in hazard by any attempts to rectify abuses in ours, had not so much weight with me, as it seems to have with some others here whom I love and honour, to stop an application, since, in my opinion, we are seeking nothing to be redressed but what law and unalterable laws warrant us in, and what they themselves have consented to, and could have no reasonable grounds to complain of.

I imagined the Parliament this session would be so taken up in the business of the inquiry into the late mismanagements and the impeachments, that they would not have had leisure to meddle at all with the affairs of this Church; and it was only by the last post that I heard of the bill for further securing the succession, and extinguishing the hopes of the Pretender, upon the foot of the act an. 13 King William, which I suspect will again bring the oaths upon the ministry of this Church.

This prevailed with me to send you my thoughts upon this head, with all the sincerity and plainness that the interest I promise myself in your friendship, I hope, allows me to use; and the rather that the last General Assembly, after long reasonings upon this event, which then indeed I did not think so near, did not, and indeed could not, come to any issue in this affair, wherein formerly we have followed different practices, but recommended it to ministers to deal in private with members of Parliament as they had access. And, for my own part, I wish there had been fewer public debates before our late different practices than there were, and perhaps the effects of our different methods might have been less hurtful to the people. And whatever be the event now, I wish matters be so managed as no prejudice may ensue either to religion and the interest thereof, nor the deep share his Majesty hath in the hearts and affections of the Presbyterians in Scotland, who, as far as I know, are knit to him as one man.

I shall not, and to you I know I need not, offer to purge myself

of Jacobitism. I persuade myself you are abundantly satisfied that the body of ministers, and others who had difficulties as to the former oath, were as zealous for the succession then most in hazard, and are yet as heartily in the King's interest as any of their fellow subjects whatsoever.

You will believe me likewise when I assure you it's upon our hearts to live in the strictest bonds of friendship and brotherhood with such as had freedom to qualify, and we have not been wanting in our utmost endeavours for the peace of this Church, under our differences, and you'll have the charity for me, and such as are in my circumstances, to believe that in any thing we offer to you or others upon this head, it is with the greatest regard to our brethren, and flows from our sincerest wishes for the general good of this Church.

It is my humble opinion it would be very good service done to this Church, to the King's Majesty, yea, to the very reverend and dear brethren who had freedom to take the former oath, as well as to a considerable number of ministers and members of this Church who could not go into it, if you, and other real friends to us all, could prevent a reimposition; and you'll bear with me a little in representing the grounds of my opinion with the greatest submission to your better judgment.

You know better than I that the late Abjuration made very little distinction between the friends of the Protestant succession and the enemies to it. It's but too evident that multitudes of engrained enemies of the succession, under the cloak of the Abjuration, served the interests of the Pretender, and what hath been may be, yea, I apprehend will be.¹ And, upon the other hand, it held out con-

¹ "Such easy conformists have scarce perhaps finished the ceremony [of swearing.] when their engagements are forgot; or they learn to explain or sport away their obligation by such wretched quibbling as that of Hudibras:—

‘He that imposes an oath makes it;
Not he who for convenience takes it:
Then how can any man be said
To break an oath he never made?’

(*Bruce's Free Thoughts on Popery* p. 246.)

siderable numbers, who, with conscience and without any commission, would have ventured life and fortune against the Pretender. And I take the liberty to add, that the oath engaged none to the succession who would not [have] been as hearty for it without it from principle and interest; and it's very certain the imposition did incapacitate not a few for acting publicly who very much discovered their concern for the succession in their private sphere. And as to the ministers who refused it, were I not one of them, I could say abundance of things as to their loyalty, their despising the pretended fawning of the Jacobite party, their moving and hearty concurrence in the seasonable warning, and doing what was proper to their station, to make people sensible to their hazard when the state of things did not bear an indifferency and neutrality. And you know how firm they stood in a jointness with their brethren against the last Jacobite attempt to embarrass the King, by a petition for the dissolution of the Union, when he was scarce well come over; and what a tender regard they have showed at the last Assembly in not pressing the Government to a present redress of grievances, choosing rather to lie a little longer under burdens than unseasonably to urge what in law they might have insisted on. So, upon the whole, neither in State nor Church was the Abjuration any way useful for the end, and the only end that can be pretended for it, a test of loyalty. And I really think it will never answer that end.

I easily perceive this may be reckoned a reasoning against all oaths, as no security to a Government; and I shall own my opinion to you, that as to suspected persons under a Government, in this dangerous age, I really reckon them a very lame security, and it hath many times been my wish some other way were fallen upon more effectual for the end pretended in multiplying public oaths. And I do think it were a subject worthy of the wisdom of the Parliament seriously to consider this, and fall upon some more prestatable methods. If my friend shall think me Quaker and enthusiast for my freedom, I can't help it; when I have the happiness of meeting with him, I hope I shall be able fully to clear my-

self. I own oaths and public oaths are lawful, and I shall never think the worse of a man who hath the freedom to fall in with them, when lawful in the matter of them. But then to me their answerableness to the end of their imposition must be cleared, otherwise they will as to my practice fall in, though I dare not condemn others, among the tribe of unnecessary and needless oaths.

This brings to my mind a passage I this day read, cited by the late Mr Rymer,¹ the historiographer, in his valuable paper upon Parliaments, anent oaths, from Plato, which I confess affected me not a little, being so agreeable to the notions I have for some time entertained anent public oaths, and you'll pardon me if I transcribe it here :—

“ Radamanthus, his way of administering justice in all causes, between party and party, was by putting them both to their oaths, and determining their right accordingly. This (says Plato) was a proper and ready way in that age, when every body was possessed with the fear of God ; but (adds he) this would not do now in our times, when some make it a question whether there be a God or not ; others make it a doubt whether God regards what we do on earth ; and most of the worst of men have a conceit, that though there be a God, they can pacify him with their vile adulations, so that they may be still as wicked as they please. Therefore, says he, (and you'll please notice it,) when men's opinions are changed, the laws also must be changed ; for otherwise, if our judges now were to make Radamanthus their precedent, we should be all over head and ears in perjuries.”

¹ Mr Thomas Rymer was an eminent English antiquary and historian, who lived during the close of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries. In 1692, he was made historiographer royal, a situation which brought him L.200 per annum. About this time, a scheme was formed of publishing a collection of documents relating to the transactions of England with foreign states. Mr Rymer was appointed to collect these documents, which were to be found chiefly in the chronicles, and in the depositories of public records, particularly the Tower of London, and the Chapter-House at Westminster, and to superintend the printing of them. The work, which is called Rymer's “*Fœdera*,” was published at London, in the beginning of the last century, in 17 vols. folio. Three volumes more were added by Sanderson after Rymer's death, which took place in December 1713.

Indeed, I am much of Plato's mind, that by reason the laws are not changed upon the unhappy change in our morals and manners, we are most deeply involved in perjury; and, for my own part, I tremble at the thought of the imposition of the new oaths, lest the great and terrible name of the Lord our God be profaned, and the King's Government be but undermined. So far I differ from Plato, that in matters of private right, I see no dernier resort but an oath, and such who will venture on perjury, there is no help for it. But as to matters of public right, when a Government knows the methods of oaths are precarious, especially with disaffected persons, and no real security, I cannot imagine why, upon every turn, they are made use of, (I fear, very much to the prejudice of religion,) when, in the mean while, I assure myself other methods might be more effectual. You'll forgive my warmth upon this head; to me it appears of very great importance.

Another argument against reimposition I take from the circumstances of this Church at present; and any thing that may be prejudicial to her, I know, will have a great deal of weight with you. In the general, I shall not offer at any parallel between our Church and the Established Church where now you are. I wish we were both better. But I am sure, whatever necessity there may be of imposing the oaths upon the Church, upon supposition they were a proper test, there is no necessity to reimpose them upon the Kirk, for I am not ashamed of that name. I presume our gracious Sovereign hath no jealousies of the Presbyterian ministers and Scotland, and I know he hath no reason for it; and you who were a witness to the actings of the party then prevailing, know that their design in imposing of the Abjuration, formerly as it then stood, was to divide and rend us, and elude the restriction of the tolerated party, by the addition of the oaths. Far am I from supposing any such design now on foot, but allow me to unbosom my fears to you as to what may be the effects of a reimposition. Everybody knows what sparks of division are already among us by the Abjuration, and although there is, blessed be God, no open rupture, yet I wish I could say there is [are] no jealousies and alienation of affections.

And I am sure a reviving of almost buried disputes will be no service at this time to either the Church or his Majesty; and I fear new ranklings, and reviving of old humours, will be of worse consequences than may at first be apprehended, both among ministers and people. If peace-makers be blessed, peace-preservers will not want their own share. For my own part, I had rather suffer a great deal before these unhappy debates were revived. Perhaps it was a kind step of Providence to this Church that we came to be threatened so sensibly and nearly by a common enemy to our constitution and the Protestant succession, and this helped to bury them; but no man for the future can promise what the event will be, if reimposed. I shall say nothing as to myself, but I know many that are under as great difficulties as ever, and additional ones, since this comfortable turn of affairs, and I'll suppose the honour of the Government is concerned to execute the law, and we may reasonably suppose the execution will be stricter than before.

Well, the difficulties are most obvious. One part qualifies, and, probably, the most considerable part; a good number from conscience, though it should be weakness and want of light, refuses. Their circumstances will be hard enough by law, and I suspect their brethren will not be altogether easy. Either they must fall out with the Government, and refuse to break communion with their brethren on a point declared to be no ground of separation, and refuse to plant their places, or they must fall in with the Government, and join issue in persecuting their brethren, which I am sure they will be unwilling of; and I'll add, that a considerable body of people, who are now easy, will, in this supposed case, fall off, not for the oath, but for falling in with those that bear hard upon, or bearing hard themselves upon conscientious sufferers. For my own part, I do not see, (I wish I may be mistaken,) but, in the event of reimposition, and a considerable number standing out, (which new shapes of the oath, I fear, will not prevent,) an open breach will be unavoidable. If it were my own case only, if my heart deceive me not, you should have been free of this trouble from me; but the

thoughts of an open stated breach in the Church of Scotland is more than I can well bear. For myself, whatever may come to be my practice, for I dare promise nothing on my own behalf, one way or other, I am, in point of light, determined to suffer all inconveniences before I have any share in rending this Church. I hope a due consideration of our circumstances will prevail with all wellwishers and friends to the Church of Scotland, to do all possible to prevent a new breach ; and I wish our real friends may not be carried away with the assurances that were formerly given, but groundlessly, that few or none would stand out, which I know, especially in view of some alterations that may be made, will be much insisted upon. But, though for myself, I can say nothing what my own practice may be, till I have a full view of the matter, yet I have that knowledge of our present circumstances in this Church, that I'll presume to foretell a very considerable number will be backward to any shape of oaths farther than a simple allegiance, and some to all public State oaths whatsoever, who are and will in a choak be found as hearty for King George as any in Britain ; and if after a trial it be found thus, I will at least have the satisfaction of remembering that I signified my fears of this beforehand.

And I leave to you to consider what a hardship it will be to a considerable body of men that may be straitened in point of the oaths to suffer under King George's Government, which they longed for, and every day give solid proofs of their affection to, bating that of swearing ; and what a strait it will be and a lock the King is brought upon to persecute his real friends, even allowing this to be their weakness and mistake ; and yet there may be some of them that may challenge some regard as not being downright fools in other instances, and in some measure capable to answer the ends of their ministry, though they want that latitude as to public oaths others have, and stand justified in the consciences of hearers, acquaintances, enemies, yea, the Government itself, as to their loyalty. What a hardship will it be to bring so good a King as we have under a necessity of prosecuting such, espe-

cially when it may be attended with so many ill consequences to his Government, and the forbearing oaths can do no manner of harm.

I shall not insist upon what I have heard urged in conversation, that it seems not so agreeable to his Majesty's honour, now so happily established, and welcomed (at least in Scotland) with the general vote of his people, to require the same security (were it one) that was necessary before the succession so happily took place. I do not know what handle his enemies may make of it, as if his title were not so good as that of his predecessors, who, when in possession, reckoned a simple allegiance sufficient, and, I persuade myself, that his Majesty has the heart and affections of all good Protestants in Scotland, which is a better security than public oaths are in this miserable state of things we are fallen into. And how mightily it would endear the King's Government to a zealous people in the west and south of Scotland, who stumble at oaths, and particularly at their being imposed promiscuously, as they come about, upon ministers of the gospel, whose loyalty is every Sabbath known, I know better than I love to express. And the world may reckon them weak and giddy, but I am of opinion, in a choak, or in case of any opposition to the Government, which I pray God avert, they are the persons that may be depended upon; and, pray, what can their masters and others, who may want difficulties anent oaths, do without the body of the people? And the time was not long since, when the differences among us of the Presbyterian persuasion anent the oath had, if they had not been cautiously managed, well near hindered a set of people from appearing in a case happily now prevented by Providence, when few others in Scotland could have been much depended upon.

And I shall end this head of my argument against reimposition, by begging you may consider, that a new pressing of public oaths, in the English shape of them, will inevitably increase people's prejudices against the Union, and be a very plausible handle for the Jacobites to inflame people against this Government, to the evident prejudice of his Majesty's affairs, the prosperity and success whereof,

I, and many others, who have no great liking to new oaths, are very much concerned in; and however weak the scruple may appear to many, yet the binding down of the ill consequences of our united state, in the present shape of it, upon ourselves and posterity, and a homologation of it, by taking public oaths in our present circumstances, is not very easy to not a few ministers and others, who can live very peaceably under a constitution they cannot approve, and are very far from any designs to break it, till Providence open a door for doing it, with safety to our holy religion and the King's Government, and that of his royal issue.

Thus, with my ordinary frankness, I have laid before you what I really think, if pondered, may discover the unseasonableness of reimposing public oaths upon us in Scotland at this juncture, and have opened to you the real fears and thoughts of my heart.

All along, of design I have abstracted from scruples at the oath itself, having been witness to too much jangling upon that head, and endless disputes in judicatories, conversation, and print. My business is not to impugn the oath; every man must stand and fall here to his own master, but to offer some thoughts which to me appear arguments against its reimposition, either under the old or any new form, of which I can say nothing till I see it.

Bear with me a little, dear Sir, when I offer you my thoughts as shortly as I can upon some considerations I have heard advanced for a reimposition of an abjuration. The argument of the greatest force I ever heard is, that this is the only way now left to prevent the bad effects of an almost boundless toleration; and I know this was what brought on the abjuration upon us. But, after all the consideration I am capable of, I cannot say this has any great weight in it. If the King, as no doubt he will, be heartily against Jacobitism, I am not under such fears as to the toleration as once I was; and when once Jacobitism is heartily crushed, the toleration will very soon come to nothing, for it's party, and not principle, that is at the bottom, as you know better than I. I'll promise for my left-hand brethren, that if their Jacobite supporters be crushed, they will soon take all the oaths. And I assure you, any of the

Episcopal ministers who would be debarred with any oath, will stand out against a simple allegiance, as well as upon the abjuration; and the one will be as good a security as the other. And though none of them were imposed, they can be legally reached, for not praying for his Majesty King George *nominatim*.

I am sorry to find it once supposed, that the not reimposing the oaths will perpetuate a reflection upon those who have had clearness to abjure. I cannot persuade myself any are in earnest in this; for the noblemen and gentlemen who have taken it, they come not at all under this present debate, their character being much distinct from that of a minister. And for ministers, I think it's evident, that the non-imposition is the way to bury all seeming differences upon this head. They are the plurality, and I do and very justly allow them all the superior reputation they well deserve. I honour and love them, and verily believe they have better grounds of peace in qualifying than a reimposition would give them; and I do not see, indeed, how their reputation, or ours either, will be advanced by any more differences upon this unhappy head. And were the matter put to the vote, though upwards of three hundred had the clearness to take it, and have no difficulty to take it again, yet I persuade myself it's very few or any of those, when they consider that their brethren act from conscience, as well as themselves, would desire a reimposition.

We have a great deal of street and transient talk of alterations and changes in the oath itself for Scotland. It's time enough for me to say any thing of these, when I see the form they are in. Meanwhile, I do not think changes and alterations will be much for the interest either of such who have taken or the refusers, and explications will be of little use, since the swearer still takes it in the plain and express meaning of the words; and I know no explication nor alteration which will take off all the difficulties raised against the abjuration. But I shall say no more of this till I see the shape of the explication or alteration.

It is more than time to put an end to your trouble by this long scroll. I shall make no apology for it, but presume on your good-

ness, and the regard you have always allowed to the freedom and plainness of, Sir, your affectionate and most humble servant.

July 4, 1715.

LETTER XX.

THE AMENDMENT ON THE ABJURATION.

To Mr James Hart.

REVEREND DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 20th last post, and return you my most hearty thanks for the accounts in it. I do not know what to think of the issue of thir prosecutions.¹ The articles are undoubtedly relevant; but how the probation will frame is more than I can yet fathom from the printed report. I have no doubt, but the gum and aversion of the changeable people in England to the King and present ministry is much heightened by thir prosecutions. The unhappy management of Sacheverell's process makes me tremble to think on the event of thir now in dependence.

If the Lord continue peace with us, so as the meeting on the third Wednesday of September may be kept, I purpose to be with you if the Lord will. The change made in the oath must certainly satisfy such who scrupled only at the *as*.² But I am still of the

¹ Mr Hart informs Wodrow, "that the Commons, on the 8th of August, sent up, by General Stanhope, to the House of Lords, articles of high treason against the Duke of Ormond, six in number." He then gives a copy of the articles.

² "The Oath of Abjuration has passed the Commons, with some amendments, and is sent up to the House of Peers. The explanatory clause is as follows:— 'Whereas diverse of his Majesty's good subjects, who have given convincing marks of their loyalty to his Royal person and Government, have scrupled to take the said oath, apprehending that the reference in the said oath may be construed in some respect to be inconsistent with the establishment of the Church of Scotland according

opinion, that several brethren's principal scruple did not lie there; and I fear, that we shall not be joint in our practices about any public oaths that now can be imposed. May matters be so managed, as the peace of this poor Church be preserved. But there may be real changes before the first of December. The Lord fit us for them!

There is nothing worth while to acquaint you from this country. We are under the fears of the projected invasion; and it's like to

to law, and with a clause concerning oaths to be imposed in Scotland [after the] Union, contained in an act made in the Parliament of Scotland, in the year 1707, entitled, 'Act for Securing the Protestant Religion and Presbyterian Church Government, which is declared to be a fundamental and essential condition of the treaty of Union. To the end, therefore, that the said scruples, and all mistakes and divisions on the account of the same, may cease, be it enacted and declared, by authority fore-said, that by no words contained in the said oath, or any other oath formerly imposed, it is or was meant to oblige his Majesty's good subjects to any act or acts any ways inconsistent with the establishment of the Church of Scotland according to law.'

"The *as*, in the reference, is turned into *which*; and, in the preamble to this bill, the following clause is added:—'That upon the safety of the Protestant succession under God depends the preservation of the monarchy of Britain, the security of the Protestant religion, and the Churches of England and Scotland.'"—(*Hart's Letter to Wodrow*, dated Aug. 6, 1715.)

"The Oath of Abjuration has got the finishing stroke, with respect to amendments and alterations. By my last, I sent you what amendments the Commons had made. I have sent what the Lords have done that way, as I have it the last post from a member of the House of Lords, which is as follows:—

"The clause which occasioned so much scruple before stands now as follows:—

"'And I do faithfully promise, to the utmost of my power, to support, maintain, and defend the succession of the Crown against him the said James, and all other persons whatsoever, which succession, by an act entitled, An Act for the further limitation of the Crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject, is and stands limited to the Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants; and all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to the express words by me spoken,' &c.

"There is also an indemnity to all who have not taken the Abjuration hitherto, providing they take it as now amended, betwixt and the first of December next.

"I have no further to add, but that it's thought proper there be a full meeting of Non-jurant brethren in this place, [Edinburgh,] against the third Wednesday of September next, when the committee for Mr Webster and Mr Simson's affair meet to commune about this oath, and I hope you will not fail to be at that meeting."—(*Hart's Letter to Wodrow*, dated Aug. 20, 1715.)

fall heavy on the west of Scotland. The association and mustering were going tolerably well on, especially in the shire of Ayr, until the return of the express from Court anent the Association¹ came our length, and now we are perfectly at a stand. Enemies, and such as are neutral and indifferent, improve the hints given, that the danger is over, to a perfect stop of any thing that looks like the arming of the country. There were considerable sums subscribed for, and several had paid their first moiety; but now most part refuse to do any thing, and not a few to pay what they signed for. For my share, I see nothing will move us till matters be altogether past remedy, and we be just a prey to our enemies. It's surprising that the Government does not only not encourage our appearances for self-defence, and his Majesty's title at such a juncture, but just leaves us naked and defenceless, and perfectly exposed; and if a descent be made at this season, we are like to be in the very worst of circumstances. I am grieved at the differences at Court, and reckon them ominous. I heartily wish the King were better informed than he appears to be of our real circumstances. The Jacobites, of whom there are not a few in this shire, plainly urge, and I see not a reasonable answer, that we make a needless noise of danger; and if there were any, the Government would never lie by, as it's evident they do as to us at this juncture. I know the King is no Jacobite, but I heartily wish he may not be misled.

Yesterday there was a rendezvous of all the fencible men of Cunningham in Irvine Muir, and they tell me they made a gallant appearance, upwards of three thousand well-armed men. The heritors of this shire are to meet next Thursday; but I expect little can be done. The Jacobites pretend associations, musterings, and subscriptions, are illegal; and such who cannot be called Jacobites hedge, and either demur upon their lawfulness, or allege it's hazardous to appear in the west, lest the north follow, and rise in arms.

¹ This is explained in a subsequent letter.

Thus matters stand with us, and nothing is done almost, unless it be a little life in Glasgow, and there they are sensibly setting up. Meanwhile, we have had a sweet blink at the sacrament last Sabbath, in this place. Not only did the work go on, and [the Lord] carried it through very pleasantly, but really I thought there was somewhat of the begun outpouring of the Spirit of wrestling in private, for four nights in this house, without intermission. Bless the Lord on our account; and write as frequently as you can to, Rev. Dear Brother, yours, most sincerely,

R. W.

Eastwood, August 23, 1715.

LETTER XXI.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE REBELLION.

To the [Right Honourable Colonel Erskine.]

[COLONEL ERSKINE of Carnock was the third son of David, second Lord Cardross, by his second marriage to the youngest daughter of Sir George Bruce of Carnock, and not, as Sir Henry Moncreiff states in his *Life of Dr Erskine*, the son of Henry, second Lord Cardross, who suffered much during the prelatic persecution. The Colonel was the half-brother of this Henry, who was third, and not second Lord Cardross.—(*Wodrow's History*, vol. iii. p. 194, *Note*, *Burns' Edition*.) Colonel Erskine was a Whig in his politics, and a strict Presbyterian of the old school. While a firm supporter of the Revolution government, and a warm friend to the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover, in opposition to the claims of the Pretender, he was amongst the most determined opponents of the Abjuration Oath; and though his refusing to swear it excluded him, after the Revolution, from holding any office in the state or army, yet, notwithstanding all the explications put upon it, and all the alterations made upon it to satisfy scrupulous minds, he stood out against it to the last. His repugnance to the oath did not, however, abate the confidence which King William, who was personally acquainted with him, reposed in his loyalty. That

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monarch, upon his elevation to the throne, having required from his confidants a list of his friends in Scotland who had claims upon his favourable attention, expressed his surprise, upon looking into the list, that the name of Colonel Erskine had been omitted, and when informed that the reason was, because he had not taken the Abjuration Oath, replied, "It may be so, but I know Lieutenant-Colonel Erskine to be a firmer friend to the Government than many of those who have taken the oath." So strict was he in his Presbyterian principles, that we find him, when he had occasion to petition Parliament about some of his personal affairs, refusing to recognise the civil places of the Bishops in the House of Lords, and presenting a memorial to the members of Parliament on the subject, though this scrupulous adherence to his principles subjected him to the hazard of worldly loss. Colonel Erskine was regularly a member of the General Assembly from 1704 to 1742, being returned as elder from the Presbytery of Dunfermline, within whose bounds his property at Carnock was situated. He was uniformly found on the popular and Evangelical side. The uncompromising enemy of lay-patronage, he was urgent in pressing on the Church the necessity of adopting energetic measures in order to get rid of that imposition, and much regretted the want of zeal displayed by the leading party in this cause. As a proof of the confidence placed in him by the Church, and of his influence with the Government, it may be observed, that, in 1735, when the General Assembly appointed Commissioners to go to London for the purpose of applying to Parliament and the Crown for a repeal of the act of Queen Anne restoring lay-patronage, he was selected along with the two last Moderators of the General Assembly for this mission. Colonel Erskine, it was well known, had certain peculiarities of temper which occasionally afforded matter of amusement to his friends. He resisted with spirit, and sometimes in rather a singular way, the encroachments of individuals upon what he conceived to be his own and the public rights. A gentleman in the neighbourhood having shut up an old road which led through his property, the Colonel, with the aid of his servant, regularly, as he had occasion to pass that way, pulled down the enclosures, and marched straight on, disdaining to take the new but circuitous road which had been substituted in its place. The *Black Colonel* (as he was called, to distinguish him from his nephew, the *White Colonel*) was also rather irritable; but his passion was momentary, and free from the bitterness of rancour. One day, a number of people, by order of the magistrates, were employed on the sea-shore, immediately below his house at Culross, in burning kelp, the smoke of which, he supposed, aggravated an asthmatic complaint with which he was afflicted towards the close of his life, and under an attack

of which he was then labouring. He sent orders for the immediate extinction of the fires ; but the magistrates refusing to comply, he indignantly mounted his horse, as he was unable to walk, sent his grandson, (afterwards the celebrated Dr Erskine of Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh,) then a boy, before him, carrying his drawn sword, and proceeded to extinguish the fires with his own hands. The magistrates assembled their retainers, and took both him and his grandson prisoners. The passion of the Colonel subsiding, he became conscious of the ludicrous position in which he stood, and proposed to give the magistrates a dinner at the inn, and the offer being accepted, they spent the afternoon together with much good feeling and hilarity. Colonel Erskine was one of the most intimate friends of Wodrow, and their views on Church matters very much coincided.—See *Sir Henry Moncreiff's Life of Dr Erskine*.—ED.]

DEAR COLONEL,—I had yours of the 8th, and I am extremely in your debt for the frequent accounts you send me in this time of confusion. Acknowledgments and my best wishes are all the returns I can make.

You'll have heard our friends in the Baily of Cunningham, who made the handsome muster three weeks ago, have, as they say, a thousand men in readiness to march, with twenty shillings a man in his pocket ; and Glasgow, and the well-affected part of the shire, design as many. But how this matter will shape now with our new order of Lieutenancy, I do not know. This is what we are all strangers to, and I wish it issue well.

For the last eight days every thing almost was at a stand, every body almost thinking the design in the north was dwindled away, except a few such feared fools, as I am reckoned hereabout. But yesterday and this day we are again a little quickened with the accounts from the north, and especially with the attempt upon Edinburgh Castle. The disappointment of that design, I do think, is another bow in our dark and cloudy sky. I hear the Castle is very ill provided in men, and not above forty, or thereby, in it. Had this attempt succeeded, I need not speak of its consequences to you. Besides the ruin of the town, and the encouragement would be taken through the country by the Malignant party, I suppose most of the arms and ammunition we have are there.

I know not what to say or think, but sure am I the Lord, by his interposings in his kind Providence, is leaving room for pleading. The D. of H. [Duke of Hamilton's] sudden death, when it was generally thought he was going to France, to concert measures for the party there; his first mistress her removal at such a juncture; the French king's putting off the stage so seasonably;¹ and I know not how far the Empress' being with child may knit her husband to the maritime powers; and this to me wonderful disappointment as to the castle; and this week's westerly winds, if general, are steps of Providence I desire not to let pass without my poor remark. And if the Lord would return to the spirits of his people, and increase any faint mints to come towards himself, and leave our cause before him, and repent and reform, this would crown all.

Your Chief² does not so much affright me as the fears I have from England. I pray I may be forgiven if I be uncharitable; but I have very black thoughts of the bulk there, if a descent be made upon England; I wish seven in six be not either Jacobite or High Church, and disgusted at the King through most counties. We have rumours here the Pretender is there already, or at least designs to be in the West of England the 10th of September, and that there is an assassination designed, which I hope the good Lord will prevent, and preserve the King and Prince. The Lord be

¹ Wodrow means the death of Louis XIV., which took place on the 21st of August this year. This monarch was a patron of learning, and his reign was distinguished by great statesmen, generals, philosophers, and men eminent in literature, the sciences, and arts. But he was of profligate manners, the scourge of Europe for more than half a century, by the long wars in which his ambition prompted him to engage, the oppressor of his people, and a relentless persecutor of the Protestants. His death was an event contemplated with satisfaction by the people of France, who, on the day of his funeral, followed his hearse with insults and the grossest expressions of joy; while it was hailed as a merciful interposition by the friends of liberty in this country, both from their sympathy with the Protestants of France, and because he encouraged and aided the Pretender in his attempts to be restored to the throne of Britain. "The French King's death this month (August) makes a vast change in public affairs; and, indeed, the Lord in providence gives strange turns to the concerns of Europe and these lands, by turning the deaths of great persons at junctures, when, had they not been taken away, vast hurt had followed to the Reformation."—(*Analecta*, vol. iv. p. 30.)

² The Earl of Mar.

with his ministers and people in the north at this choak! I hope he will be a little sanctuary to them, and make us ready in thir parts for his will.

You see I can entertain you with nothing but fears and wishes. I remember your sons, your lady, and Mrs M. I hope the Lord will establish his covenant with you and yours, and you shall enter into the ark.

This week I began to my old scribblings again, having been entirely diverted since the Assembly. And if the Lord give peace and health, I resolve to go on. The extracts will be very welcome when ready. If the country fall into confusion, there will be many greater losses than my poor project. I am, Dear Colonel, yours, &c.

Sept. 9, 1715.

LETTER XXII.

PRESENT POSTURE OF AFFAIRS.

To the Rev. Mr Robert Black,¹ Minister of the Scots Congregation at Rotterdam, to the care of Mr Alexander Grosett, Merchant at Borrowstounness.

Sept. 20, 1715.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I had your first from Rotterdam, Sept. 6, yesterday, and am most willing to keep a most strict correspond-

¹ Mr Robert Black was ordained colleague to the Rev. Mr Linning, Lesmahago, on February 10, 1703. In 1712, when the Oath of Abjuration was imposed on the ministers of the Church of Scotland, the harmony between Mr Black and his congregation was disturbed by his having sworn the oath, and the disaffection of many towards him became so great that they refused to attend on public ordinances when dispensed by him. Wodrow gives some account of this unpleasant affair in his letters.

In 1714, Mr Black was chosen by the Scottish Church in Rotterdam, to be colleague to the Rev. Thomas Hog, or Hoog, who will be noticed afterwards. The case came before the General Assembly, who decided in favour of his translation. He was

ence with you, and thank you heartily for your offer of it. You know I was never for ceremony, and so I come straight to give you as short a hint of the present posture of affairs as my memory serves me. It's like you'll have them from better hands, and I am heartily sorry I am to begin our correspondence with so melancholy accounts; but such as I have I give.

When I saw you last, at the Assembly in May, we had some private hints of an attempt from France and the Pretender upon us, and they grew upon us in June and July, in the beginning of which our Jacobites, as is their way, began to set days for the arrival of the Pretender. Perhaps we were but too little alarmed with all, till upon the 20th of July, I think, the King came to the Parliament, and laid before them the certain accounts he had received of an attempt designed by the Pretender. This was sent us by express, and upon these accounts a form of an association was drawn up on the first of August, and a letter agreed on by some friends at Edinburgh to awake the country, and a voluntary offer was made of raising men for defence of the Government, and all was sent up to the King; and, accordingly, subscriptions both to the association, and to levy men, were going on when the return from the Court put as top to both. It was very kind and full of thanks; but we were given to understand that the Government would take care of us, and forces were ordered from Ireland, three broken regiments, and some ordered to be in a readiness from England to march in case of need. I wish the King had been advised to let us go on in our preparations, and we had not been at such a nonentity as we are now at. But it seems this was not so agreeable to the views then they had.

somewhat reluctant to go to Rotterdam, although his removal from Lesmahago appears to have been expedient, his usefulness in that parish having been much impaired, if not destroyed, by the excitement, dissension, and irritation, which existed in consequence of his having sworn the Abjuration Oath. He commenced his labours in this new field on the 10th of August 1715, and continued them till his death, which happened on the 27th of May 1735, at Aix-la-Chapelle, whither he had removed a few weeks before in consequence of his ill health, for the benefit of the celebrated medicinal waters of that place. He was buried in the French Protestant Church at the neighbouring village, Vaals.—(*Steven's History of the Scottish Church in Rotterdam*, pp. 147, 149, 160.)

The first scheme we had of the designed combination, which every day appears to have been very deeply and generally laid, was this, and in the end of July we had the first notices of it : The Pretender was to have come over with a few ships and arms to Angus, or thereabout, and was assured of ten thousand men. And, indeed, this summer the Jacobites have been exceeding busy in buying horses, and had a vast deal of money (by a contribution from Rome and other Popish countries) among their hands. At the same time the Duke of Berwick was to have landed from Brest, with eight thousand Irish and French, in Clyde, or somewhere in the west. The two bodies were to have met at Edinburgh, and proclaimed the Pretender, and called a Parliament. They gave it out there would be a general defection, and the Duke of Berwick would easily have mustered the west country, and, no doubt, he might, had not the Lord interposed. Accordingly, all the Irish troops in the French service were disbanded with this view. Old Louis was not to have appeared, but his grandson in Spain was to have proclaimed war with our King, and abundance of grounds might have been found to justify it ; and his grandfather was to assist him, and work to his hand till a convenient season, wherein if matters succeeded in Scotland, [he] had offered to throw off the mask.

Thir two armies, when joined, were to have marched into England, and there a strong body was to have joined them, and with a view to this, all the unaccountable mobs and confusions in England were spirited up.

Thus matters offered themselves to our view about the beginning of August, and we continued to have various accounts, sometimes that the Pretender was sailed, sometimes that ships with men and money were coming in to the north ; and, indeed, his friends here have not been idle in buying horses and furniture. A vast deal of money hath been transmitted to them from abroad. The L. of B., within a little of Glasgow, at the fair at that place, bought up thirty ; and servants of my Lord Drummond did the like through the country. Upon the other hand, honest folk were not altogether idle. And the town of Glasgow have very much distin-

guished themselves in mustering, and all the country about, and in having their eye on men, to be ready in case of a sudden attack.

The Church were likewise acting in their p. [proper] sphere, suitably to their obligations to God and their King. The Commission of the Assembly appointed the 23d of August for a national fast, which was kept. Presbyteries made their voluntary offers of maintaining such quotas of men as they could, and the people were made to know their hazard.

About the 16th of August the Earl of Mar came down to Scotland, *incognito*, and went straight to his lands in the Brae of Mar, and a convocation of the Clans came to him, under pretence of hunting and waiting on him. If blood come to be shed in this matter it may all be charged on him, since it's his presence and activity, and his having, as it's said, a commission from the Pretender to be Lieutenant-General in Scotland, that has animate and collected the Highlanders together. For two or three weeks all was pretended to be but his going north for business, and his friends coming to wait upon him; and he wrote to his brother, the Lord Grange, that he wondered the Government were alarmed at any thing he did, and that he was only retired, lest by the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act he should be confined, and he had no ill designs. And the house being little where he was, and the weather good, he had, for conveniency, set up some tents to accommodate his friends.

However, the Government were acquainted by the Justice-Clerk of this gathering in the North, whereupon the half-pay officers were ordered down, and three pitiful regiments from Ireland.

The Providence of Scotland's God has been adorable at this very juncture. We had accounts of the French King's illness, and then of his death, which no doubt hath much disconcerted this hellish plot against the Government. And as this made the gathering at the Brae of Mar the more cautious for some time, so it made Government more remiss, and us, in this country, more secure than we had reason to be. However, the timing of this death at this juncture upon the 21st of August, our style, is what we

ought never to forget, and may well be numbered among the other *magnalia Dei* in behalf of poor Scotland.

During this time the Clan Bill passed both Houses, of which no doubt you'll have accounts in print, and the lieutenancies were appointed in Scotland, and put in good hands, and their powers very ample. But the misery is, they are not yet come down to us. Joint with these we had a list of suspect persons, to the number of fifty and [or] sixty, engaged in this plot, and these are cited in the terms of the act of Parliament, and by this time most of them are denounced.

All thir good acts put us in hopes the faction would have dispersed, and freed us of the confusions we are like to fall under. The embargo laid on the ships in France certainly stopped the coming of the Pretender and the Irish forces which were designed. And had not the French King been removed, I have no doubt but we had been ere this time a field of blood, and a dreadful civil war, upon this rising; troops would have been poured in on us, and we had been ruined before assistance could have come.

However, the Earl of Mar, with his friends, about the 1st of September, had a meeting, and, as we are informed, resolved, though the Pretender should not get over, they would go to the fields and try their strength. It's said that many of them are averse to this; the old Duke of Gordon will not meddle, though his son does. Bradalbin [Breadalbane] has thought fit to retire. But, notwithstanding of these, the E. of Mar pushes the matter, and has carried it, for an appearance. We conceive the Earl is so far involved that he cannot retire, and that the Government hath already as much against him as they need, otherwise we cannot understand the politick of this.

It may be this resolution of theirs did run upon a most dreadful design they had formed upon the Castle of Edinburgh, which was to have been surprised the 8th of September, and most providentially discovered by one of the accomplices, about two hours before the execution, and the execution stopped after the villains within had cast over the cords to pull up the scaling-ladders. This is a deliver-

ance for which I could keep a day of thanksgiving for it alone. Had it succeeded, all Scotland must presently have been ruined. All our arms and ammunition are there, a great sum of money, and furniture for thirty thousand men, and the bank was to have been seized, and six hundred horse were lying ready to have come in and proclaimed the Pretender, and laid the city under contribution.

Another plot was formed against the Castle of Stirling, much about the same time, but it never came to any bearing. Any small number of forces in the kingdom went to Stirling, at most about twelve or fourteen hundred men, and Edinburgh was left bare. The discovery of this horrid design put us all in aghast, and quickened us considerably. There was another attempt made on the castle upon twelve at night, but it came to no head.

Upon the 14th or 15th, the Duke of Argyle came to Edinburgh, after much expectation of him, and presently turned out Col. Stewart, and put in Brigadier Grant. The safety of the castle, under God, was owing to our good friend F. Lindsay. We are informed that when our general the Duke came, he did not believe there was any real rising in the North, and now, when he sees the danger we are in, it's expected he will use his interest at court to get down forces and assistance. But our eyes are upon God.

Upon the 16th, a detachment of the Angus and Coupar of Angus gentlemen came in and surprised the town of Perth. The Duke of Athole had sent down some men for its security, and the Earl of Rothes was within a few miles, with five hundred men, but the townsmen being many of them Jacobites the town was delivered without stroke of sword. We hear Barrowfield, Northside, Kerr, and some others, were with them. This is like to be a nest for them for some time. They have changed the magistrates, and put Provost Robertson in prison, and proclaimed the Pretender. There are about seven hundred men, they say, now lying there. All the passes are so strictly guarded, that we have no certain accounts of the state of things in the North. Only we hear that flying parties have proclaimed the Pretender at Dundee, Montrose, Aberdeen, and Inverness, and that the Highlanders have a

great deal of money among them, and have entered into an association never to lay down arms till they have dethroned King George, and extirpated Presbytery.

Upon the 16th, the General wrote to Glasgow, and all the burghs in the west, to send as many men as they could immediately to him at Stirling. Had the offers of the west country been taken at first, and not discouraged, by this time we might have been in case to have given considerable assistance. Upon Saturday the 17th, seven hundred men marched, and on the 18th and 19th, to Stirling; the men of the best note in the town venture themselves most heartily. And I hear they have the honour done them, as to have the town and castle of Stirling put to their hand.

Meanwhile, Glasgow is alarmed with an attack from the West Highlands, Rob Roy and the M'Gregors, Lochiel and Appin's men, and all the country about are come in to guard them. The E. of Kilmarnock came this day with four hundred of his men. Paisley and Hamilton make about three hundred, and Irvine and Kilwinning about as many. All these are now at Glasgow, and the General has sent orders to them all to stop there till further orders, and has ordered the fencible men of the west and south to rendezvous at Glasgow. The harvest is just at its throngest, and so the country can do little. But ten or twelve days of this excellent weather will put this over, and then, if the Lord continue the heartiness people are under, I question not, if need be, but we shall have a very numerous company at Glasgow.

The greatest part of the noblemen and gentlemen in the list are denounced and defaulted upon their non-compearance. I do not hear any are come in, but the Lord Lyon and Mr Jo. Fullarton. They say Achinbreak is likewise to come in. I am grieved for him for his worthy mother's sake.

This day, Sept. 21st, we have letters from the camp at Stirling, that, by any accounts they have there, the E. of Mar is not yet come out of the Braes of Mar; that Breadalbane has retired, and shut up himself, and his son Glenorchy is gone to Orkney, to be out of the way. That the company at Brae Mar are not above

twelve or fourteen hundred, and about seven hundred in Perth. Some private accounts tell us, that the Western Highlanders continue their design upon Glasgow, and are to be at Drummond Muir upon the 23d. Argyleshire muster to-morrow, and they say will amount to seven thousand men, who are ready to fall down on their back if they attempt it.

Thus matters are with us at this juncture. What the Lord will do with us we know not; he hath so wonderfully appeared at this juncture, that we are bribed, as it were, to bode well of Him. Our sins, indeed, are great, and enemies are desperate; and I hope it's their last struggle, and our God must have pity for his holy name's sake. Some think all depends on the actings of the discontented party in England. And the Earl of Mar pretends to have a paper, signed by many of the nobility and some of the clergy there, to rise and make a diversion there. If this was entered into before the French King's death, we hope the English will scarce venture their estates, now when the Duke of Orleans seems so hearty, and is continuing the embargo, and has granted Byng liberty to search the ships coming from Havre de Grace to Scotland. And if the English Jacobites fail their friends here, I hope a good account will be given of our rebels.

Meanwhile, we need and expect your prayers, and those of all the Churches abroad in our strait and choak. I cannot say but the Lord has in some measure prepared some of his people's hearts here to seek. Our trust is in Him. Pray let me have all your news, and an account of the state of the Churches abroad and with you, and all the new books, and every thing that is going. I remember your wife most kindly, and all acquaintances with you, and your Rev. coll., [colleague,] though unacquainted. I am, Rev. Dear Brother, yours most affectionately.

Sept. 21, 1715.

LETTER XXIII.

REMARKS ON SIR R. STEELE'S DEDICATION TO THE POPE.

To Thomas Smith, Esq., Member of Parliament for N. Britain.

DEAR SIR,—This comes to felicitate you upon your wife's safe delivery, of which you would have account last post; and this new opportunity, of your access (by another) to the holy mystery of baptism, brings me to the occasion of the trouble this letter gives you.

In the time of distraction and confusion this poor nation is under, I was some weeks ago diverting myself by reading the account of the state of the Roman Catholic religion, published by Mr Steele,¹ and was not a little surprised with his dedication.

So delicate and ingenious an author, whose writings I have hitherto read with so much pleasure and advantage, I confess gave me a sensible damp, when I found [him] fairly over to the Arian side. Before this, I found several innuendos in his performances, of the doctrines of free will, and power of nature, &c.; but these being so modish and common in the nation where you are, I concluded the gentleman [was] carried down with the common sentiments, without ever considering the other side of the question. Now, when I find him fairly over to Mr Whiston,² it confirms me

¹ Sir Richard Steele, the celebrated originator of those periodical works in literature, in the beginning of the last century, which acquired so great popularity. The work of Steele, with which Wodrow here finds fault, was published in 1715. It is entitled, "An Account of the State of the Roman Catholic Religion throughout the World, translated from an Italian Manuscript, with a Dedication to the Pope, giving him a very particular account of the State of Religion amongst Protestants, and of several other matters of importance relating to Great Britain." It has been said that this dedication was written for Sir Richard by some one more conversant with subjects of that nature than himself, though, it would seem, not much better qualified to write about them.

² Mr William Whiston, an eminent mathematician and divine, who, in the year 1706, began to entertain doubts concerning the Supreme Deity of Christ, and finally adopted the Arian views, in which he was confirmed by perusing the "Apostolical Constitutions." This work, which favours the Arian doctrine, he translated, and considered it the most sacred of the canonical books of the New Testament. Per-

in what I have many a time thought, that there is a chain betwixt errors, and Arminianism paves the way for Arianism and Socinianism, and that must lead the person to Deism, and rejecting of Revelation, since it's plainly irreconcilable to the Revelation we have in the Holy Scriptures; and if that be once casten, we shall fall upon no other; and I am persuaded, if the equality of the eternal Son of God, in point of Godhead or divinity with his Father, be denied, the Redeemer's satisfaction, no more infinite, is perfectly overturned, and our faith is in vain, and Christianity a mere name. Indeed, I cannot but wonder Mr Whiston's adversaries have not taken this (to me) solid way of exposing him to all real Christians. Their debates with him, and a far more close and neat writer, Dr Clarke,¹ anent the phrases in Scripture, in my opinion, will be end-

severing in holding his new opinions, he was, October 1710, expelled from the University of Cambridge, in conformity to a statute against maintaining doctrine contrary to the established religion, and in the following year he was deprived of his situation as Professor of Mathematics. Upon this he removed to London, and wrote his work, entitled "*Primitive Christianity Revived*," which was published in 1711, in 4 vols. 8vo, for which he was prosecuted before the Convocation. When he was maintaining and defending his views, regardless of all his temporal interests, some of his friends remonstrated with him on his imprudence; but he replied, "You may as well persuade the sun to come down from the firmament as to turn me from this my resolution." "Fancy," says one of his biographers, "predominating over judgment, a warm head and honest heart, enthusiastic fervour, and disregard to common forms and worldly consequences, were the leading features of his character."—(*Rees' Cyclopædia*.)

¹ Dr Samuel Clarke's sentiments on the doctrine of the Trinity came nearer to the orthodox views on that subject than Mr Whiston's. These he gave to the world in 1712, in his work, entitled "*The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*." He denied the self-existence of the Son and the Holy Spirit, and maintained their derivation from and subordination to the Father. At the same time he held the eternity of the Son and the Holy Spirit. Dr Clarke's book was replied to by various authors, the ablest of whom was Dr Waterland. In June 1714 it was brought under the consideration of the Lower House of Convocation, who addressed the Higher House respecting it, representing that it contained assertions contrary to the Catholic faith, as received and declared by the Reformed Church of England, concerning three persons of one substance, power, and eternity, in the unity of the Godhead, and tending to introduce confusion in the solemn acts of public worship as directed by the established Liturgy. The Bishops approved of the zeal of the Lower House for the preservation of the faith, promised to take the matter into consideration, and desired an extract of the passages in Dr Clarke's work which were most exception-

less and vain disputations. I wish the controversy were put upon this foot of plain matter of fact, and it might soon come to an issue.

But this is a matter I shall waive, and come to what is indeed of far less importance, and yet in what, it may be, the gentleman may come sooner to be sensible of his mistake, and that is, Mr Steele's groundless and injurious reflections upon the Church of Scotland, which I cannot wonder enough how he is fallen into; and, I presume, upon your concern for your mother church, you'll count yourself obliged to set him right in, and I conceive it would be service to the Church of Scotland, if he may be prevailed with to do us justice, and retract the vile calumny he hath most causelessly cast on us. Your interest in him, with a fair representation of matter of fact to him, will soon convince him of his mistake, which, I would fain hope, has not been designed.

I shall pass some innuendos which he might have well spared, and would, I hope, have done so, had he been at pains to inform himself as he ought, before he had published the satire upon the Reformation as pretending to infallibility. I dare say there is no thanks given to God every three years (Dedicat. p. 3) for the un-

able. The Lower House laid these extracts before the Bishops, June 23, 1714. A few days after, Dr Clarke, by the advice of his friends in the Upper House, especially the Bishop of Ely, his patron, gave in a paper to the Bishops, in which he thus expressed his sentiments on the doctrine of the Trinity:—"My opinion is, that the Son of God was eternally begotten by the eternal incomprehensible will of the Father. And that the Holy Spirit was likewise eternally derived from the Father by or through the Son, according to the eternal incomprehensible will and power of the Father." He also declared in his paper that he did not intend to preach or write any more on the subject treated in his doctrine of the Trinity. With this statement of his views, (although neither very explicit nor very accurate,) the Higher House were satisfied, entered the paper into their acts, and resolved that it was not fit to proceed any further upon the extract laid before them by the Lower House. Dr Clarke was blamed by his friend Whiston for submitting to the Convocation. He afterwards regretted having done so himself, and drew up a paper in explanation of that which he gave in to the Convocation, in which he maintained that the opinion delivered in his former paper was not different from that which he had professed and maintained in his book, and desired it might be so understood, and not as any retraction.—(*Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. iv. pp. 12-16.)

erring decisions of the Synod of Dort, and far less by the Magistrates in Holland, whom he makes the public mouth, it seems, on this solemn fictitious thanksgiving. P. 5, he is perfectly right when he alleges we say the Church of England is not enough reformed; but he is as far wrong when he supposes us to think the doctrine of the Church of England is Antichristian. The gentleman has never compared her doctrinal articles with our Confession, otherwise so distinct a writer would never have committed such a blunder. That our Kirk asserts her divine right to meet in judicatories for common concerns, is very true; but that she pretends to a divine right to enact what shall seem meet to her is a lie, and what is directly contrary to her own declarations and practice, and the very principle upon which our Reformation and coming from Popery is bottomed.

These are squibs one might easily bear from another, than Sir Richard Steele; but his reputation is so great, and his papers hitherto so well received, that I am afraid they give very ill impressions of this Church to a great many who read Mr Steele's writings with a great deal of implicit faith; and, therefore, I again wish you may use your good offices with him to give the world a better idea of us.

These reflections, perhaps, the gentleman in the heat of his fancy might inadvertently fall into; but what follows, p. 12, is an unaccountable falsity in plain matter of fact, that every way stuns me. He gives the most ill-natured and unjust representation of the solemn ordinance of baptism, as dispensed among us, I ever met with; and tells his Holiness that infants (with us) are baptized, not only into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, but into the pure doctrine professed and settled in the Church of Scotland.

Certainly this accurate writer has had hideous misrepresentations of our baptism made to him; for I cannot be so uncharitable as to think he coined this story. Some of our scandalous Jacobite expectants, that came to England for a bit of bread to get orders, have buzzed this story to some body that hath told it him. I

never read any thing came near this ; but the practice of one of the regular English clergy, Mr Philip Henry speaks of in his life, whom he heard baptize a child into the Church of England, and makes very biting, though very just, reflections upon it.

You can easily set the gentleman right, and tell him that parents are indeed obliged to educate their children according to the Scriptures of truth, and some do add, “ and agreeable to the Reformed Protestant doctrine, summed up in our Confession of Faith and Catechisms, Larger and Shorter,” though this is not by all used either, but what we are ready to defend. You can well let him know how much ignorance appears in confounding the holy ordinance of baptism with the engagements laid on parents as to the education of their children, before that ordinance be dispensed ; and I hope you’ll easily convince him of this vile misrepresentation of plain matter of fact, so as his candour and equity will prevail with him, as publicly to vindicate us as he hath aspersed us, and exposed his want of exact inquiry into our methods.

I fancy my sentiments in my last, some time in July, and the freedom I used, have not been acceptable to you. I shall only wish what I insinuate there, as my fears, come not to pass. The rebellion among us and the common enemy will at least do us that service, as we are like to have no trouble from public debates, whatever different practices we fall into. It may be my homely reflections on this great man’s unkind treatment of us in this Church may not be so unacceptable, and I earnestly wish you may take what methods appear best to you to wipe off thir calumnies cast upon us. This will be a public service to our interest, and particularly grateful to, yours most affectionately,

[ROBERT WODROW.]

Nov. 3, 1715.

LETTER XXIV.

THE COMMISSION.—DIFFICULTIES AS TO WHAT IS DUTY.

To the Rev. Mr John Flint, Minister at Edinburgh.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—In this time of distraction and confusion, it is a question to me whether the Commission can meet next week. For my own share, being a member, I would venture in, though travelling be hazardous enough; and we had accounts yesterday that a party of rebels, or well-wishers to them, were lying in wait some of thir days for my Lord Pollock, and designed to have taken his coach and riding horses, at the ordinary time of his coming in to the Session. However, this would not, I think, have deterred me, did the circumstances of my family admit my coming; but my wife is every day expecting her pangs, and upon many accounts, at such a juncture as this is, I cannot think of leaving her.

If the Commission shall meet, I pray the Lord may direct them in this hour of temptation to what may be seasonable and useful. For my own part, I see very little can be done, unless it be addressing his Majesty, and recommending frequent meetings for prayer and fasting, where the circumstances of the country allow it.

It's probable several of our Non-jurant brethren that be near you will be with you, and in all your consultations and mutual conferences, I pray and hope the Lord may be with you, and send forth his light and truth to direct you.

The present rebellion and broken state of the country, I suspect, has much diverted many from the consideration of the oath now imposed. The longer I think upon it, I the more wish there had been no re-imposition. And it's my humble opinion, that all cautious measures may be entered upon that may express our deepest

concern for the interests of the Government, now so deeply embarrassed by unreasonable and ungodly men, and that our conscientious scruples anent the oaths may be so managed, as we may evidence our utmost care for harmony at this nice juncture.

For my own share, my difficulties remain, and some of them are increased by the new act, and this appeared to be the general case of the Non-jurors in this Synod, when we met together in the beginning of the last month at Glasgow, when our Synod met. All brethren whose scruples remained were desired to come in at this Commission, that some common course might be fallen on. And it's very uneasy to me that my circumstances are such as I cannot be at the Commission, nor with my brethren.

We had a proposal before us as to an offer to the Government to take the simple allegiance, and the assurance should be made, and his Majesty entreated to accept of these as a testimony of our loyalty, and this to be joined with a short sum of our reasons why we cannot go into the re-imposed oath.

I cannot say I have come to any ripeness in my own mind what to advise in this case. I lay it down with myself that the less noise we make at this time as to our difficulties, it will be the more for the benefit of this poor broken Church, and the safety of the Government. It is a question with me, if there be not some and several of our very worthy brethren who want not their difficulties anent even a simple allegiance, since the Union, without some declaration that even that does not involve a consent to what they reckon unlawful; and how far such an application may go to break us among ourselves I do not know. And if such a proposal take, I wish there may be full jointness anent the reasons of refusing the re-imposed oath, and much caution in the petitory part of the paper, lest we either seem to fall in with the dispensing power, or seek a thing his Majesty, though never so willing, hath not in his power to give without the Parliament. Besides, I very much fear a joint application at this time not only be looked on as very unseasonable above, but it will be improven by ignorant people as a condemnation of our brethren who have clearness to renew their oath.

Upon the whole, I am, indeed, at a stand. I wish somewhat were done, if I knew what were proper to vindicate ourselves, if called to suffer, and [for the] information of the Government, providing it may not widen the breaches [that] may flow from our different practices. And yet sometimes I am ready to think that our silence at present, and taking our hazard as we did before, may be as much for the interest both of the Church and of the Government.

Allow me to beg you'll favour me with a line as soon as you can, with accounts of all that is done by the Commission, if they meet, and our brethren at their conferences. And give my dearest respects to Mr Hart, and tell him how much I long to hear from him. I am, Rev. Dear Sir, yours most affectionately.

Nov. 4, 1715.

LETTER XXV.

PROGRESS OF THE REBELLION, AND ITS CAUSES.

To the Rev. Mr Robert Black, Minister at Rotterdam.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—Though I have no account yet of your receipt of my last, about the close of September, yet I shall go on with an account of the progress of this unhappy rebellion, the Earl of Mar, and none other, has unhappily raised among us. I am sure abroad, where the temper of the party is not known, they will be surprised that Protestants, as they call themselves, should rise up against so great and excellent a prince as our Sovereign King George, in favours of a Popish Pretender, who it seems has no great mind to venture himself among them. They will make a bigoted Papist a King against his will; and I question not but all the reformed world are crying shame upon Scotland for this. It's truly matter of regret, and the fruit of too much lenity in former times, and want of zeal against these hidden enemies in our own bosoms. And you will take care I hope in your public capacity to let as many as you can know the true state of this affair, and how little these

rebels deserve the name of Protestants, and how much they are disclaimed by all true Scotsmen. And it may be after I have given you a hint how matters have gone since my last, I may offer some few general remarks upon this unnatural and wicked rebellion.

The English newspapers, which no doubt you will have weekly, will give you the general thread of this business, and I apprehend you'll have it sooner this way than you can from me. So I shall only hint at a very few things.

After the rebels had most unaccountably surprised the town of Perth, it was some days before the Earl of Mar came thither, and he lay some considerable time there before he got up his people from the north, and Huntly and others he expected joined him. And when they were come up, they continued there several weeks before the clans came and joined them.

It was a great pity Argyle¹ had not a sufficiency of regular troops to have dissipate them before they came to a head, and the clans came up to them. But of five thousand men the Government pays for Scotland, I am ashamed to tell you how few he had with him, or yet hath. I question if, when all our Scots regiments were up with him, he had two thousand effective men; and now he has got a regiment of horse and three of foot from Ireland, so few are the men in each regiment, that he is yet little above three thousand, so that all he can do is to guard Stirling pass, and the whole country lies open to them beyond Forth.

Accordingly, their parties came through all Fife, and the gentry being generally disaffected, and the common people unarmed and inactive, there was nothing to hinder the rebels to do as they listed through all that shire. Accordingly, they came first through it, and took all the arms they could find, and proclaimed the Pretender in most of the towns, and seized upon all the customhouses, and took what money they could find, and continued to uplift the taxes, and then laid a cess upon all lands, and so much tax upon the towns as they saw good; so that shire is like to be a desolation, and pay

¹ The Duke of Argyle was Commander in Chief of his Majesty's forces in Scotland.

for their remissness ; and I am of opinion if once this cloud were over, this will be an effectual cure of their Jacobitism.

Through some treachery they seized some arms at Burntisland, and then gathered together all the boats along the coast, and sent over about 2000 foot to East Lothian, and were very near to have seized Edinburgh, as you will see by the public accounts. There is a vast number of disaffected persons there, and had it not been for the activity of a few, and (as some inform me) the castle's threatening to ruin the town, if they opened their gates to the rebels, and, above all, the Duke of Argyle's seasonable coming with a few of his forces, it's probable the town had been delivered up to them as they expected.

Here the Duke of Argyle was in a great strait ; he was pressed to come with the army to cover Edinburgh ; and Mar, in the mean time, advanced with his whole army within four miles of Stirling, and was very near crossing Forth, and would have been in on Glasgow and the west of Scotland ; but through the General's vigilancy both was prevented, and he was back at Stirling in forty-eight hours, and ready to receive Mar, after he had covered Edinburgh.

The rebels went south to the Borders and lay about Kelso, and were joined with six hundred horse from England, and three from Galloway and Niddisdale, under Kenmure, Niddisdale, and the disaffected in the South. This appeared threatening enough till General Carpenter came down to Jedburgh with about twelve hundred regular troops, upon which, and some divisions among the rebels anent their marching to England, which the Highlanders refused to do, they are marched southward, as it's supposed by Carlisle towards England, and Carpenter at their heels. Four hundred Highlanders came off in a body, and are mostly taken ; three hundred of them and upwards are in Glasgow tolbooth. Their design was to have marched to Ayr and these coasts, and forced the boats, and gone over to the Highlands. We have not yet any distinct accounts of the rest of them.

As their barbarities were dreadful in Fife, where all the ministers are forced to fly, and they have even raised up some of my Lord

Rothes's children, and mangled their dead bodies ; so they were very unmerciful in the South-East, and have ruined the country whither they came. In short, except this part of the country, Ayrshire, and Renfrew, and the West, the most part of the nation have tasted of their tender mercies, which are cruel.

In the beginning of October my Lord Isla went down to Argyleshire, and gathered the militia about Inverary. But that shire is but on ill terms with the family, and matters were like to be in hazard there for some time. My Lord Isla was obliged to entrench himself, with about fifteen hundred, near Inverary, and about three thousand of the Camerons, Breadalbane's and Glenorchy's men, came and viewed his camp, and saw fit to retire. They are now joined Mar, as also Seaforth's men from the north, so that now Mar is at his height, and they are given out to be eleven thousand men. My Lord Sutherland, with the Frasers, Rosses, Monroes, have not been able to prevent this ; but we have no distinct accounts how matters stand with them.

In October our Synod met, and laid aside all ordinary business, and spent our time in prayer, while committees were drawing an affectionate address to the King, and a Warning to the people, which is printed, and you'll no doubt have. The week after the Synod of Stirling drew up a Warning, which is likewise in the prints.

Glasgow hath all the militia of the neighbouring shires at it these five or six weeks, and they, with the townsmen, will make about 4000 men. There are about 2000 militia in Dumfries. They are just now casting a trench about Glasgow, twelve feet broad and seven deep, which is near complete, and is a great labour. They expect considerable security from it, more, indeed, than I can promise myself.

Thus matters stand with us at present. We have been in no such confusion since Montrose his time. What the issue will be must be left to Providence. They talk that Mar is fortifying Perth, Auchterarder, and the Bridge of Earn, and designs to quarter in Perth this season till the outcome of the year.

• You will perhaps wonder the Duke of Argyle does nothing, but the reasons are evident enough. Except a little scuffle at Dunfermline, where Colonel Cathcart took some seventeen prisoners, and killed several, there has been no blood as yet. The Duke reckons himself in a great strait to fight with a set of poor people, the generality of whom are forced, and kept by force. He reckons Mar's following must decrease; and the horse he hath with him are all Mar can trust to, and the grounds are such as our General's horse cannot approach them. Besides, the Duke's numbers are very small, and it has been a great matter for him to keep the rebels on the other side of Forth.

What I am now going to write is only my own fears, and what I shall not say is any more than surmise and jealousy. It's certain enough the Court have been very slow in giving any assistance to the Duke. They either do or will not believe the hazard we are in. And it may be the Duke wants not his enemies in England. And some blame another great Duke, very famous in the world, with whom Argyle has not been in good terms these many years, who would not be ill pleased (if he be not wronged and misrepresented) to see Argyle in difficulty.

You'll likewise have heard of the difference between the Duke of Argyle and Montrose; and how far the squadron,¹ whose head the latter was, party [side with] Montrose, I shall not say. But some are pleased to think, that the Earl of Rothes might have done more in Fife than he has done. It's a sad matter the country should suffer through our unhappy parties.

¹ The *squadron* was a party in the State, at first headed by the Marquis of Tweeddale, and composed of his friends and others, who were turned out of the ministry shortly after the management of Scotch affairs had been put into their hands in 1704, on account of which they were much disgusted. They affected to belong neither to the Whigs, nor to the Tories, nor to the Jacobites, nor to the country party; and were called *Squadron Volante*, because they pretended to turn the balance in Parliament, causing that party to preponderate, into whose scale they cast their influence. They supposed that thus they would make themselves considerable to the Court. The Duke of Montrose was one of the heads of the squadron; Argyle belonged to the Whigs or Revolutioners.—(*Campbell's Life of John Duke of Argyle*, p. 94.)

Unless Providence interpose, we are to have a sorry winter in this country, and this disturbance is not like to be soon over. I pray the Lord keep peace in England and Ireland. We have some rumours, as if Ormond were at Dublin, where he may do much hurt, being very popular in that kingdom. But we pray and hope that all will end well.

I shall now put an end to your trouble, with some general reflections upon this rising and rebellion now in this poor nation, not so much for your information, who know our circumstances, as to give you matter of reflection, and occasion to inform others, who, I am persuaded, are mightily surprised at such a turn in Scotland.

The toleration under the late reign did bring matters some way to a head. You know we have had a set of people among us, who have been a dead weight upon this Church since the Revolution, especially in the North; and the outed clergy there kept up the flame, and effectually kept disaffection and Jacobitism in life. And the endeavours in the Church to settle the Gospel in the North and Highlands, through the slackness of the State in holding hand to this good work, had but a small influence among a few of the common people; but the gentry continued still disaffected to the Government and Gospel, and, unless it was in some of the towns, and the trading part of the people, malignancy continued, and the landed interest remained in their dislike at both. It was certainly a very ill and impolitic part in our Presbyterian managers in the State, that, notwithstanding of all the applications from ministers and well affected persons, so little was done against Papists and intruders all King William's time, and in the beginning of Queen Anne's reign. And after the Union, which, by its burdens in civil things, gave a plausible handle to inflame people against the Government, several things fell in that increased the mischief. The distance was so great betwixt this and the seat of Government our Scots Council was suppressed, and we had nobody to execute the laws said to be reserved to us; and, above all, the influence of High Church in England, who parted [sided with] our disaffected party, and stopped all prosecution of them.

Yea, the late ministry, under the four last years of Queen Anne, for reasons plain enough, pretty openly espoused the cause of the disaffected party in this kingdom, who were concerned in the invasion 1708, and now have brought this insurrection to this head. The Earl of Mar was at the head of our Scots affairs, and pensions were given the clans under pretence of keeping them firm to the Government; and an open correspondence was kept among them at their huntings, and by them with France and the Pretender. Arms were very openly brought in, and they empowered to work all this mischief now on foot. And meanwhile, till a few months before the Queen's removal, the honest party were lying still in a lethargy and doing nothing.

All this was helped on by the legal toleration given to the Episcopal party, in such odd and boundless terms as wants a parallel in any established Church. By this the prelatie teachers recovered strength, openly, under the colour of right and law, made their intrusions, set up the English forms, and declared in favour of Papists, closely hedged with them, and their meetings were daily rendezvouses for the Jacobites. Their schemes were laid, and all things ripened for the pass we are brought to. The Government was never prayed for, unless in such ambiguous terms, as were more applicable to the Pretender than Queen Anne; and that part of the Liturgy relating to the Protestant succession, was passed by those who used it to curry favour with England.

Add to this the fire-ball thrown in upon this Church by the imposition of the oaths in the Toleration Act, which not only miserably rent the ministry and people, but, in some places, turned out several worthy persons from their votes in the choice of Magistrates and Members of Parliament, and many were laid aside from appearing publicly who were hearty friends to the succession.

And the Patronage Act, joined with this, wonderfully stenghtened the disaffected gentry and nobility in the north and other places, helped on the ill effects of the Toleration, embarrassed the Church, and kept great numbers of parishes vacant. Thus matters were prepared for the revolution, or rather restoration, as the Ja-

cobites called it, that was certainly projected about the time of the Queen's death.

This, with the King's happy and peaceable accession, was so wonderful a turn of Providence, as broke their measures in part, and for a while stunned the party so that it was some time before they recovered themselves. But quickly enough they resolved to make a bold push for all, and make one struggle, which I hope may be their last, and will pull down an old house about their ears.

I cannot but think that their project was deeply laid, and the most probable and feasible, (had not the Lord in his providence interposed, by the French King's death,) of any thing ever formed. The run was more than equal, had Louis lived to have supported it, and the prize was great, the universal monarchy for him, and the ruin of our liberty and reformation, with that of all the Churches of Christ.

When the Earl of Mar left London about the 10th or 12th of August, humanly speaking, he had one of the fairest games before him that ever a man had. His hands were full of money; arms and ammunition had been conveyed to the north in great quantity; the Duke of Berwick, with several thousands of Irish and French Papists, were ready to land in the west. Great were their hopes from the disaffection of most of the counties in England, and the friends of the Government in Scotland were in a poor defenceless condition.

The unforeseen providence of the French King's death, indeed, was choking; but now they were embarked, and, so far in, there was no retiring. And it may be, the great turn in France and the temper of the Regent embarrassed them as much as Louis' death; and if their original subscriptions, and the whole of their scheme, was laid before King George, as is said, this, no doubt, put them upon all extremities, and now they must push as far as Providence will suffer them for our punishment.

It was a great pity the Government either did not know, or would not believe the hazard this nation was under, sooner, and

that the Duke of Argyle was so long a-coming. A little time sooner, with a regiment or two of horse, might have prevented their gathering, or soon dissipate them. But that cunning trickster Mar imposed upon the poor people, and made them believe one day one lie, and another day another, and his friends openly ridiculed such as spoke of our danger, from this topic, that the Government were not bestirring themselves; and it was likewise a great loss that the Lieutenants were so long in coming down and acting. The militia is scarce well up yet, and up in such a way as hinders very much their training, since there are weekly exchanges of the persons pitched upon, and new men come in their stead; and many of the volunteers, after six weeks' attendance, reckon they have done their part.

And now, when there is a fair siding, you will observe with me, that the whole Liturgy men in Scotland, I think, almost without exception, are joined with Mar; and the most-part of those who are prelatically inclined, and none but such, with the Papists, are in his army. For any thing I can learn, there is not one who ever was reckoned Presbyterian who is with him; yea, even Messrs Hepburn and M'Millan pretend they will act in separate bodies against this rebellion, and are pretty well armed and might do service, if their counsels and meetings were stedfast and fixed; but one day they are one way and the next another.

The Earl and his rebels are likewise noturly perjured. Many with him, as well as himself, have taken the oaths to King George, and have abjured the Pretender. They have most impiously appealed to God, to whom vengeance belongs, by their oath, when they meant no such thing as to keep it; and they have now appealed to the same God, by their entering into war, and I make no question but in his own time he will determine against them; and to complete the wicked farce, we hear, Wednesday last the Earl of Mar had a fast through his army for the restoration of his King, and concluded the humiliation day with a ball at Perth. Such impious profanity cannot go very long unpunished.

Especially if you add the inhumanity he and his adherents are

noturely [notoriously] guilty of. The barbarous treatment of the burial place of my Lord Rothes at Leslie, and mangling some of his children's bodies till the stench put them away. The worse than Turkish commissions given by Panmure and Southesk for treating ministers and their families in the Mearns and Angus, in methods I blush to write, are instances of this perfectly unknown before in this country.

The most part of the ministers in that country were forced to fly for their lives, and some of them are with me at the writing of this; and we hear many of their pulpits are filled with Episcopal intruders, who all pray for the Pretender.

Upon the whole, I am very hopeful that when this dark and black cloud is over, it will in the issue tend effectually to purge this land; and whatever desolations these unreasonable and ungodly men may be suffered to make in the country, yet, I think, their ruin is hastening, and we are, by this Providence, like to be for ever rid of a great many that have been dead weights on this Church for many years; and it's probable that both Popery and Prelacy in the north of Scotland will receive a wound by this, which, I hope, shall never be cured, and it's like several unworthy men crept into charges may now discover themselves, so as our brethren may, when they return, be rid of them.

Thus, at considerable length, I have given you what offers to me upon the present posture of this Church and nation. The Lord himself interpose and pity us! for I think vain is the help of man. I am, Rev. Dear Brother, yours most sincerely.

Nov. 8, 1715.

P. S.—The time is now drawing near when the re-imposed oaths must be taken. Our practices are still like to be different upon this head; but the confusions of the country are like to free us from the public debates we had before upon this head.

LETTER XXVI.

ON THE OATHS OF ABJURATION AND ALLEGIANCE.

For Mr James Hart.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 2d current, for which this comes heartily to thank you ; and although I cannot give you so full an account of our circumstances in this country as I hope to be in case afterwards to send you, I would not delay the first post to send what offers.

At our last Synod in October, we had a meeting in the intervals, where the new act of Parliament was read and a little talked on, and the whole brethren present seemed very unclear as to the abjuration, and all were desired to come in to the meeting of the Commission in November, with their last resolutions. An address to the King was talked of, begging that as many as joined in it might be allowed to take the allegiance and sign the assurance. This did not relish with several, and all was remitted to the meeting at the Commission, which the confused state of the nation hath hindered. However, all centred in this, that as little public noise ought to be made anent our scruples as might be, and all care should be taken to remove any prejudices that were talked of among some country people as to the King's affection to this Church, from the re-imposition of the oath.

Accordingly, all this time I have heard almost nothing anent the oath. Those who had not clearness to qualify before had no meetings I know of, and resolved to lie by and keep at their ministerial work.

Our Presbyteries, through this Synod, meet every Wednesday for prayer, and last Wednesday the 30th, we found our brethren in this Presbytery who had formerly qualified, resolved to lie by at

this time, and not to take the oaths of new. From the accounts they had from Glasgow and Edinburgh, that considering the one half of this Church, by reason of the present distractions, could not have opportunities of qualifying, it was generally concerted to delay at this time, from the prospect of a new day. It was not our business to say any thing as to our brethren's practice, but [we] were glad to find ourselves again unanimous.

I hear upon the same day the Presbytery of Glasgow, at their meeting for prayer, came to the same resolution of a delay. It seems upon Wednesday's night they had some accounts from Edinburgh, that friends at Court expected that ministers should take the oaths, and not slip the day; whereupon circular letters were writt to brethren out of town signifying so much, and calling a Presbytery upon Thursday the 1st of December. The three Non-jurants in the Presbytery, it seems, did not think fit to go in, nor any almost of the country brethren. However, there was a quorum of the Justices of the Peace met at Glasgow, where I hear the Professor, (the Principal, I suppose, qualified with you at Edinburgh,) the town ministers, Mr Ewen at Calder, Mr William Hamilton at Bothwell, took the oaths. I do not hear of any other but these named. I have not yet heard any account from other Presbyteries in this Synod; but I suppose few or none have qualified from the concert I have just now hinted at.

As to your practice at Edinburgh,¹ I am still pleased with any

¹ Mr Hart, in his letter, informed Wodrow, that at the last Synodical Meeting of his bounds, several meetings were held by Non-jurant brethren from several parts of the country, who were then in town by reason of the confusion of the times, and that all of them being still in the dark with respect to the Abjuration Oath, it was proposed whether they had clearness to take the Oath of Allegiance, and to subscribe the Assurance, if Justices of Peace or Magistrates could be found to administer the same without the Abjuration; and that the most part then present seemed to be clear to take the Oath of Allegiance, and to subscribe the Assurance. Mr Hart farther stated, that the Justices of the Peace in Edinburgh being friendly to this proposal, Messrs Flint, M'Laren, Miller, M'Vicar, Guthrie, Clarkson, and himself, on the 30th of November, took the Oath of Allegiance, and subscribed the same, with the Assurance, and gave in a paper, which they subscribed judicially, in which they testify their unfeigned zeal, not only for the support of the King's person and government, but also for the Protestant succession in his Royal Family, which they

thing that may keep us joint and unite, especially at this juncture, with all necessary evidences of our loyalty to our Sovereign, and could have heartily signed the paper you gave in. And I do not much question but the bulk of the ministers in this country, who had not clearness to take the Abjuration in the first shape of it, would have essayed to have got favourable Justices of the Peace to have administrate the Allegiance and Assurance, had the proposal been timeously made to them before the 1st of December. How far it will be gone into now, when the most have expectations of a new day, I do not know.

But when I am apprehensive there may be some, both ministers and others, who will not want their difficulties even upon a simple allegiance, not in the least from any disloyalty to King George, or the least tincture of Jacobitism, or dislike at the Protestant succession, which they prayed for before it so happily took effect, and rejoice in now, and will venture their all for; but partly from their aversion to the present promiscuous imposition of state oaths upon ministers of the Gospel, and members of the Church, upon every turn, and especially in our present circumstances of two different national Church establishments, which they reckon a grievance, some time or other, a stand must be made against; partly from the apprehension some have taken up, that public oaths, in the present state of things, are really no security to the Government, which they heartily wish well to, and through the universal laxness of the age perfectly fall short of their design, and so become unnecessary, and really no test of loyalty. And such as are of thir sentiments must state their sufferings upon the present season, being the juncture to give their testimony against this, and it being now a *casus confessionis*, though I am persuaded it's no small choak to think this should be in the entry of King George's reign. The apprehensions

faithfully promise to support, maintain, and defend, in opposition to all Pretenders whatsoever, and especially to the present Pretender. Mr Hart adds, "We do not think that what we have done will be any security to us against the penalties we are liable to by law for refusing the Abjuration, but our only view was to take off the scandalous imputation of Jacobitism, and to give a legal evidence of our loyalty to King George."—*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. x. p. 154.

of even the allegiance involving a consent to the foundation of our present constitution, the Union, weighs with others who would have had no difficulty as to an Oath of Allegiance before this fundamental alteration of our constitution. And I have heard some few urge that an allegiance itself does import a subjection unto the known laws, at least such as relate to their station and office; the King's coronation oath, to which our allegiance referreth, being to rule us according to law, and our corresponding allegiance necessarily importing our obedience to him while acting according to these laws known to us and not testified against. And such question whether any testimony hath been given since the passing the toleration and patronages into laws, as will sufficiently salve any reference an after Oath of Allegiance may have to these iniquitous impositions.

Thus I have, in all freedom, laid before you what I have heard in conversation urged upon this head; and I cannot but own some of these things are matter of thoughtfulness and difficulty with me, so far as to render me doubtful as to what would be my practice if the proposal had come to my door before the elapsing of the day. I cannot say, indeed, that the distractions and confusions, these three or four months, have permitted me to come to any final determination as to my practice; and, therefore, I'll be very fond to have all that offers to you upon these heads, which will be very satisfying and very useful.

I came to determine myself so far as to state my sufferings anew, if the Lord order them out upon a refusal of the Abjuration in this new form of it. And in yours you point out what is indeed my real strait, not to evade the penalties which, with much more, I cheerfully leave to Providence; but how to give real and sufficient evidences of loyalty to King George, for want of which my heart does not reproach me, and to distinguish myself from the refusers upon a Jacobite lay, and yet to manage both so as I may not be involved in approbation of what I reckon sinful. And if in the issue I shall not reach the length of my dear brethren, which I do not so much as love to suppose, yet I hope I shall, in preaching,

praying, and my actions, give what is a real discovery of my affection to the King and Protestant succession, though I should be straitened to do it in point of swearing.

I pray the Lord may in his Providence order this matter so as this poor Church may be restored to its former unity and harmony. And I would fain hope that some way or other he will do it; and in the issue it would seem, indeed, that there will be very few Non-jurors, and the more [who] have light given them from the Lord to qualify, and the less noise any who want it make to the disturbance of this Church, I'll be the more satisfied. The difficulties of a few as to the allegiance to King William was so managed that there was no rent, nor any notice taken of it. I suspect, in our present circumstances, there may be more recusants than formerly, and yet if the Lord would allow us a spirit of love and peace, I hope matters might be managed as no hazard to the Government, or hurt among the people or ourselves, might ensue.

I need not offer to write any news to you, since we have none but what come from you. The militia we had at Glasgow are all of them almost allowed to go home, from the prospect the Duke of Argyle has of the Dutch forces. I beg you may write all your accounts to me from time to time, and do not grudge half an hour now and then, even under the experience you have of the sorry returns I can make you. If peace continue, I hope in a week or two to end my first rude draught of the History of the Sufferings; it's turning very bulky on my hand, and the third book is fully larger than both the first and second.—I am, Rev. and Dear Brother, yours, &c.

Dec. 6, 1715.

P. S.—I forgot to take notice, that all the difficulties which arise from the narrative of the last act of Parliament imposing the oaths, do affect the swearers of the Allegiance upon that act, and signers of the Assurance. It's needless to dip upon them. The plain reference to the Union Act does very much strengthen what is above

as to that, and the security to the Churches of England and Scotland by the imposing of the oaths does appear straitening to some.

LETTER XXVII.

THE BATTLE OF SHERIFFMUIR.

To the Rev. Mr Robert Black, Minister at Rotterdam.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—It is about a month hence I brought down the history of our unnatural rebellion unto you, as far as I could at that time. Since that time there is a very comfortable turn in our affairs, though I cannot say it's complete.

In the beginning of November, the Earl of Mar had the certain accounts of the designed accession of the Dutch troops to the Duke of Argyle; and a council of war was called at Perth, where it was advised whether to attack our army before their assistants came up to them or not. We are informed the Earl of Mar, (by the Pretender's patent the Duke of Mar,) in his ordinary cunning, for which he is famed, was very much against coming up to Stirling to attack our army, and that for this good reason, among others, that though the Dutch forces were coming up, yet their troops, being mostly Highlanders, would endure a great deal of more fatigue than the Duke's regular troops could do, or the troops which were coming up to him, and they would easily outweary them, especially in the winter season, and put matters off till the spring, by which time he questioned not their King would be with them, or assistance from abroad. Though this reasoning wanted not its own weight, yet it seems it did not influence the council of war, but it was carried, by plurality of votes, that an attempt should be made upon Stirling or the Duke if he came out to meet them. Accordingly, upon the 10th and 11th of November, Mar's army marched to

Auchterarder in very vast numbers, at least they were computed thirteen thousand, though they say a thousand or more deserted in the march. The Duke went out to meet them upon the 12th, and upon Sabbath the 13th the battle was at Sheriffmuir. You'll have accounts from the prints of the circumstances of the battle, which we term that of Dunblane, and therefore I shall only make such remarks as I have not observed in the prints.

There seems to have been a special Providence that Mar did not divide so numerous an army, and with part of them entertained the Duke at Dunblane, and with the rest of them essayed to cross the Forth above Stirling, and come in towards Glasgow and the west, and forced his way to England. But the Lord would have it otherwise, and perhaps Mar promised himself much from his superiority in numbers, the Duke, indeed, being but about three thousand four hundred men. Another step of Providence we remark is, that it was a pretty hard frost, which, if it had not been, the Duke's army, the best part of which was horse, would have been of no use to him, because of the marshy ground, and, as it was, some of his horse were mired.

The armies drew near [each] other, and about eleven of the clock the engagement began. The Duke was upon our left wing, and led in person. The left wing was commanded by General Whetham, and the centre by General Wightman. Some of our best troops were upon the left wing, who advanced to a piece of ground more advantageous than that they had formed upon at first, and before they were formed on their new ground, by the activity of Major Clephon, who some time ago went off from the Duke of Argyle to Mar, were attacked before they were formed, and while upon their march, and were broke upon the first attack; the horse retired, and put the foot in disorder, and General Whetham retired the length of Stirling bridge. Here was the loss we had, and it seems to have been a very dishonourable retreat, and Whetham is extremely blamed, though he says it was to secure the pass at Stirling that he retreated. Another step of Providence here was, that the rebels

pursued not our forces in their retiring above a quarter of a mile, which can scarce be accounted for in them, and renders Whetham's retreat altogether inexcusable.

It was a mercy we ought never to forget, that the wing under the Duke, scarce fifteen hundred men, did not likewise give way when they had five thousand to deal with ; but instead of this, after receiving the first fire, they rushed in upon the enemies, and entirely broke them, and pursued them three miles of way, and killed vast numbers of them. I hear the surest computations are not under a thousand men or fifteen hundred. The wounded and the taken upon both sides you have from other papers; and so I enter not upon this. The Earl of Mar encouraged his people with a false account of the party in England having chased the King's troops there, and got a victory over them. The Highlanders fought desperately, and have a vast reputation, and had they had bayonets in their pieces, it's probable they might have stood their ground against our horse. Both wings were lined with Highlanders, and the people Mar had from Angus and Mearns were of no great use to him; and they pretend their horses did them no service. It's certain the Highlanders and Clans bare the brunt of the action, and vast numbers of them were killed, and they, indeed, did any thing that was done.

It was another wonder of mercy that the rebels' victorious wing did not fall in and flank Argyle, when his left wing was four or five miles fled, and cut off his retreat ; but the Lord ordered it well. If the left wing had been formed before attacked, or in time returned to the Duke, it's probable the victory had been complete. And as it is, it is very considerable, and what the hand of God does very remarkable. The best of the rebels' men are dissipate and cut off, and the bravest of their leaders are killed. The Captain of Clanronald is much commended as an excellent soldier. We mightily regret the gallant Earl of Forfar, who is yet in great hazard, and was most barbarous[ly] wounded after he had surrendered, and wonderfully preserved by one of the rebels. So that, on the whole, though "the Lord has not slain them, lest we should

forget," yet he hath "scattered" them, and I hope will bring them down. The Duke waited another bout to-morrow, but the rebels were retired, and the Duke came back on Monday evening to Stirling.

When Whetham came to wait on the Duke on Tuesday, he said he blushed to look him in the face, and wished he had died in the field. The Duke said such a mistake, in a young man like himself, might have gone far to ruin his reputation; but he was an old general, and his reputation established, and generals might fall into mistakes as well as others. They tell me there was a review of the troops at Stirling a day or two after the battle, and General Wightman, in the Duke's name, returned thanks to the right wing for behaving themselves so well, and to the other wing under Whetham he did not give thanks, but told them there might be another action shortly, wherein he hoped they would behave better. This chagrined the officers, and they complained heavily, alleging they had obeyed orders, and that Whetham was to be blamed, and not they.

Cadogan is expected at Edinburgh to-morrow, and various are the conjectures anent his coming down. Some talk as if he were sent down to be check upon Argyle, being very much upon Marlborough's party, who is said to have opposed the sending more forces to Scotland, alleging sufficient numbers were there to quash a Scots rabble, and that he would go through all Scotland with three thousand men. And the Prince, it's said, took him up, and said he might be sent down to Scotland to try his hand, and Argyle might be called up. But how far this is true I know not.

Since the battle there hath been very great desertion from Mar, and matters seem to be under a kind of suspension. It's said Col. Laurence has been sent from the Clans with proposals anent an indemnity; but it is looked on as a design to gain time, and if Mar expect the Pretender, Argyle is expecting the Dutch forces, and both sides seem to agree in the desire of a breathing time.

Meanwhile, the Dutch troops are on their road, and about fourteen hundred armed. So matters stand in a kind of balance. The

Lord himself send a comfortable issue! I am your affectionate Brother.

Dec. 19, 1715.

LETTER XXVIII.¹

DIFFICULTIES AS TO THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.

*To Mr John Williamson, Minister of the Gospel at Edinburgh,
[Musselburgh.]*

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—By my accounts from Edinburgh, I find you have not got up the length of the rest of my very dear brethren, who were formerly Nons. I have writ my mind fully to Mr Hart anent my difficulties as to the Allegiance and Assurance. But since his practice in taking them may, perhaps, not permit him to write to me so fully as I could wish, I resolved to apply myself to you, whom, by your practice, I find under difficulties, and, perhaps, under some of mine.

¹ The next letter in the Collection it has been thought proper to omit. It occupies fifteen closely written pages, and is addressed to the Rev. Mr Hart. At a meeting of a considerable number of Non-jurors at Edinburgh, an Address to the King, in which they profess their attachment to his person and Government, their willingness to swear the Allegiance and sign the Assurance, and pray his Majesty to “find out some expedient to prevent the inconveniences that attend the present state of things with respect to the Abjuration,” had been prepared, together with a declaration of their loyalty, to be published to the world; and draughts of these papers were to be sent to the Non-jurors throughout the country for their consideration. Mr Flint and Mr Hart, by the appointment of that meeting, had sent copies of them to Wodrow, to be communicated by him to the Non-jurors in his own Presbytery, and in some of the Presbyteries surrounding him. His letter, in reply, is a discussion upon the inexpediency of either addressing the King, or of publishing a Declaration of their loyalty. This Address, being transmitted to the Non-jurors, was subscribed by upwards of a hundred ministers, who sent up the Rev. William Guthart to present it to the King. His mission was so far successful, that the oath was altered, and framed in such a way as they could take it.—(*Boston's Mem.* p. 352.)—The Address and Declaration will be found in the Appendix.

It's near a year since I begged the Rev. Mr Hog's help under what scruples then offered to me, in the views of a re-imposition, and had a very sweet and satisfying return from that great man, which, indeed, did not remove them, for he was under some of them himself.

In short, then, I am under the apprehension that public oaths, through the laxness of the age, are turned tests not sufficient for discovering loyalty, for the want of which my heart does not reproach me; and are so far fallen short of the end of their imposition, that they appear to me unnecessary. The Allegiance to me seems to relate to the sinful united state we are under,¹ and involve an approbation of it. And, further, even a simple allegiance, under the views I have of it, refers to my subjection to the known laws not repealed, especially such as affect my station in the ministry, and to bind me to obey the Prince I swear to, when acting according to them; and, in a word, all the difficulties in the act of imposition, from the intent and design of the act, and the penalties enacted, to me seem as much to affect the simple Allegiance as they do the Abjuration, in the refusing of which we centre.

These are some of my difficulties, and I earnestly beg your help out of them, if you can give it me, and your thoughts of them either to solve or confirm me in them; for I desire to lay myself fully open to light, with my eyes fixed upon the Lord in the use of all means. And if the imputation of Jacobitism continue, under my real and conscientious difficulties about oaths, I seek your thoughts what may be the best methods for one who wants latitude as to present public oaths, to purge himself of it, besides his hearty praying, preaching, and acting for King George.

Compliments were never my talent, and I shall not say how very useful your full freedom upon these heads, and our present circumstances as to oaths will be to me. You stand at the principal watch-tower, and have the benefit of conversation, and reasoning, and the

¹ The Union with England, which Wodrow, with many others, regarded as based on sinful conditions.

knowledge of many matters of fact, which we truly want in the country. I hope you will not grudge to communicate your reasonings and light on this head to, Rev. Dear Brother, yours, &c.

Dec. 19.

Send all your news.

LETTER XXXI.

WITH A MEMORIAL AGAINST THE ABJURATION OATH.

To the Rev. Mr Thomas Linning, Minister at Lesmahagow.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—It was but this day Mr L. brought the memorial, a copy of which comes along with this, from a considerable number of brethren in our circumstances at Stirling, which he and Mr M. and I, being desired by them to procure the sentiments of as many of our brethren as we could upon it, and their additions and alterations, to be communicated to them on Monday the 2d of January, as might be. The design of the memorial is to be put in the Duke of Argyle's hands, and the Earl of Isla's hands, and to be sent to such members of Parliament as are most friendly to us, if possible to prevent a new re-imposition of the oaths upon us. It is not known how long these great men may continue at Stirling, and so the matter cannot be delayed upon the supposition that it be found necessary to lodge such a paper in their hands.

Copies have been communicated to Ayr, and Irvine, and Hamilton, and you lying out of the road of the post, we have sent up an express to you, and earnestly expect your full and free sentiments upon this draught, and your corrections and additions as to the matter and phrases; your opinion as to the design to lodge it in the hands of those above named; and, in short, your thoughts as to what

may be our duty at this time in relation to our present circumstances.

I'll be glad likewise to have accounts what your brethren Jurants and Nons in your Presbytery have done at this time, for I have yet no accounts, and all your accounts from Dumfries and Galloway of the practice of Ministers Jurant and Non-jurant. And if you'll lay down any method how I may write and hear weekly from you, there is nobody's correspondence I am more willing to entertain, and you shall have all the accounts I can give you.

I don't know whether you were at the meeting of Nons at Edinburgh the 8th of this month, when they penned a draught of an Address to the King, with a Declaration of loyalty; but I fancy you have, because, when they transmitted to me copies of them, in order to transmit to the rest of our brethren in the Synod, they did not name Lanark. I have writt my own thoughts with all freedom to Mr H. [Hart,] and I imagine I see very considerable difficulties as to addressing; and you will know, by our former conversation, that I want not my scruples as to the Allegiance and Assurance, in our present circumstances; and I find some others under the same straits. But that which will effectually, in my opinion, crush this design, which I take for granted you have had communicate to you, is the accounts I had last post. You'll have seen, no doubt, our brethren in Edinburgh, their adjected declaration of loyalty, when they took the Allegiance and Assurance, and I am told that that declaration, and the practice of the Justices of the Peace, in parting the oaths, was not concerted with (the Justice-Clerk and Advocate,) two persons who reckoned they ought to have been advised with in a matter of that importance, and in so leading a case. And, accordingly, an account of the matter of fact, with a copy of the brethren's Declaration of loyalty, instead of the Abjuration, was dispatched in a letter to Secretary Townshend next post. What turn was given to the brethren's disadvantage, or that of the Magistrates of Edinburgh, the Justices of the Peace, I shall not say; but last week there came a letter from Townshend to the Justice-Clerk, wherein he signified he had received the copy of the ministers' declaration, and the ac-

count of the practice of the Magistrates of Edinburgh, and had laid both before his Majesty ; and was commanded to signify to him that the King was abundantly sensible of the good service of he Magistrates of Edinburgh at this juncture, and their vigorous opposition to the rebellion ; and as to their practice in separating the oaths, and admitting the ministers' declaration, he could not but disapprove of it. That his Majesty thought the considerable change made in the oath, by the Parliament, was sufficient to ease all tender consciences, and remove scruples ; and such as now scrupled at it behoved to have somewhat under their difficulties he was unwilling to name, and discharged in all time coming such practices.

For my own share, I wish our brethren had taken the minds of the body of Nons through the Church, before they had fallen into such a practice, which would be a leading card to us all. But it may be, they have advised with more than I know of, and though my light at present comes not up their full length, yet I still honour and love them, and am grieved for such a check, and shall be glad to know what is said in their behalf for their defence.

But this step, I imagine, will be a considerable stop in the way of our addressing or making declarations of our loyalty. So that what now remains for us to do seems to be only by way of memorial to our great folk, if it be possible to prevent a re-imposition. And I hope, on the whole, you'll please to give your thoughts with full freedom as to our present duty.

I desire heartily to sympathise with you under the crush you have lately met with from one whom I still jealoused, as I formerly signified to you. May this work together for good ! I have a hundred things to say to you anent the History of the Sufferings ; and I beg, whenever you can come down to this country, you may allow me some nights of you. I am, yours most affectionately.

Dec. 26, 1715.

LETTER XXX.

THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE AS AFFECTING MINISTERS.

*To the Rev. Mr A[lexander] Adamson, Minister at Dalziel.*¹

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I had yours of the 20th, for which I heartily thank you. Unless you had expressly desired my opinion upon that unhappy subject of oaths, I truly don't incline to write on, you had not had this trouble. But, Dear Brother, you are of far longer experience, and much more ripeness of thought, than I can be supposed to be, and, therefore, to have further light from you, I shall communicate what offers to me on yours.

Your first reason for going into the practice of our brethren at Edinburgh, that the King hath taken our coronation oath, and this, especially at this juncture, calls for our swearing allegiance. I shall not at all condemn any brother who hath clearness as to this; but, besides some difficulties I have anent the answerableness of public oaths at this time, to the end of their institution, and others, anent ministers of the Gospel being reckoned in with other subjects, upon every turn of imposing State oaths, my great difficulty anent an Allegiance is its reference to our Sovereign's oath of coronation, and importing not only our owning him as our lawful King, and promising subjection to him in all the duties of the moral law, but likewise an approbation of the present constitution, and a subjection to him in ruling us according to the laws which we know.

Which brings me to your second reason, that you don't see the taking the Allegiance carries in it an approbation of all the present

¹ This Mr Adamson seems to have been the son of Andrew Adamson, Surgeon in Inverkeithing, who suffered considerably during the persecution, and the account of whose sufferings, Wodrow says, was "vouched by Mr Adamson's son, a reverend minister of this Church."—*History*, vol. iii. p. 390.

laws. You mistake my opinion, if you suppose this to be it. I don't think every subject that swears is bound to know all the laws; for that would be an endless labour. Neither can I say, that swearing allegiance is an approbation of all the present laws. But, I fear, when I take an oath to bear faith and true allegiance, I promise subjection to the King in his actings, and ruling me according to the standing laws known to me. This he swears to in his coronation oath, and I reckon an allegiance, being the counterpart, from the subject, necessarily imports subjection to him when acting according to these. But I shall bring my difficulty to a narrower compass. The allegiance seems to me at least to bind a man in acting according to the laws that relate to his station, and these every one should know. Now, if, by the present laws, the King require me in my station to receive a presentation from a patron, as a piece of just subjection to him, as by his coronation oath he is executing the laws that relate to me as a minister, and what I am bound to by my allegiance, I don't see what I could answer.

You say, the reference I allege to be in the allegiance to the laws, infers that they cannot be altered. This consequence I do not see; but as long as they stand, I humbly think by my allegiance I am bound to subject myself to the King in executing them; but the Legislature may alter them when they please, and then you know the relation will cease.

Next, you reckon it absurd that an allegiance should bind obedience to after laws, to be made, if contrary to our principles, during the same Prince's reign. It's the present laws which I know that have raised my difficulties on this subject; and I have not, indeed, had any thoughts upon futurity. How far an allegiance does oblige a subject to obey the King, acting according to laws to be made, requires a better divine, or rather lawyer, than me to determine. But to me it does not appear that a man can, by his oath, bind himself to an implicit obedience to what shall be made law; and when iniquitous laws are made a due testimony ought to be given against them, by persons in the station which they affect, which, in my opinion, will fairly disengage them from subjection

to them; but still the difficulty remains with me, when I know there are sinful laws already made as to my station, how, with a safe conscience, I can swear to be subject to the King in ruling me according to them.

I go in with what you add, that our allegiance obliges us to support the Government in the execution of the laws which relate to our constitution in Church and State, according to the coronation oath. But you know it's a part of the coronation oath to rule us according to law; and if we know that iniquity is established by law, there is my strait. And if by the constitution you mean, as I do, our fundamental laws, especially the Union, which is the bottom of our constitution, I am of opinion a simple allegiance doth import an approbation of these at least, which truly increases my strait. We should give all tests of loyalty we can, to distinguish [us] from the Episcopal clergy, and for union among ourselves, but still *salva conscientia*.

Mr Trail will acquaint you that the Government have shown their dislike at our brethren's practice in halving the oaths; so that I fancy our addresses and declarations will drop. I expect a full freedom in your return, which I should be glad did contain a full removal of all my difficulties on these heads. Meanwhile, I am, yours most affectionately.

Dec. 26, 1715.

LETTER XXXI.

To Mr William Love, Minister at C.[Cathcart.]

DEAR BROTHER,—I return you the shape in which I have casten the memorial, which I wish you may double over in another hand that may be legible, for I have been so diverted with company, that I have scarce been able to get it written over once.

I have cast in any remarks or additions I noticed in Mr Linning's letter, and in Mr Wright's, who is for the memorial, but would have it very smooth, and nicely drawn, and not presented

unless there be some probability of its being received by our friends kindly, of which those who are about the D. and I.¹ are best judges. I am of opinion, it may be as welcome to the D. as to I., who was the person brought in the oaths to the House of Peers, to counter the toleration, and yet I very much question, if the D.'s present circumstances at Court allow him to forward any such memorial to the Court. I wish I may be mistaken in this; and the copy that goes to the King must be altered in the shape of it at the close.

When I read over my draught of it, I find that by keeping so very close to the Stirling draught, some of the periods are too long; but that may be easily helped, and some of the sentences smoothed.

If there be a meeting of the Commission the 17th or 18th of January, I think it were very fit that a meeting of brethren, who have real scruples anent the oaths, should be; but am of opinion a meeting of Non-jurors at Edinburgh, at a time when the Commission does not meet, may make a noise at this juncture, and be very much misimproven by many, both to our hurt and the disadvantage of the Government.

The same reason makes me to be for a memorial privately, to be put into the hands of noblemen and other friends of influence at Court and Parliament, with as little observation as possible, and to be against a public address from Non-jurors to the Government, as what will be of little use, and after such a nota put upon our brethren's halving of the oaths and declaration at Edinburgh, it's a great difficulty to me how an address, supposing we could generally agree in it, can find its way to the King.

I cannot see how the new day of retaking the oaths can be in Scotland till this Rebellion be over, which the Lord speedily send, the reason of a new day still continuing till then. And it may be an Assembly may intervene, whereat I wish much of a spirit of peace and light from the Lord may be. And things may open out further in Providence to clear our duty. All these make me for a memorial, in the softest terms, and in the most private manner, to be given to our friends.

¹ The Duke of Argyle and Isla.

No other thing offers to me, but my kind respects to all you are going to. I am, yours most affectionately.

Dec. 30, 1715.

Be sure to bring back my draught, for I have no double of it.

LETTER XXXII.

LETTERS ON THE REBELLION OF 1715.

[The following letters are selected from a mass of correspondence on this subject collected by Wodrow, and bound up in four volumes. Some of these letters are not addressed to Wodrow, but seem to have been sent to him as returns to the inquiries which he made at his friends for information on the Rebellion. A great portion of this correspondence is occupied with matters of very trivial moment, or of merely local interest; and the information it contains, though valuable, as furnishing materials for a history of the period, is spread over such a wide surface, and so frequently repeated, that it would be impossible to give more than a specimen of it in the present volume. Instead of inserting these letters according to their dates, it has been thought better to place them all together.—Ed.]

PROCEEDINGS OF THE REBELS IN FIFE.

*David Walker to Bailie James Loudon, Glasgow.*¹

DEAR BROTHER,—I received yours dated the 9th instant this day. I am glad to hear of your being so well guarded. I wish all under the protection of the great Guardian of heaven and earth. I cannot give you a full account of our circumstances, but as you hint in yours we are laid open to the mercy of the enemy. They made a sally through Fife, to great advantage on their part, though to the loss of many in the country; for they have taken up all the excise, either on ale, leather, candle, or salt, and given new orders

¹ Inserted among Letters to Wodrow, vol. x. No. 91.

to officers of excise to continue as formerly in their posts, and to take account of all as before, to be accountable to them till matters shall be otherwise adjusted by a Scots Parliament. They have laid on a cess of 40s. str. on every L.100 valued rent to such as to them are disaffected, and 20s. str. on others, and I cannot particularly show you what a vast sum of this, from some through fear, from others voluntarily, they have got in already, and are still gathering of it up.

They thought to have passed to Lothian more easily than they found. Some were taken by some passage-boats that were reicked out [equipped] by way of privateers from Leith harbour, and if they had been relieved timeously of their prisoners, they had undoubtedly taken all that came in their reach; for the Highlanders could not fire one gun or pistol when they were taken. Some hundreds were driven by a man-of-war to the May, and suffered some hardships there for some days. Some of themselves whispered that they had some killed there by the man-of-war, but were under engagement to conceal it, and were necessitate to return at last.

The Marquis of Tullibardine, and his brother, Lord George, came on the head of three hundred, or some more, on Saturday last, about four at night, to Leslie. They searched the house for arms, and got some few firelocks they had for keeping the house, two kettle-drums, and a standard. But, Brother, what we thought most barbarous, and what makes me shrink to tell you, is, Lord George commanded to search my Lord's¹ burial-place (from what motive I cannot account for) till they discovered some of the corpses of my Lord's children; they broke the coffin with the spade, to the discovery of the flannel, piercing the corpses both with spades, and others with some other weapons that were in their hands, till they were expelled by the tench of the mortified corpses, and left them to be covered again by the garden men. This Lord George was eye-witness to. I am heartily concerned that such persons, come of

¹ Lord Rothes.

parents of such eminency, should have been guilty of such a piece of inhumanity.

They thought to have continued with us the whole Sabbath, and we were threatened to be taken to the kirk to hear their curates, Robertsons by name, one whereof was a merchant's son in Glasgow, taught his philosophy (as he said) by his brother, Mr John ; but Providence so overruled matters, as orders came to them very early on Sabbath to march, and so we lost the curates' preaching. These did not much harm in the town, except [by taking] meat and drink ; but on Monday, Strathmore, with those who returned from the May, came to Leslie about forenoon, with about three hundred savages, who knew nothing but to spoil, and pillage, and break up several doors in their going through. I cannot tell particularly what skaith they did ; but the Lord laid such restraints on them, as they went not the length that either we feared or they designed. There orders were to meet Mar at Auchterarder, where the body of the army lay, and now they say they are returned to Perth, from whence we fear another descent, if the Lord prevent it not ; and if they do, we fear it will be more severe than the former. But we think it a sore matter that they are suffered so peaceably to gather up the excise, and what cess they please to put on, without the least hinder or let. My wife and children are in their ordinary, and have you and yours kindly remembered. Expecting you will continue your kindness in giving us your news, I rest your affectionate and lo[ving] Brother,

DA. WALK[ER.]

Oct. 21, 1715.

Strathmore's party took several horses out of my Lord's park.

LETTER XXXIII.

ROB ROY AND THE REBELS IN FIFESHIRE.

*G. to Alexander Archer, Candlemaker in Hamilton.*¹

DEAR BROTHER,—I received yours this evening, but I find you have been quite mistaken about our condition. You date our freedom and liberty from the rebels long before its commencement; and for proof, take the following account of what passed here these last ten days:—Upon the 4th instant, Roy Roy, with one hundred and fifty men, came to Falkland, and took possession of the Palace for a garrison, from which they came through the country side, and rob and plunder, taking clothes and victuals, and every thing that makes for them, none to oppose them till this day eight days. The 6th instant there come thirty-two Highlandmen (I had almost said devils) to Leslie. We saw them at Formand Hills, and resolved to resist, and so man, wife, and child drew out. The men went to the east end of the town, and met them in the green, with drawn swords in their hands, and we asked them what they were for? They said they wanted clothes and money. We answered, they should get neither of them here, at which they stormed and swore terribly; and we told them, if they were come for mischief they should have their full of it, at which there were some blows; but they seeing us so bold, began to fear that we should fall upon them, and so they asked liberty to march through the town, and got not so much as the kiss of a caup, and they were so afraid, that they did not return, but went down over the Hawk Hill, and east to the minister's land, and there they fait about, and fired ten shot in upon the people that were looking to them; but, glory to God, without

¹ Inserted among Letters to Wodrow, vol. xi. No. 89.

doing the least hurt. And so they went off to the Formand Hills, and plundered all they could carry or drive, and threatened dreadfully they should be avenged on Leslie, and burn it.

We sent off two expresses, one to Dunfermline to Rothes, and one to Burntisland. My Lord ordered two hundred and fifty of Dutch and Switzers from Burntisland for our relief. The Sabbath proved stormy, so that neither they nor the enemy could come at us ; but on Monday morning the King's forces came most seasonably. Rob Roy was on his way to us on the head of a hundred men, and when they heard of our help they returned. Upon Tuesday the forces were for marching back to Burntisland, and so we were in worse case than before ; but we almost forced them to leave fifty Switzers with us, which they did. And the [next] day Rothes came with one troop of horse, and two hundred foot, and turned back [those] of Burntisland, so that when we began to think ourselves safe they staid [but two] nights and two days. But upon sight we are cast down. Then comes an order to my Lord to march back to Dunfermline with his men, which he did yesterday morning. It was a sorrowful parting. He left seventy men with us, and called in the fencible men round about us for our help, which they do [give] very readily. We have four hundred men this night beside the town. All above was written on the 13th. On the 14th there is a garrison of the King's forces placed at Burleigh. Upon the 16th several parishes here were warned to go there, among which I was one, where a hundred volunteers engaged to assist that garrison. Upon the 18th I was obliged to go to Burleigh again with candles for the use of that garrison, and did wade to the boot tops for the most part of the way among snow, and was in hazard of my life, and the man that was with me, by a terrible tempest that arose on us by the way.

The rebels have placed a garrison in Balvairst, one in Naughton, one in Samford, and this day one in Balgonie, about which take the following melancholy account. This garrison of Leslie thought to have prevented them, and this morning they early detached twelve Switzers, twenty-five Kirkaldy men, and when they came

to Markinch there are a hundred and fifty rebels in the town, which they knew nothing of till they are in among them, who presently surrounded them, and took them all prisoners, and carried them to Balgonie with them. Several Kirkaldy men are wounded, one of whom is mortally wounded, and two Switzers dying in their wounds at Balgonie. Betty Key has a son among the wounded. It's thought they will all be carried to Perth to-morrow. It's said there are many of the rebels wounded ; but we know not what number, So if speedy relief come not, this country will be full of garrisons of rebels, and so will be the seat of war, so that our circumstances are not so good as you think. If we could get fled I would remove all my family from this, but the storm is so great that it is not possible, and we are in constant expectation of the enemy. All friends are in ordinary health, and desire the sympathy of all friends with you at the throne of grace. I rest your affectionate brother,

G.

L[eslie,] Jan. 20, 1716.

LETTER XXXIV.

FLIGHT OF ROB ROY FROM FIFE.

*G. to Alexander Archer, Candlemaker in Hamilton.*¹

DEAR BROTHER,—Just now I had yours of the 3d instant, and having presently an occasion I have given you this short answer. Know, then, that since my last we were in continual fear till the 30th of January, upon which day we got the doleful news of the burning,² and we having always been threat with the same fate we looked for no less, and our fear was no greater than there was cause for. Rob Roy had a commission to burn Leslie and all betwixt it and Perth. We having intelligence of it got all to arms.

¹ Inserted among Letters to Wodrow, vol. xi. No. 90.

² This refers to the burning of the villages of Auchterarder, Crieff, Blackford, Dunning, and Muthil, according to a barbarous order issued by the Pretender, on the 17th of January.

The Swiss and Dutch being all gone, we had a mind to stand for our defence, and so all the men in the town, and several of the country that came in for our assistance, stood in arms that whole night. But so it was that the time of our extremity was God's opportunity, for about two o'clock in the morning we had the good news that Roy and all his men were fled to Dundee, and his flying was after this manner. About twelve o'clock at night he had all his men save a few drawn out before the Palace of Falkland in arms to come to Leslie for its ruin, and just when he is coming off there come two expresses to him that the King's army was approaching Perth, upon which he changed his resolution, and presently went off for Dundee, as did all the garrisons of rebels in Fife, so that I suppose in twenty-four hours there was not a Highlandman left in Fife. And ever since we have been in peace and quiet; and all the King's garrisons in Fife are given up save Burntisland.

And to let you see how uneasy this country has been under these rebels, I shall give you but one instance. Those in Falkland continued there about a month, and for ordinary they were but about one hundred and fifty at most. In that time they eat and destroyed three thousand sheep in Falkland and the adjacent parishes next to it. But we, in this place, have much to remark of the preventing mercy of God. Our case was looked upon as most desperate by all since this rebellion began, and yet we of all the places in Fife, by-east Dunfermline, have been the easiest. Our ministers are now returned to their charges, and once more we have the Gospel in purity and plenty. O for grace to improve it!

I have nothing to write about the rebels' flight; for I suppose you will have the account as soon as we. Only we hear there are many of them dispersed, and some have got into the castle of Dunottar, and there are nine pieces of cannon gone from Perth, by Argyle's order to that place. I must leave particulars about the rebels' conduct here till meeting, for I design to see you if once my tallow were made up. My trade for ordinary is as good in June and July as it has been these two months past. I am surprised to

hear of your cotton; it's strange how any man could send it out so. I have not got mine yet; but it is like it will come to me after the same manner. All friends are in ordinary health. My wife and I give our respects to you and your wife, and to your brother. We expect he will be setting his face homeward now. I rest your affectionate brother,

G.

L.[Leslie,] Feb. 9, 1716.

LETTER XXXV.

THE REBELS IN THE NORTH.

The Rev. William Trail¹ to Wodrow.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—Had you not made me promise to give you some account of the state of the country upon our return to it, I should not have presumed to have interrupted your more

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xi. No. 62.

Mr William Trail, minister of Benholm, was the son of the Rev. William Trail, who, during the prelatie persecution, went over to Ireland, where, in 1672, he was ordained minister of Lifford in Ulster, but who afterwards returned to Scotland, and became minister of Borthwick; and the grandson of the Rev. Robert Trail, first minister at Ely in Fife, and afterwards of the Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh, the leading facts of whose life, from his birth in 1603 to 1650, a year after he was translated to Edinburgh, may be found in Letters to Wodrow, vol. xix. No. 68. He was the nephew of the Rev. Robert Trail, London, the author of the well-known Sermons on the Lord's Prayer, the Throne of Grace, &c. who was his father's brother. Mr Trail, with Mr Archer of Laurencekirk, and some other ministers in Angus, were, during the Rebellion, obliged to leave their charges to secure their personal safety, the rebels having threatened them with the most barbarous treatment. They fled to the west country, (*Analecta*, vol. iv. p. 30, 31.) where they met with Wodrow, by whom they were cordially welcomed and entertained under his hospitable roof. Wodrow appears, at that time, to have engaged them to correspond with him on the subject of the Rebellion. Mr James Trail, minister of Montrose, who also corresponded with Wodrow, was the brother of Mr Trail of Benholm.

pleasant and profitable work, so far as to spend time in reading this confused account of matters with us ; which, however, I shall give to satisfy your curiosity, and to beg your sympathy also with this poor country, which has tasted of some of the calamities of war, though at the same time we have reason to bless God for a merciful deliverance from an enraged party.

While the army was at Perth, their friends that were coming and going did great hurt in the country, by taking gentlemen's horses and furniture, that would not join with them, particularly a gentleman in this place had three horses taken, and furniture with them, to near the value of L.40 sterling. Some of the ministers that staid were insulted, and one to my certain knowledge beaten by some of that party. The prelatical ministers intruded into all the churches of those that were absent, and also into one of the churches though the minister was at home. They kept a fast to pray for success to the Pretender's arms, and a thanksgiving for his arrival,¹ on which days they showed their teeth to the full, and were very invective and bitter, and spoke with great confidence, as if all had been going according to their wish.

At Montrose, my brother and his colleague were, by the authority of the magistrates, put from their charge, though my brother preached for ordinary in a gentleman's house, about a mile from the town, and his people resorted to him there. But at Aberdeen the ministers were first put from possessing one church, then from both, which obliged them to preach in two large barns, and their people adhered to them very closely for few Sabbaths. Before Argyle came there they were put from the barns also, and were not allowed to preach any where except in their own families, and were discharged to pray for King George even in their families, which they never obeyed. And had not God trusted [timed] the flight of the rebels just at that time, they were to have been put in the castle of Dunnotar.

But upon the flight of the rebels all the prelatical ministers,

¹ The Pretender landed at Peterhead on the 22d December 1715.

both in this country and Aberdeen, either went away with them or absconded, so that we had no difficulty of getting possession of our charges again. The rebels did some damage as they went through this country, and took all the ready meat with them that they did not make use of, such as butter and cheese and the like, so that when our army came up, they were but ill enough served, which made them the more rude; and especially the Dutch and Swiss were very rude, and did considerable damage, by carrying away clothes and money that they got upon some poor people, and by shooting hens and sheep. In a word, in all this parish, and all the coast-side, they lived upon free quarters, and that both in their going to and returning from Aberdeen; and for want of fire they burnt carts, barrows, barn-doors, and other pieces of timber and utensils of husbandry, so that this coast-side is very much impoverished. I only could wish that some few in this country, that were friends to the Government, and never countenanced the rebels, might get some reparation; for there was no distinction made by our armies, who looked upon all on this side Forth as an enemy's country.

The rebels in their passage quartered two nights in my house; but I bless the Lord that they did not much harm here, for Providence ordered it so that there was one discreet fellow among them that prevented any damage. And we wanted not our share of the King's army also, though they were, indeed, very civil, and looked upon Presbyterian ministers as the almost only friends they had in this country; and they were made very welcome by all our families.

Some of the rebels, since the army's return to their several quarters, have returned to this country, and some of the prelatical preachers also, though they have not yet ventured to preach in their meeting-houses; yet he, in my parish, has baptized and married since I came home, and the Jacobites seem yet to be insolent; but I hope the use the Government will make of it will be to make the country the more entirely quit of them.

All the precentors in this country have concurred in the Rebel-

lion, and countenanced the intruders, except some few, whereof mine is one ; but the Presbytery designs to take them to task for it.

This, Dear Brother, is a short hint of the principal things noticeable here with us, which I thought would not be unacceptable to you to hear. If any thing of moment occur afterwards, Mr Archer or I will be sure to inform you of it.

I desire to be remembered kindly to your wife and her father and mother. My wife also, though unacquainted, gives her very humble service and hearty thanks to you and your spouse, as being sensible of the obligation your and her kindness to me lays upon her, which, with hearty wishes for you and your family, is all this trouble from, Rev. and Dear Brother, yours to serve you,

W. TRAIL.

Benholm, Feb. 27, 1716.

LETTER XXXVI.

THE REBELS IN ANGUS AND MEARNS.—CONDUCT OF THE CLERGY.

*The Rev. David Archer to Wodrow.*¹

From my own Fire-side, Laurencekirk,
Mearns, March 2, 1716.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—I doubt nothing of my brother's communicating to you what I wrote last week to him ; and I shall continue to give such accounts of the affairs of this country, which I have access to know, and are worth the noticing. As to the ministers their conduct while I was away, I understand that they have been very much exposed ; and while some have fallen before the temptation, particularly Messrs Archibald and Geddie, of whom we had accounts with you, others have stood it out with courage and bravery, particularly Mr James Trail at Montrose, who preached

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xi. No. 66.

every Lord's day at Hedderwick, and prayed *nominatim* for King George, and one Mr Gutchet in the Presbytery of Dundee, who kept his church and prayed as above. I hear of no more who have prayed for the King by name. Yea, they have been obliged to leave their churches, and preach in their own houses; and such of them as I have had occasion to converse with, have told me they would have given all they had in a world to have been off. The minister of Marykirk was forced to drink the Pretender's health, which I think I supposed in my last, and to give them money besides. My nearest neighbour, Mr Muirson, about whom we had no small jealousies, and who was under process for an oath he had given anent one Mr Arbuthnot in this Presbytery, who was deposed, and for some other miscarriages, has not only been faithful at this time, but remarkably instrumental in supporting the honest party in several parishes round about him. I signified in that to my brother, that the Episcopal clergy have been very uppish, some of them giving that character of the wicked to us who came off, that we fled when no man pursued; others have termed us in their flights, "The priests of Baal and Jeroboam."

The Presbytery of Brechin, in whose bounds the forementioned Mr Geddie resides, met at his church last week, and, after they had examined his conduct, because of his indisposition, two of their number supported him from his house to the church, where, after prayer, he heard his unanimous sentence of deposition, to which he made this short answer, that, "If he had known the censure would [have] been so heavy, he would not have prayed," meaning for the Pretender. Our Presbytery met before I came home, and, among other things remarkable at that meeting, they appointed two days this week, the first to be kept for prayer and thanksgiving, the other for our Presbytery business; they ordered to summon all the schoolmasters and precentors to attend the last of these meetings, to be examined anent their carriage during the Rebellion; that a draught of a letter to my Lord Justice-Clerk should be drawn, with an account of our circumstances, and the names of such as had not any way countenanced the Rebellion, (I mean of the gentry,) in or-

der to their being put in places of trust. Accordingly, we met on Tuesday and Wednesday last.

To pass the first day, on Wednesday the schoolmasters were called; some of them, but few, had kept their ground, and were approved. Others had been carried off with the temptation, and were appointed to make acknowledgment of their fall before the congregation, of which sort mine was one. And though I understood and did testify that he was forced to it but one day, and that he had all the while been most useful in my concerns, in short, said all that I could for him, there was no saving of him. There was a third sort who had, without any force, gone in with the measures of the rebels, by reading their papers, &c.; and one of this stamp compeared, and was deposed, from which you may guess what will become of the rest. The letter to the Justice-Clerk was brought in, and, after reading, was signed by all the ministers present. Take the substance of it as follows:—That we had at present peaceable possession of our charges; but if care were not taken to settle such in places of trust in the corner as were of the Government, we should quickly fall under new troubles, continual fightings and fears, and end our days in misery; and with this we gave a list of persons, one to be Sheriff, another Lieutenant, and to the number of ten or eleven to be Justices of Peace. It was further appointed that those ministers, who had their churches intruded upon by any of the Episcopal clergy residing in the bounds, should write to them, I mean to the intruders, to remove out of the bounds, betwixt this and Whitsunday next, and to give assurances of this within eight days, with certification if they did not, they should be proceeded against according to law. The ministers who write are to give in what answers they get to the Moderator, that those who do not satisfy may be put in the Porteous Roll. We are further to give an account of the chief leaders in the Rebellion in our bounds.

After our getting some little time to breathe, and to examine the conduct of our people, we find that the generality have made most lamentable defections by countenancing the intentions, and

giving all testimonies of their joy upon account of the change. And I find they have not been few of this stamp among those I am concerned in ; but as I have been disappointed as to some few, so there are others of whom I expected but little who have appeared for the truth. One of my elders has collected the two days my charge was intruded upon, who is to have a bill of ease according to the practice of my brethren in the like circumstances.

I was just now informed by a gentleman from Aberdeen, that, among other hardships the ministers there were brought under, it was enacted, by a committee who had the management of affairs there committed to them, that, in case any of the ministers should pray for the King *nominatim*, even in their own houses, they should pay L.5 sterling, *toties quoties*, and this was intimated. The Duke of Argyle has appointed regents in all the burghs where he came. In Montrose, Hedderwick is the first, though I am afraid he will not accept, because of qualifying, and all the rest are the best the place could afford, and they are just so in Aberdeen and Bervie. I just now received a line from Nicol Spence, giving me account that the Presbytery of Dundee and Forfar had given in a representation of the carriage of the Episcopal clergy in their bounds, and have as their return a warrant sent over to apprehend and imprison them ; and in his letter he adds an advice to us to improve the present opportunity for being rid of them. The gentlemen of this stamp, with such of this country as have been concerned in the Rebellion, are out of sight, except such as did surrender themselves to Argyle at Aberdeen.

I am certainly informed that there are considerable parties of the forces in quest of the rebels, who have fled to the Highlands, so, I hope, in a short time, to give you a good account of matters with us. I expect that what is worth the noticing, in this patched gazette, you will communicate to my good friends at Glasgow, particularly to my dear friend, Mr James Stirling, to whom I am to write my next news. I offer my most humble service to your wife and family, and to all my good friends with you, as if I named them,

and expect with your first conveniency to have news from you, assuring you that I am yours by many bonds.

Let me know how your family are, and particularly how Alexander is.

Mr Wemyss preached at Hedderwick with Mr Trail from the 10th November till the Rebellion was over, and prayed as Mr Trail did.

Mr Glasford preached in his own house, and prayed *nominatim*.

Mr Muirson did preash and pray *nominatim* till the thanksgiving.

Messrs George and Robert Stephens continued preaching all the time of the Rebellion, and for the most part prayed *nominatim*.¹

[DAVID ARCHER.]

LETTER XXXVII.

CONDUCT OF THE CLERGY IN THE NORTH.

*Mr James Trail to Wodrow.*²

Montrose, March 7, 1716.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 1st instant I had upon the 5th, and am glad to hear of the sympathy the godly with you have had of

¹ " 'Tis observable, that none of the ministers of the Established Church of Scotland, nor any of the people of her principles, that ever I could hear of, encouraged or abetted the Rebellion. It is true some honest men might be forced out against their wills, and some unthinking people engage in it, who, perhaps, profess to be of our Church. But I never heard of any who gave any direct encouragement to it, were violent for it, or did not soon repent their compliance, though forced to it. If any ministers, settled since the late *Act of Patronages* took place, have complied with the rebels, it is not to be wondered if these who came in over the inclinations of the Presbytery, and were not at first of Presbyterian principles, should go along with their patrons. The Earl of Panmure had about fifty-three churches in his own gift. The Jacobite masters of the College of Aberdeen are patrons of many, and the late Earl of Mar of several more."—(*A Short History of the late Rebellion, and of the Conduct of Divine Providence*. Edinburgh, 1716, p. 27.)

² Letters to Wodrow, vol. xi. No. 91.

us ; but as to the giving some account of our circumstances in these bounds, I must say it would be a task to any man that has any thing else to do, and I have been kept in a continual throng of business, both with respect to Church and State, since ever we got any thing of liberty, so that I have scarce so much time as to prepare a short sermon upon the Lord's day. Our Presbytery meets every week, and we are going on to purge out some ministers and schoolmasters who have gone along with this antichristian Rebellion.

But to give a short and general account, (from the time the Pretender was proclaimed, the 17th of September 1715, in Montrose, in Dundee the day before, and in Brechin, &c., two days after,) be pleased to know that we continued preaching in Montrose, and praying publicly in the church as we used to do before, till Saturday the 8th of October, at which time there was (through the solicitations of our town's people) an order sent by Young of Auldbar, from Mar, to turn us out, except we should give over praying for King George and Prince, &c. But when Auldbar came with a party of horse, and spoke with our magistrates and curates, he sent for Mr Arrot, and positively discharged us from preaching except we should pray for King James, (as he called the son of Tabeall;¹) and to make the discharge effectual, seeing he thought we would not much regard it, he put his hand to his broad-sword, and the magistrates got up early by two of the clock Sabbath morning to order the church for the curates, and had their pretended elders at the church door an hour before the time, lest we should have entered, and so we, understanding this, made no attempts that way. But my colleague, after a while, went out to his own country house, where he stayed till the King's forces came, and I, with some other ministers who were forced to flee from their own houses, preached every Lord's day at Hedderweek, [Hedder-

¹ An allusion to the following passage : —“ Because Syria, Ephraim, and the son of Remaliah, having taken evil counsel against thee, saying, Let us go up against Judah, and vex it, and let us make a breach therein for us, and set a king in the midst of it, even the son of Tabeal.” —Isaiah, ch. vii. 5, 6.

wick,] where we had a very considerable auditory, all winter, notwithstanding all the endeavours that were made to break it. I kept my own house still, only went out to Hedderwick on Saturday's night, as long as my wife was able to go with me, and afterwards on Sabbath morning, and came in on Sabbath night; and though I went but seldom out of my house, yet when I did go out, it was in the most public manner I could, keeping the crown of the causeway, notwithstanding of all their threats against me particularly, which would fill a volume to write them. And I can scarce say I was ever uneasy by them, though my wife was many times almost at death's door by them; but God has preserved her, and given us a lively son, which makes up [for] her former fears.

All our ministers in this Presbytery have kept true except Mr Geddie at Farnell, [Farnwell,] whom we deposed at our second meeting of Presbytery, after our other ministers came, and I suppose you will see an account of it in the Flying Post very shortly, and so I say no more of it. I cannot tell particularly of the bad treatment the ministers met with in this country; only, in general, there was not one suffered to live in peace or enjoy their houses, but were either driven from their houses or had them plundered, except myself, in this corner; and, indeed, I must say I have found the outmaking of that word, which, I thought, was not only spoke to me when I came first to this place, but was renewed to me again at the beginning of this Rebellion—"Verily, I will cause the enemy to entreat thee well," &c.—Jer. xv. 11. Hedderwick kept his ground very well, and so did Benholm, and severals in this corner of the shire, and the most part of the gentry in the Mearns staid at home, and did not join the Rebellion, for which Provost Doig in Brechin calls the gentlemen in this corner of the shire, "The wise men of the east." I need not say any thing of the Pretender's going off, or of the way the clans behaved when here; only they being a fleeing army, and the terror of God upon their spirits, as I saw by those that were quartered upon me, they did little or no damage in respect of what was expected, and when

the Pretender having left them, and Argyle's advance guard being within four or five miles of them before they got notice to march, they went off without disturbance, and I thought I scarce ever heard more pleasant music than the bagpipe was that night, when they were drawing up at the cross about eight at night to flee away.

As to those pamphlets you wrote about, I shall cause inquire at the carrier for them ; but I am afraid they will be lost.

After I came this length in writing I was interrupted, and got no time to do any thing for public business, General Cadogan being here, whom I waited upon again and again, and never conversed with a more civil, condescending, familiar, great man. But as for Argyle, when he was here, though a great many ministers waited upon him in a body, yet we could not get a word from him. As to our town, I can say nothing of them, but that as they have been, so they will still be, Falkirk bairns,¹ or worse. We have a great many rebels lurking among us, but not so much as one of them is troubled ; nay, some of them walk publicly in the streets, and nobody troubles them. My wife and I remember you and yours, and all friends with you. I am, Sir, your most humble servant, and much obliged friend,

J. T. [J. TRAIL.]

[Montrose,] March 8, 1716.

¹ *Falkirk bairns die ere they thrive*, as the proverb says.

LETTER XXXVIII.

STATE OF THE COUNTRY AFTER THE REBELLION.

*William Trail to Wodrow.*²

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—Yours of the 17th instant from Edinburgh, directed to Mr Archer and me, I had yesterday, and

² Letters to Wodrow, vol. xi. No. 80.

thank you for the news you write, and shall be very glad to keep up a correspondence with you, and would have written more frequently than I have done, had I not been afraid of encroaching upon your time either to read mine, or let me hear from you. I believe Mr Archer will be very willing to comply with your desire of our writing for news every week, and for my part I shall not fail if I have any thing to write that can be any way satisfying to you.

I was very much troubled when I heard that your brother-in-law, Ducathall, was so maltreated in Montrose, but was so unhappy as not to hear the least syllable of it till he was out of the country, else I had waited upon him, and contributed any thing I could for his ease in this country. I am humbly of opinion, that that matter should be fairly represented to the Government, and it would do no small service to the interest in this country, that the authors of that maltreatment were put from all management of public affairs here-away, for they are but pretended friends for their own interest sake.

As for news I shall give you what occurs. Several of the regiments that were in the North are marched South, but it is not yet known here upon what design. On Wednesday last six hundred of the garrison in Montrose marched southward also; some say they are to form a camp above Perth for the more easy sending out of parties to apprehend the rebels, but this is uncertain with us.

The Pretender's party here are yet very insolent, and spreading lies as fast as ever, and some of them ridiculous enough. Some think they are buoyed up with the hopes of an indemnity, which we hear is much talked of at Edinburgh; but, in my opinion, if an indemnity be not very well qualified, and considerable exceptions made in it, it will do the Government very ill service at this juncture. Some attempts made to apprehend particular rebels that were lurking in these bounds have proven ineffectual, because previous private notice was sent them, even by some that should have apprehended them.

The Presbytery of Brechin have deposed one of their number for praying for the Pretender, and other things they had against him; as also a prelatical minister in their bounds, for his accession to the Rebellion and other vices. They have likewise deposed several Jacobite schoolmasters, and our Presbytery have deposed one of the latter, and will give some more the same fate.

Many, both gentlemen and others, who went to the prelatical meeting-houses, are now beginning to come to the churches of the several parishes to which they belong. But, Oh! there is great need of a day of power from on high in order to do them good, for they are strangely prejudicate against the servants of Christ in this corner, and I find my own share of it, which is owing partly to the doctrine the intruder, in my absence, instilled into them, for he was a most malicious, invective creature as ever breathed; and partly to some rebels yet lurking amongst us, who hiss into the people's ears such lying stories as keep up still the division in heart, though meeting-houses be taken away.

This is all that I remember at present, hoping to hear from you with your conveniency, for, to say it without compliment, I reckon your correspondence very edifying and profitable, and shall be glad to do any thing that may continue this privilege with me.

When I came to Edinburgh, and was looking over my father's books, I could not light upon that manuscript which contained the account of his trial before the council of Dublin;¹ but among his papers in my hand I find both letters and papers relative to that affair, but they hardly set it in a true light, as that other book would do, and it being a matter transacted in Ireland, I suppose your History will not be concerned in it, and as to the particular time that my father escaped that danger of the Bishop's hands at Glasgow, I cannot give you an account of it as yet, though I have all his Diary from 1674 till his death, yet, I suppose, it was before that year. If I light upon any of his papers that can give account of it you shall have them. I give my humble service to your spouse and all friends,

¹ See Note, p. 144.

wishing you much comfort and success in every part of your work;
and am, Rev. Dear Brother, yours to serve you,

[WILLIAM TRAIL.]

Direct for me to the care of the postmaster in Bervie.

Benholm, March 23, 1716.

LETTER XXXIX.

“ANENT CARRIAGE OF REBELS.”—HIGHLAND DISCRETION.—ROB
ROY’S CHARACTER.—THE HIGHLANDMEN’S MODE OF DOING
BUSINESS.

*J. Row to Alexander Archer, Candlemaker at Hamilton.*¹

Leslie, March 28, 1716.

DEAR FRIEND,—By this I humbly greet you, your honest wife, and children. George Greig told me you desired a relation of the rebels’ discretion and civility in this country. I wish you would employ some that did more exactly notice what they saw, and likewise recorded, or at least kept in mind, what they either saw or heard better than I can possibly signify to you as yet. I believe first when they took the field there was something like an evening (I cannot say morning) twilight of discretion among some of their heads, with respect to their paying what they called for, of meat and drink; but as to the commons, yea, the most of all their inferior officers, they neither did nor would pay one farthing wherever they went, through either country or towns, if it was not in Perth. And yet if they had done no more skaith than taking meat and drink free, there had been either none, or but few complaints. But we thought there was but little discretion in breaking up doors, and taking from honest people what of body or bed clothes, belonging either to men, women, or children, they got their rapacious claws upon, linen, yarn, ticking, or whatever of cloth, made or unmade, linen yarn or woollen; yea, taking the clothes off the people’s very backs, plaids from women, and setting men down and taking their

¹ Inserted among Letters to Wodrow, vol. xi. No. 92.

shoes off their feet, and their cravats from their necks, and telling them they were civilly dealt with to be allowed to go home, or escape so, for being Whigs; and always spunged them for money. Sometimes they would offer them what they had taken from them for money, and when the honest folk had their own gear offered them, it may be for half, or perhaps the third of what it was worth, they thought better to give it than want them altogether, and as soon as they delivered them the money they kept both.

I need not instance particulars, for this would take me to go through the whole shires and families so treated by them. But I cannot but instance their irreligion as well as barbarity. On a Sabbath day, marching from Perth towards Dunfermline or Inverkeithing, as they marched by the kirk of Arngask, where Mr James Gillespie is minister, and was preaching at the time, [he] proceeded in preaching till the Highlanders were within less than a short quarter of a mile of the kirk, not thinking they would come off the way, the kirk being about two bow draughts at most out of the road, and so they kept themselves close in the kirk till they saw a detachment sent off to the kirk, and then the honest people began to break off; but the Highlanders met them, (the body of them halting with their commanders and looking on, and feeding their eyes with the godless and profane sport the whole time,) and robbed them of plaids, Bibles, shoes, and money; yea, came to the kirk before the half got out, and took their clothes off, and their Bibles from them in the very kirk; yea, one of their commanders rode about the kirk, crying to the people to stand, and a person asking him what he wanted? "Shoes to his men." He was asked why he was so rude? He swore dreadful oaths he should have shoes to his men; "for," said he, "I see many good shoes here, and my men are going bare-foot." Let none take this as a misreport, for it is true matter of fact, and to confirm the truth of it, my wife's cousin-german, Janet Balfour, when she saw them going to lay hands on her husband, William Scot, tenant in Fordel, to take his shoes, fearing they had wronged her husband, he being valetudinary, and indisposed at the time, prayed them to hold their hands off her husband, and they should get his shoes, which she loosed, with

her own hands, and threw them at them. The minister escaped with a bonnet on his head, among some others. Judge what Highland discretion this was !

Some of them that deserted from the west side, when Mr Macintosh went over, as they came back through the country, were rude enough in some places, threatening and robbing as they went. There came two into Thomas Roger's barn in Achmoutie, and set down his man, and took the shoes off his feet. They came to the Wester Conline, and as a young lad, John Kinnaird, (who was once a scholar at my school,) was bigging corn in the wain, lay still, and the lad who was forking to him scoured off, they went up upon the wain, and pulled his shoes off his feet. And yet this was but little in respect of what they did in loosing people's horses out of the wains, out of carts and ploughs ; [they] stopped their labour, yea, put some honest men out of a capacity to labour, by driving away all the oxen as well as their horses ; witness Balmbreigh, where they got not their wheat sown this year, they were so robbed and spoiled. And yet the honest men could not get their houses kept after they had done all this, driven away and killed most part of their sheep, obliging them, by open proclamation, to carry so many loads of coals to Perth every week. Others carried them to Newburgh, others to Falkland and Balvaird, where they kept their garrisons. [They laid] double cess on all disaffected persons to them, and, after all that, ten firlots of meal on every plough, or four oxen going of land, besides corn, and straw, and hay, to their magazines, and all this paid by a bit of paper, with two lines of a receipt under such a man's hand for so much meal, corn, &c., one of which receipts I saw yesterday, signed by Gregor M'Gregor, Governor in Falkland, whose sub-deputy Rob Roy was, whose men, on a Saturday's night, after they went out of Leslie-town, thirty-six, well armed, with sword, gun, dirk, and target, drove one hundred and twenty-three sheep from two of my Lord's tenants in our very view, threatening (because the town of Leslie that night resisted and dared them to their very faces) to return with a better back, and to spoil and burn the whole town.

Now, Sir, this is a short epitome of their Highland, Jacobitish, antichristian, and hellish discretion and civility through Fife, besides what they designed ; and, indeed, very little time would have discovered both more of their hellish barbarity, and more to take part with them, had not the Lord remarkably, and in mercy to this poor country, disappointed them. For Rob Roy told George Swan they behoved to set fire to the country if they were not more loyal and obedient to them. This he said to George when he came in to Falkland, seeking back two good horse they took from him, and that after he had paid his cess ; yet this exeeemed him not ; and George told me, had it not been Rob Roy that pleaded for him, they had laid him in prison. And yet he heard honest Robin say, that he never desired a more pleasant and satisfying breakfast every morning than to see a Whig's house in flames ; and yet George told me he was the fairest and most discreet among them that he saw ; and so I leave any unbiassed person to judge of the rest.

But I say, what they designed was to crown all ; for you may take that Popish and devilishly invented cruelty they executed on Auchterarder and towns about, preliminary and proof of these antichristian locusts' purposes ; a little short narrative whereof, from Mr Stedman, minister in Auchterarder, in a letter to me the 6th instant, take as follows :—

“ The bearer's haste, that brought me yours, allows me not to be so full upon the melancholy subject you write anent, as either you desire or I incline. In short, from the first time they came to these bounds, until they were forced to leave it [them,] I know none can tell of their discretion but such as were and are of their own kidney. The only way the Clans were employed while they lay here was in traversing the hills, shooting and driving away all sheep, kine, and horse, they could get their hands upon, without ever asking the price, nor did they spare the very nolt that were for plowing the ground, nor the cows of poor folk that were giving milk for nourishing their poor young infants, but these were brought into the town, wherever they could find them, to the slaughter ;

nor were the rest of the rebels much better, taking poor people's corns out of their stacks, and what provision they found in people's houses, without so much as a promise of payment, except by and to a very few. For mine own part, we had, beside other damages, too many to be here narrated, the whole of our corns eaten, and fuel burnt in the space of sixteen days, without receiving one farthing's payment therefor. But not to enlarge, that which completed all their other barbarities was their burning of the towns of Auchterarder, Dunning, Muthil, Crieff, Aberuthven, and several other places about. What way they managed the Popish and savage work elsewhere I shall not trouble you with an account of: but you may take the following account of their management in this place, as a swatch of what they did elsewhere. Clanronald came to Auchterarder, with about three hundred men with him, at three o'clock in the morning, in a very snowy and stormy night; and instead of warning people of their danger, never carried more friendly and kindly-like than they did, till they began to put it in execution; and the first advertisement they gave of it was Clanronald's orders to his men to kindle straw, and fall to their work, which immediately was done, so that the people had no time allowed them to carry out their effects, but any thing they got preserved was, for the most part, with the hazard of their lives, which was the occasion of one Janet Miller her death. There was not one house in all the town but what was set on fire, except one or two, and very few of these got preserved." This is a very short but plain account of what I had from that ho[nest] minister of the Gospel.

I think fit to add, that one Thomas Mitchell, who dwells near the town of Auchterarder in the parish, and who was eye-witness to the burning, and thereabout, told me that the Laird of Aberuthven got so many hands that he left nothing in his house before they set it on fire, but the Highlanders left not one prin's [pin's] worth to him, but threw the very plenishing, sheets, tables, &c. into the flames. This Mr Clow confirms, having it from the Laird's own mouth; for Mr Clow went up to see his mother, who dwelt in

Aberuthven, and has the mill in farming, where every stob was burnt, and her corns, and would not suffer her to take some corns that were both in the barn and kiln out of the same, but told her if she offered to take them out they would throw them in again. Moreover, this Thomas Mitchell told me, that the Highlanders at Dunning helped the people to some of the effects in bundles, and to carry them out, but afterwards knowing what and where the best of the people's effects were, robbed them of the most part of them. What men they were I know not, but Lord George, the Duke of Athole's second son, headed them, and supped in Mr William Reid's house, whom they were necessitate to bury that very night, having died some hours before; and yet Lord George would not spare the honest minister's house to shelter his sorrowful and mourning widow and children; yea, they assert he said, (viz. the said Lord George,) "That he was sorry he got not the old dog's bones to birsle in the flames of the house."

Furthermore, the said Mitchell told me those that burnt Muthil would not allow the house to be spared, but for some minutes, when Mr Hally, who is minister there, his wife's grandmother, was just a-dying, though the minister went out and told them that the old woman was just in the jaws of death, entreating them to spare the house only some minutes till she was expired, and they would carry her out. But not one minute would they delay, but set flames to the house, so that they were necessitate to carry the old dying woman in sheets and blankets out of the house, who died in the forth-carrying, and they laid her down on the snow and streiked [stretched] her, where the minister's wife, her oye, [grandchild,] sat beside her; and the Highlandmen pulled the blankets, which were lying beneath the old woman upon the snow, from beneath her, and took them with them. Sir, this is true matter of fact, and confirmed by persons dwelling in the bounds.

These are but a very few of the St Germain's measures, yea, but mere lenitives, I am persuaded, besides what he was to set his Antichristian locusts and Popish janizaries on, had he and they got their design. But, Dear Sir, I am wearied, and therefore I will not

fatigue myself with writing, and you with reading, what would make Turks blush to hear. Only to make you smile, I'll tell you a merry passage of them :—When they were on the east coast, about Crail and Anstruther, where they committed a great deal of spoil, they came to St Minin's¹ parish, where they were very busy ; and, coming to an honest husbandman and his servant at work before the barn-door, they pulled off both the old man's shoes and his servant's. The old man said, " Gentlemen, is that the way of doing business ?" to whom they made no answer. But the son was in the barn, and, seeing his father's shoes pulled off, thought it was time to secure his own ; so quickly pulled them off his feet, and hid them in the heap of corn threshing beside him ; so at last two of the crew came into the barn, and cried, " Sheen, sheen !"—" I profess," said he, " you are too long in coming, for look to my feet ; you may see my shoes gone already ;" so they, thinking there had been others of their company there before them, sought no further, but scoured off ; and so the honest lad got his shoes preserved.

I shall tell you another in the other papers, and so conclude ; and it's this :—Some of the Highlandmen going through Kennoway, one went into a house a little above the town, and sought some meat. The honest wife [thought] it was very much he was so civil, and gave bread and eggs ; and so he rose to go off, and said, " Coodwife, tanks to you ; will you puy a pony pook ?" and so he pulled out of his bosom a very bonny gilded pocket Bible, and said, " Puy that, coodwife." Said the goodwife, " I have not so much money as to buy it." Said he, " Fait, her nainsel will sell it fery sheap ; will you kive me a shilling for it, coodwife, tat is a twal shilling ?" Said the woman, " I have not so much." Said he, " Fow meekle hafe you ?" She said, " Seven shillings Scots." Says he, " Hae, take it ; kive me tat sefen shilling." So the goodwife got the book out of his hand, and gave him his money out of her purse ; and, indeed, there was no more in it, as I suppose. So he took the money and put it up, and stood a little looking to the goodwife with the book in her hand ; and at last he said, " Cood-

¹ St Monance, now called the parish of Abercrombie.

wife, let her nainsel see te pook." The woman, thinking he had been only to look to it, gave it out of her hand, and so he took it, and looked to it a little, and turned it over several times, saying, "Cood fait! it's ower sheap; her nainsel no sell it so sheap; fait, her nainsel will ket mair for it; her nainsel will e'en keep it; it is a fery pony pook; fait she no sell it afa' l'" and with that he up in his bosom again with it, and out at the door he runs with the honest woman's money and all, and so scoured off.

Give my service to your honest wife and children, and to Robert Walker, and Peggie Does, Ann Loudoun, and all other acquaintances, which will oblige me to subscribe myself your very obliged servant and well-wisher,

J. Row.

LETTER XL.

FURTHER ACCOUNTS OF THE REBELS.

Rev. David Archer to Wodrow.¹

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—I received yours on Wednesday last from Mr Trail at our meeting of Presbytery, and it was no small satisfaction to me to hear from you, though there had been no more, and I hope you will keep up the correspondence; and that it may not fail on my part, though I have but little time, I give the following accounts:—

That, some time last week, several of the gentlemen rebels went off from Montrose, particularly one Alexander Miln of Ballachy, who assaulted Mr Ker in the pulpit, and brought him out of it, the particulars whereof I shall give you so soon as I can get them, under Mr Ker's own hand, which he hath promised to allow me shortly.

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xi. No. 84.

I hear, indeed, that some of these rebels are uppish ; but I apprehend that if they were so, they would not be flying away ; and, besides, I know certainly that they are not all so. And as to their gathering together, I can learn nothing of it, except it be to make their escape off the country. I am informed, that the gentlemen of this shire are to congratulate the success of his Majesty's arms. I saw a copy of the address, and shall send a double of it either to you or my brother, which I suppose will serve both.

And to give you their character; that you may know what sort of gentlemen we have to do with :—During the Rebellion they went to the Episcopal meetings, where the Pretender was prayed for as King; many of them waited on him when he passed through the country, and, in short, are heart friends to the Pretender's interest. Which leads me to tell you, that it's but of late I heard an account of the unaccountable treatment of your worthy brother-in-law at Montrose, which I hope he will not fail to resent. All I shall say about it is, that he will be faulty and wrong this corner, if he do not prosecute it; and the Government will injure him, themselves and us, if they give not all satisfaction.

I heard but by a sure hand yesterday, that an honest merchant at Dundee, John Ramsay, came to Montrose during the Rebellion, and was lamentably abused by a company of them, particularly by dragging him to the cross, and forcing him to drink the Pretender's health. Since that time he has complained to the Lords of Justiciary, and got out criminal letters against them, which, last week, he brought to Montrose, and obliged his abusers to pay him what he demanded; and his brother-in-law told me, he made them pay a round sum, and to go to the cross before many witnesses, and drink King George his health.

I heard by a post who passed yesterday through this town, and came from Dunkeld that morning, that the army was marched towards the Highlands; and it is probable we shall have accounts of them shortly, and you may be sure you shall have the news. But I cannot serve all my acquaintances with news every week. However, I purpose for some time to write every fortnight to you; and

if I write news at any other time to any with you, I shall order your having the use of them. I am much concerned to hear of Mr Stirling's affliction, and I hope you will let me know how he is, in case he shall not write himself.

At our meeting of Presbytery last we ordered summonses for the Episcopal clergy, and are purposed to depose them upon evidence of their rebellion, which will be easily proven. And I find this is the method which other Presbyteries here are taking to ease the corner for ever of the burden. I offer my dutiful respects to your wife and children; and particularly, I wish well to Alexander, and if your father and mother-in-law be with you, I hope you will remember me kindly to them. Let me hear when there is any thing about the Abjuration. I am yours in the Lord, and many strong obligations,

D. A. [DAVID ARCHER.]

Laurencekirk, March 30, 1716.

So soon as you have perused this, with the paper enclosed, you'll send both to my brother, though he should return them to you.

LETTER XLI.

OUTRAGE ON A GENTLEMAN AT MONTROSE.—APPREHENSIONS OF THE REBELS.—ANTI-JACOBITE TUNES.

*Rev. William Trail to Wodrow.*¹

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—Yours of the 2d instant I had upon the 9th, and cannot but reckon myself very much obliged to you for communicating your news, which, indeed, I heard nothing of before; and though any accounts I can give you of matters is

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xi. No. 96.

scarce worth your while to read, far less to obtain a return from you, yet I shall still use the freedom to entreat you that you may now and then bestow a spare half-hour to let us hear from you, which shall be still looked upon as a singular favour.

I am glad it was not your brother-in-law that met with that incivility in Montrose, though I am really sorry that any Anti-jacobite should have been so treated; the circumstances of which are thus:—Mr Warner, in his way coming north, betwixt Aberbrothwick (*alias* Arbroath) and Montrose, met with a man upon the way, at whom he asked his news, and where he was going. The man, it seems, either wavering in his first answer, or plainly telling he was one of Mar's servants, and that he was a mind to surrender himself to the Duke of Argyle, Mr Warner asked if he would surrender himself his prisoner, promising to carry him safely to Aberdeen, where Argyle then was; which accordingly the man did, and he brought him forward to Montrose, and there inquiring, and finding that Logie Scott had the management of affairs there, Mr Warner went and delivered his prisoner to him, to be kept in custody till the next day that he called for him, which accordingly Logie promised to do. However, half an hour after this the said prisoner comes back to Mr Warner, and upbraids him for being ungentlemanly in taking him prisoner, and told him that he was in as much danger of being made a prisoner as he was, and then went his way. A little after which, Scott of Logie, and the commandant of that garrison, (whose name I have forgot,) came in to Mr Warner, and after drinking a little with him, began to quarrel him to give an account of himself, and to allege he was a rebel, or something to this purpose. And though he could give a good enough account of himself, yet, without further ceremony, they ordered him to prison, where he lay two days, till he got notice sent to the Duke at Aberdeen, and received his orders for being liberate. Upon which, having got acquaintance with one Mr Gordon, a customhouse officer in this country, he asked his advice what to do, who advised him to protest against the commandant and Logie, for wrongous imprisonment; which, when he was about to do, and the said Mr Gor-

don (who was also my informer) being with him as a witness, the commandant, after that Mr Warner had protested against him, abused him with his tongue, and drew his sword ; but the said Mr Gordon prevented his doing any harm with it, so that all the personal injury Mr Warner received was a stripe with a cane, which was, indeed, too much. After this, it being near night, Mr Gordon advised him to defer the protesting against Logie at that time, lest a rabble might ensue ; which, accordingly, he did defer. This is the short sum of what came to my knowledge anent that affair, though I was, indeed, sorry I knew it not soon enough. I hear since that Mr Warner is taking out criminal letters against Mr Logie and the commandant, and I wish him good success in that process, for that will teach others to take better head what they do. Mr Warner staid in Montrose till Argyle came back from Aberdeen, and then went south with him.

As to our news here I shall give you them as they occur, though it may be you have better accounts of them from surer hands. Lieutenant-Colonel Cathcart, with a party of the Grey and Black Horses, stays now at Brechin. He is invested with the chief command of all this low country from Perth to Aberdeen, which is a very great mercy to the interest here ; for not only does himself behave very regularly, but causes the soldiers do the same, and takes special heed from whom he receives his informations, and he is very active in apprehending of the rebels in this country of Angus and Mearns. The last week he caught four or five of the rebels that were lurking in Angus, and yesterday sent a party, who apprehended Mr Robert Burnet, tutor of Glenbervie ; so that we hope, through the vigilance and diligence of that Lieutenant-Colonel, our rebels here (who, a little ago, were very uppish) will either be all apprehended or made to run the country.

We, in this Presbytery, have deposed several schoolmasters for their compliances during the Rebellion, and with respect to one, (who formerly was very well looked upon, and is very fit to teach a school,) we appointed him to subscribe a paper containing his acknowledgment of and expression of sorrow for the several steps of

his compliance, and ordered this to be read publicly, and he then publicly to own that that paper was subscribed by and contained his thoughts and sense. But I hear he will not do this, so you may depend upon it we will discard him altogether. We have also summoned all the Episcopal preachers who intruded into churches during the late Rebellion. We cannot tell if any of them will own us so far as to compear; but if they sit three citations we are resolved what to do.

Our Synod meets the next week, and if any thing occur worth informing you, Mr Archer or I shall be willing to communicate the same.¹

On Friday last, passed by this place, under the guard of a party of horse, and some Swiss foot, about the number of twenty-eight prisoners; among whom was Doctor George Garden, Peter Bannerman, Provost of Aberdeen during the Rebellion, some French officers, and two or three Episcopal ministers besides Dr Garden. And the week before that the Marquis of Huntly, and three or four gentlemen with him, passed through this country prisoners.

As to the account of my father's sufferings,² I shall see what may

¹ Mr Archer of Laurencekirk gives some account of the proceedings of this Synod. We give the following extract:—"Next we came to pass an act enjoining all Presbyteries to proceed with all dispatch against the Episcopal clergy, and all ministers, schoolmasters, and pedagogues, who had countenanced the late Rebellion; and to report their diligence to the next Synod; that praying for the Pretender, reading of papers emitted by Mar or the Pretender, keeping fasts or thanksgivings appointed by them, shall be censured by deposition; and that each Presbytery do narrowly inquire into the carriage of their several members during the said time, whether those who staid, or those who left the bounds. Our reasoning upon the last point of the act was like to fire the house, particularly a word from one that staid at home."—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xi. No. 108.)

² The circumstances in which this trial of Mr Trail's father originated, were the appointment and observance of a presbyterial fast. In the beginning of the year 1681, the Presbytery of Laggan, in Ireland, agreed that a day should be set apart for humiliation and fasting in the different congregations under their inspection, and drew up a paper containing the causes which called to this exercise, to be publicly read to their respective congregations on the Sabbath before the fast-day. A copy of this paper having fallen into the hands of some of the Justices of the Peace, Mr Trail and three other ministers, namely, Mr Alexander of Raphoe, Mr Campbell of Rae, and Mr Hart of Taughboyne, were summoned to attend a meeting of the Justices at Raphoe to be held on the 3d of

be done to get a distinct account of them. I have a Diary by me of these years, and though it is not easy to read over, yet I shall endeavour to do it, and take out any hints at it, which are there given, which, together with some papers relative to that affair, will help to clear them, though I cannot promise upon this so very soon, we having much public business, besides a great deal of private work I have in this congregation since the meeting-house broke up. But you may expect it as soon as may be, for I shall omit other things of my ordinary studies till I get that expedite, [expedited.] I am sorry I have so little news that is worth your while; but I shall omit nothing that may prevail with you to continue a correspondence which I so deservedly value. As to the success of the Gospel in this congregation where I am, I can say little about it. There is much ignorance, which greatly hinders the success of preaching, and were it not that I think I can sometime say that the Lord makes the preaching of the Gospel its own reward, I should be like to faint and give over; but blessed be his name, that he supports, and, at any time, makes his grace sufficient for me. I remember your wife kindly, and hope shall never forget your and her kindness when I was with you. I give my dutiful respects to your father and mother-in-law, and all friends, as you have occasion to see them. Hoping to be refreshed with good accounts of your family, I am yours, &c., to serve you,

W. T.

May. The ministers having attended, readily admitted that they had kept the fast, and that they approved of the causes drawn up for observing it, upon which they were dismissed. But about five weeks thereafter they were summoned to appear before the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Dublin. Having made their appearance, they were, on two separate occasions, examined respecting their observance of the fast, and other matters connected with their non-conformity. After their examination, they were referred to the assizes at Lifford, when they were convicted, by a packed jury of High Churchmen, of appointing and observing the above fast, fined L.20 sterling each, and required to subscribe a bond that they would not offend in a similar way for the time to come, or remain prisoners in Lifford. They chose rather to continue prisoners than come under such engagement, or pay their fines. Their imprisonment continued for upwards of eight months, when they were liberated, and their fines were afterwards reduced from L.20 to L.1.—(*Reid's History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, pp. 422-424, and pp 506-518.)

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Since the writing of what is above, I hear that two or three more of the rebels in this corner have been apprehended, and one Episcopal preacher, and that the Viscount of Arbuthnot very narrowly escaped, being forced to flee out to his garden in his shirt. I hear, also, since, that the tutor of Glenbervie made his escape (after he was taken) in the night time; but they are resolved to have him.

I shall subjoin this passage for your diversion, though, perhaps, you have heard it already, viz.—that when Argyle's Highlanders entered Perth and Dundee, (for they were upon the van of the army,) they entered in three companies, and every company had their distinct pipers, playing three distinct springs or tunes, apposite enough to the occasion. The first played that tune, "The Campbells are coming, oho, oho!" the second, "Wilt thou slay me, fair Highland laddie?" the third, "Stay and take the breeks with thee;" and when they entered Dundee, the people thought they had been some of Mar's men, till some of the persons in the tolbooth, understanding the first spring, sung the words of it out of the window, which mortified the Jacobites there.

Benholm, April 11, 1716.

END OF LETTERS ON THE REBELLION.

LETTER XLII.

THE EPISCOPAL PARTY.

To Mr T. Linning.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—The memorial I corrected and amended, according to the hints you gave, and some from Mr Wright, and sent it to Stirling on January 2, where I hear the brethren went in to the corrections, and left it in the hand of some to be taken

in to Edinburgh at the meeting, January 17. Whether any meeting was that day, I know not; I suspect there was none, the storm being so great, and the army just upon the point of marching.

I am of opinion our brethren at Edinburgh, their hasty and unconcerted going into the allegiance and assurance will have ill consequences, and will be an occasion of breaches among ourselves, and our crumbling into pieces. We may have meetings after this, but I fear we be not so free and harmonious, one with another, as we have been.

It seems plain now, that one of the grand pretences for imposing oaths upon us is, in Providence, taken out of the way, to distinguish us from the Episcopal tolerated party. They have all, as one man, joined in the rebellion, and if after this a toleration be continued, and oaths be allowed to them for cleansers, the Government, I think, will be much out in their politics. I am yours, &c.

Feb. 13, 1716.

LETTER XLIII.

STATE OF CHURCHES IN NEW ENGLAND.—SAVAGE RETALIATIONS
OF THE INDIANS.—PROSPECTS OF THE CHURCH.

*Dr Cotton Mather to Wodrow.*¹

Boston, N. England, 17th. vii^m. 1715.

SIR,—When the distance of the huge Atlantic separates brethren from one another, one method unto which we must resort, for maintaining the *communion of saints*, is the epistolary.

You have so often obliged me, and so sweetly by your communications in that way, (which I entreat you to continue,) that I cannot be guilty of so much ingratitude as to endeavour no returns;

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xx. No. 8.

though such are our circumstances on this side the water, that you can expect but very small ones.

A little of what we are and of what we do, after which your brotherly charity towards your most united brethren here disposes you to be inquisitous, you will perceive by a few composures of the latest publication among us in the packet, which I now humbly tender to your acceptance.

To which I will add, that the Churches of New England at this time enjoy much tranquillity, and are continually, but very peaceably, multiplying into new societies. We have now near two hundred congregations.

No remarkable disturbance is offered unto them. Only that a furious man, whose name is John Wise, of whom we have not so much assurance that he has *cor bonum*, as we have that he has *caput non bene regulatum*, has lately published a foolish libel against some of us for Presbyterianising too much in our care to repair some deficiencies in our Churches. And some of our people, who are not only tenacious of our liberties, (which we easily allow them to be,) but also more suspicious than they have real cause to be, of a design in their pastors to make infractions and abridgments on them, are too much led into temptation by such invectives. But the impression is not so great as our adversary doubtless hoped for. And his devices are much disappointed by [our] taking the course which I find a celebrated University [in] Europe lately took, when an abuse was put upon [them]—*Visum est non alio remedio quam generoso sil[entio] et pio contemptu utendum nobis esse.*

We are not without some inconvenience from missionaries of the Church of England sometimes arriv[ing] and imposing among us. It seems to us a little surprising that the *Society for Propagation [of Christian Knowledge] in Foreign Parts* should leave so many English plantations in their most paganising circumstances, and at [the] same time choose to send their missionaries [to us. We judge] they can only serve as tools of contention for pre[aching to] about a dozen, or some very diminutive company [of] wretched and sorry people, who merely for mis[chief] declare themselves for the

Church of England (which they know little of) in towns where there are faithful and powerful pastors, and flourishing Churches, in which the meanest Christians understand religion, and practise it better than the ministers whom they send over to us. But, by the marvellous Providence of God, it comes to pass that the ministers whom they send over have been such ignorant, vicious, debauched creatures, that their hearers have soon grown weary of them, and the Church of England has been, in a country of religious people, rendered (and how should it be otherwise?) to the last degree contemptible. No remonstrances have hitherto signified any thing to cure this profanation upon the society. But even this week another blade of the mission, keeping up the character of his predecessors, is arrived for a litigious vicinity in one of our towns, where the person who went before him so disaffected his own crew of pretenders for the Church of England, that they generally deserted him. God will one day put an end unto these things!

The colony of Carolina, to the southward of us, is nearly destroyed by the dreadful judgments of God; for which an uncommon measure of iniquities had ripened it. This unhappy people, in carrying on their trade with the Indians, had greatly injured them and provoked them; and the scandalized savages at last conspired and broke in upon them, and, with a massacre of the people whom their first fury fell upon, (among which were near an hundred of the traders,) they laid the country waste; so that they are generally driven into Charlestown, their capital town, where it is feared they cannot be long subsisted. In the prosecution of this descent upon the miserable Carolinians, the barbarities perpetrated by the Indians are too hideous to be related. There were a sort of inhumanity in the very relation of such things. But yet I will venture to mention one instance, that, *crimine ab uno*, you may apprehend the rest. One Major Cochrane, a very honest man, had been a trader with these Indians, yea, their leader in expeditions, and their feeder very often at his hospitable habitation, and they had a reciprocal esteem for one another. Nevertheless, he was one of the first seized by the Indians, who bound him, and

then stript his lady, and abused her with all possible and infandous prostitution before his eyes. Then they stuck her flesh with splinters of that oily wood which they burn for candles, and set them on fire. In this condition, and with these lingering torments,—but how horrid!—she was two or three days broiling and wasting to death; in which time they roasted her sucking infant, and compelled her to eat of it; and when these diabolical operations were gone through, they finished all by barbikewing of the gentleman! *Quis talia fando!*

It is very much to be feared, that the combination of the Indians is more general than merely for the destruction of Carolina, and under a French and Spanish instigation; and that some other colonies, which, alas! are too obnoxious, will shortly suffer grievous depredations.

In this country, we are not free from a share with the rest of them that profess the reformed religion abroad in the world, in a lamentable decay upon the power of godliness. Nevertheless, the country [has] in it a number of prayerful, watchful, fruitful Christians; and something more is to be said than merely this, that [it is] generally filled with a sober and honest people.

It is impossible for me to express how dear the Church of Scotland is unto their brethren here, though it be only expressed in the civilities which its ministers, happening to come hither, do commonly meet withal.

I join with you in expecting that the kingdom of God will quickly be seen in some appearances and advances of it, beyond what have been in the former ages. But very much of my expectation is, that God will raise up some instruments, who, from the mines of the Sacred Scriptures, will dig and run the *maxims of the everlasting Gospel*; the glorious MAXIMS, wherein all the children of God really are united, and whereinto all that come, as they ought to do, are to be esteemed and embraced as the children of God. The children of God and of his kingdom, under various professions, will arrive to a declared and explicit union on these MAXIMS, and lesser points will be depressed unto their due subordination.

Disputations on these lesser points may be continued, but managed with that justice, and candour, and meekness, which become the children of God. The brethren, thus becoming sensible that they are so, will associate for the kingdom of God in such methods, that the things to be consumed by the *stone cut out of the mountain* shall be all broken to pieces before them. *Glory to God in the highest, with peace on earth, from good will among men*, will be the grand character and intentions of the kingdom. And the tokens and effects of the Divine presence among the people of our Immanuel will be very wonderful.

I confess myself to be at work upon these maxims, not without hopes that some fruit of my studies may ere long reach unto you. In the meantime, I was comforted with letters from the most illustrious University in the world, which much animated [me in my] studies; whereof I have here enclosed you a memorial, under the title of *Nuntia Bona*.¹

I entreat you to remember me most affectionately, and give my most humble services to the [best of] men, my Lord of Pollock, unto whom I wish the best of blessings. You will also [favour] him with the sight of all that this packet co[n]tains in it.

My long letter must now terminate in my [ear]nest supplications to the most glorious Lord, that his Church with you, the dearly beloved of his soul, may be preserved from the High-flying birds of [Edom,] on whom Obadiah's prophecies will be speedily executed;² and that you particularly may be [many] years an useful instrument of much service in his kingdom in the world. With such prayers, and with all possible affection, I am, Sir, your brother and servant,

COTTON MATHER.

¹ This piece is to be found among the Wodrow MSS., 8vo. vol. xi. No. 8. It is entitled, "*Nuntia Bonæ et Terræ Lonjina*. A brief Account of some good and great things a-doing for the Kingdom of God in the midst of Europe; communicated in a Letter to — from Cotton Mather, D.D. and F.R.S." The whole of the letter relates to the Frankian institutions, and the University of Halle. It is dated 18 d. 3 m. 1715.

² See Obadiah, verses 3d and 4th.

LETTER XLIV.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.—THE REBELLION.—SACRAMENTAL TEST.—
DEATH OF PRINCIPAL CARSTARES.

*To the Very Rev. Cotton Mather, D.D., and Minister of the Gospel
at Boston, in New England.*

REV. DEAR SIR,—With some impatience I watched for an occasion to acknowledge my receipt of yours of the 17th day of the 7th month 1715, with the packet which came with it, containing the valuable productions of one of my dearest friends, and have now happily got it by Captain M'Bride.

By this time he cannot but be sensible how ill proportioned returns must be expected from this place. And when I consider how many reverend and worthy brethren you have in the neighbourhood, whose better accounts might justly supersede any hints of matters in this Church, from one of my small intelligence, I am sometimes at a stand, whether I ought to consume your precious and well employed time with any thing from me.

But when you are pleased to desire me to continue this epistolary communion with you, and I reflect upon the vast advantage I have from your kind and instructive returns, for which I desire humbly to bless the Lord, I heartily embrace every opportunity to cultivate our correspondence, and earnestly beg you'll please to take every occasion to let me hear from you.

The peaceful and multiplying circumstances of the Churches of New England is matter of praise to the Lord from me, and several praying Christians, to whom the contents of yours were communicated, who desire to have the interests of religion and the kingdom of our Lord very near their heart, particularly in America and New England. May the Lord of the harvest continue your blessings, and give grace to improve them! It will refresh us here to hear of this.

Your inconveniences, from the attempts of the Highflyers in England, I hope are drawing to a close, when Providence is appearing against the wicked party, Papists in heart, and scandals and a reproach upon the Reformation. I hope the calamities of poor Carolina are, by this time, at an end for some time, and that adorable Providence which hath broken the wicked projects of France and Spain, will create a defence over the other Protestant settlements in America.

The account you give me of the generality of your people, as more than sober and honest, as I believe it is just, so I rejoice in it, when real heart-exercising religion is truly at a low pass with us, and more at under than we ourselves are justly sensible of. Yet I dare not despise the day of small things. Glorious Christ hath a remnant, I hope a numerous seed, in Scotland. May they be daily increasing here, with you, and through all his churches, and great additions be made to that numberless number that shall stand before the throne and the Lamb! I know you wrestle together with us. We need the prayers of New England; we have them, and I hope ever shall.

Your hint in the end of yours of the revival of the *glorious maxims of the everlasting Gospel* is, indeed, *nuncia bona* to me, and as waters to a thirsty soul. May the Lord be with you in your essays to promote so glorious, great, and necessary a work! May he whose is the fulness of the Spirit be with the digger! May his hands be strong to dive into the sacred mines! May much treasure hid be found, and laid out again to great account! May a part of it come quickly over to us!

With these I'll be fond of a further account of the present state of your churches, and the Protestant interest in America, and what notices you have from the East Indies, and that glorious beginning of some great things, the Frankian schools.¹

I was favoured lately with an account of [your] illustrious university, from one of the Doctor's scholars, in conversation; but our

¹ For an account of these schools, see Appendix, No. 2.

accounts here of them are so few, that yours will be most welcome.

I wrote to you by a friend coming to Maryland in December 1714, and another about February 1715, by a merchant coming by way of Boston. Whether these came to hand, I know not.

Since that time, wonderful hath the way of Providence been to Britain and Ireland : but, in a particular manner, we, in this poor Church and land, have been trysted with a very dark cloud, and a glorious and wonderful delivery. The history of the Lord's way with Scotland, since the middle of August last, will, I hope, employ the pen of some wise observer, and considerer of Providences. We have judgment and we have mercy to sing of.

A deep and hellish design was laid in summer last, for an invasion upon us from France, of which the King laid the accounts before the Parliament in July. Probably you will have from England ere this time the public accounts of this matter, and what progress has been made in this wicked plot of hell,—Rome, against the Reformation, and, therefore, I shall only give you a short hint of affairs with us. Many sheets might be written of the wonders of this step of Providence, but I shall point only at a few hints to stir up you, and all our dear friends with you, to pray and praise for us.

The first plan of the horrid design was, that the Duke of Berwick, King James the Seventh's natural son, should have landed in the river of Clyde, with eight thousand Irish and French, and, at the same time, the Pretender, with a few ships, officers, and money, was to land in the north of Scotland, where, indeed, he had too many friends. The scheme was disconcerted by a Divine hand, in the death of the French King, the 21st of August. The Earl of Mar, the great support of our tolerated party in Scotland, came down to Scotland on the 17th of August, and in some weeks got together the Highland Clans, and the tolerated Prelatic party in the north, in conjunction with the Papists there, and towards the end of October they were 10,000 strong. A detachment of 2000

came over the Firth of Forth, and ravaged the east part of the nation, and had very near surprised the city of Edinburgh. This body, joined with the Papists and malcontents in the south, went in to the north of England to join the Papists in Lancashire.

Meanwhile, the Duke of Argyle made a stand with 3000 regular forces at the Bridge of Stirling, and after the rebels are masters of the whole north, that is, almost the half of Scotland, and advanced with 10,000 men within a few miles of Stirling, the Duke gave them battle, and although half of his army run, yet, through the Lord's good hand upon him, with 1400 he routed the rebels' left wing of 5000, and kept his ground, and the rebels retired back to Perth. The same day, November 13, the rebels in England were perfectly broke at Preston, in Lancashire.

We were promised assistance from abroad of 6000 Dutch and Swiss troops, but the fears were so great in England, that at first it was found necessary to keep them there ; but after the defeat at Preston, they were sent down to us, and it was the end of the year before they arrived.

The Pretender landed from France much about the same time, and Providence wonderfully appeared in marring the gathering of his friends from the Highlands by the excessive snow, and extraordinary frost upon the ground. The Earl of Sutherland had likewise got together a small army in the North beyond Mar and the Pretender, and prevented many their joining him, so that their numbers were never above six thousand after his arrival. These had fortified the town of Perth, and most of them lay there. Upon the 30th of January the Duke of Argyle marched up to that place with his army, and our God filled the enemies with terror, and they fled without ever making any stand, and upon the 4th of February the Pretender, Mar, and their general officers, got off in a ship for France, and left their friends to shift for themselves ; in a day or two they dispersed, and the Duke of Argyle is now, blessed be the Lord ! master of the whole country, and putting garrisons in the most considerable parts of it.

This is an abbreviate of this attempt ; but the seasonable and

glorious interposition of Providence in every part of it, from beginning to end, is so various and wonderful to us who observed it, that we can only sit down and wonder, and say, "the Lord hath done great things for us." We have been made to stand still, and see the salvation of our God. All hath been a continued, miraculous, at least extraordinary appearance of Providence. A desperate attempt upon the Castle of Edinburgh, and our bank there, was discovered and disappointed, after the scaling-ladders were fixed, the rebels at the foot of the wall, and within five minutes of its execution. Every thing was admirably timed, and we were still brought to a choak in every step before our outgate came.

Your friends in Glasgow, and we in the neighbourhood, have been the only part of the nation free from the sword of the rebels; and the Lord hath taken a distinguishing way with us, for his own name sake, and because he knew the wrath of the enemy, and how much we were the eye sore of the Pretender's party, who had devoted us to the utmost fury.

Great have [been] the hardships of the ministers and good people in the North. Wherever the rebels' power reached, they were most grievously used, and upwards of two hundred ministers forced from their work, and many of them obliged to fly. Their Churches intruded upon by the tolerated party, who addressed the Pretender upon his arrival, had their mock fasts for the success of his arms, and thanksgivings for his arrival.

I would fain hope this discovery they have made of themselves will effectually open the eyes of the Government, and put an end to their toleration. The Pretender when he came was so firm to his education, that he would not so much as engage to preserve the Protestant religion by oath when they were concerting to crown him. By no means would he be prevailed with to be an occasional conformist, or to be present at the English service, which was set up by all of the tolerated, and plainly told he would not disoblige his friends abroad. Thus our soul is escaped as a bird, he hath broken the snare, and we are escaped through the help of our all-sufficient Lord.

This remarkable turn of Providence hath led me out so far, that I can say little as to other matters among us. You will have heard that the oaths were re-imposed last year. The rebellion prevented a great part of the ministers through this part of the kingdom opportunities to take them, and so a new day is just now appointing by the present session of Parliament.* There is ground to think there will yet be different practices among us, which I pray turn not in the issue to the hurt of the Church.

We have just now the comfortable accounts, the Commons in Ireland have brought in a bill taking off the sacramental test from the militia and army, the first for ten years, and the other for ever. That vile prostitution of our Lord's holy institution is a scandal and matter of much reproach from the Papists upon our neighbours in England and Ireland. May the Lord put it in our King's heart to roll away this reproach! The fears they are justly under there at present of a descent from France by the late Duke of Ormond, have brought them to this in Ireland, and they have likewise resolved that the charges of the armament of that kingdom, in case of an invasion, shall be paid out of the Papist estates there.

You will have heard of Dr Williams'¹ death at London, which will be a considerable loss to the Dissenting interest there. We have likewise sustained a very great loss here by the death of Mr William Carstairs,² Principal of the College of Edinburgh, and

¹ Dr Daniel Williams, an eminent Non-conformist divine, was born at Wrexham, in Denbighshire, about the year 1643 or 1644. He was eminently charitable during his life, and left his ample fortune to benevolent purposes. His works were, after his death, collected and published in six vols. 8vo.

² In the month of August 1715, Carstairs was attacked by apoplexy, which gave a shock to his constitution from which he never recovered, and he died on the 28th of December that same year. "The Rev. and worthy Mr William Carstairs died, about this time, in great peace and serenity; he said, a little before his death, that he had peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ."—*Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. iv. p. 39.—Carstairs was, in some respects, the most extraordinary man of his day, and his character has been variously estimated by opposite parties. In the "Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky, Esq." &c., written in 1703, and which contain the characters of the principal nobility and statesmen who lived at that period, there is a portrait of Carstairs which may be considered a caricature.

minister of the town, and one of his Majesty's chaplains. He was a person of great integrity, learning, and candour, and one who had a very great interest with many leading men at court, and of excellent address. You'll be pleased to hear that our worthy and deserving friend, the Rev. Principal Stirling, succeeds him as one of his Majesty's chaplains. No question he will write to you by this opportunity.

And from him, or some other better hand than mine, you'll be apprised of the process now in dependence between Mr Webster, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and Mr Simson, Professor of Divinity at Glasgow, anent some things erroneous, alleged to be taught by the last. His being my father's successor makes me decline dipping into that affair. This poor Church, since the Re-

"He is the cunningest, subtle, dissembler in the world," says the author, "with an air of sincerity; a dangerous enemy, because always hid. An instance of which was Secretary Johnston, to whom he pretended friendship till the very morning he gave him a blow, though he had been worming him out of the King's favour for many months before; he is a fat, sanguine complexioned, fair man, always smiling where he designs most mischief, a good friend when he is sincere; turned of fifty years old."—(P. 210.) Dean Swift wrote, on the margin of his own copy of this book, observations on several of the characters, in his own style. To the account given of Carstares, he added, "A good character, *but not strong enough by a fiftieth part.*" The author of Carstares' Life, in Chambers' "Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen," gives a more impartial sketch of his character. After speaking of the important share he had in emancipating Scotland from the tyranny of the Stuarts, and his great influence at Court, he says, "He preserved, through these vicissitudes of fortune, the same humble spirit and simple worth, the same zealous and sincere piety, the same amiable and affectionate heart. It fell to the lot of Carstares to have it in his power to do much good, and nothing could be said more emphatically in his praise, than that he improved every opportunity. It is related of him, that although, perhaps, the most efficient enemy which the Episcopal Church of Scotland ever had, he exercised perpetual deeds of charity towards the unfortunate ministers of that communion who were displaced at the Revolution. When his body was laid in the dust, two men were observed to turn aside from the rest of the company, and, bursting into tears, bewailed their mutual loss. Upon inquiry, it was found that these were Non-jurant clergymen, whose families had been supported, for a considerable time, by his benefactions."—"I believe," says Dr Calamy, "there are none that knew him but will readily concur with me, that he was a man of true honour, strict justice, and solid piety."—(*Calamy's Hist. Account of his Own Life, by Rutt, vol. ii. p. 339.* See also *Preface to his Nephew, Mr William Dunlop's Sermons, printed in 1722.*)

formation, has been entirely free of any disputes in point of doctrine, and I pray this may end so as the truth may prevail.

Permit me by this to give my most dutiful and affectionate respects to your venerable parent. I purposed to have written to him with this bearer, but am prevented by several avocations falling in ; and indeed I have nothing to give him the trouble of from this country but what I have hinted at to you. I still remember his kind letter he favoured me with, and the valuable collection of his books I had two years ago. I hope I have a share in his prayers and concern at the throne, and would most willingly hear from him. His sermon upon Psalm lxxv. 1, hath been much in my [thoughts] these two years, and his thoughts and yours upon those great turns of Providence, the late Queen's removal, and King George's reasonable and happy accession, the death of the French King, and the attempt of the Ottoman power on Europe, and the aspect of all upon the Reformation and coming glory of our Lord's mountain kingdom, would be a great obligation upon me.

I must, Dear Sir, now take leave of you at this time, with my most earnest suits for the Lord's erecting a defence over your Churches in New England, his blessing your excellent labours in every capacity for his glory and the great benefit of many, his continuing you long to do much for these noble ends. Humbly begging I may hear as frequently as may be from you, I am, Rev. and Dear Brother, your most affectionate and obliged,

R. W.

Feb. 18, 1716.

P. S.—I presume to recommend the bearer, William Zuil, &c. I send you our last Acts of Assembly, and will be glad to see that furious libel of John Wise you write of, and all the product of your country, especially yours and your father's.

LETTER XLV.

HIS HISTORY.—STEELE'S ASPERSIONS ON THE SCOTTISH CHURCH.—
ROBERT TRAIL AND WILLIAM GUTHRIE.

*To Principal Stirling, when going to London.*¹

REV. DEAR SIR,—Had I known you had been at Pollock on Saturday, I would have waited on you; and being told you are going

¹ The Rev. John Stirling was first settled minister of the parish of Inshinnan, and afterwards was translated to Greenock, where he was very useful. In 1700 he was appointed Principal of the College of Glasgow, and during the many years in which he held that situation, contributed much to promote the prosperity of the College. From his early years, and during the whole of his life, he was distinguished for piety. He died on the 28th or 29th September 1727, of a paralytic disorder, which cut him off, in the sixty-first year of his age. Wodrow, who had long lived in habits of intimate friendship with Mr Stirling, after stating the above facts, adds:—"The new notions Mr Simson has vented these years bygone have sat very heavy on him, and helped to sink his spirit, he having brought him in, and being married on his niece; and the poor and mean change of sides, and ungrateful treatment from him, have been very grieving to him, and, indeed, I think, have shortened his days. The Principal was an excellent gospel preacher, and preached much. He was with me eighteen or nineteen communions, and had great liberty in this place many times; and I know he had many sweet times to his own soul at our communions. He was well seen in the discipline of our Church, and once Moderator of the Assembly; and when he was Moderator, our Form of Process was passed by the Assembly, in which he had a good share. He was a person of great weight in our Synods, Commissions, and Assemblies. He carried most uprightly and faithfully in the present process against Mr Simson, and was by him, therefore, and his friends, reckoned his enemy. . . . By his testament he has left 1500 merks to his wife; 10,000 merks to his brother's children; 2000 pounds to the Library, as a fund for books, with all his library; 1000 pounds to the Society for Christian Knowledge; 100 pounds sterling in the hand of the town of Glasgow, the interest of it to ministers for two sermons in the year, one against Popery, and another against Socinians and Arians; 100 pounds to the poor of Glasgow; 100 to the poor of Kilbarchan; 200 merks to Inshanan; 300 merks to Greenock; and what money he had by him, which was considerable, after his funeral charges, to be given to poor ministers' widows and orphans. . . . I had much conversation with Principal Stirling, and generally now these seventeen years we used to ride in and out to Edinburgh to Commissions,

to London some day this week, I choose rather to give you the trouble of this, than to come in and take up your time, when I know you will be overladen both with visits and a hurry of business.

No doubt, you'll leave out my Third Book, which I'll have use for before you return. The Lord preserving health, I shall endeavour to have it transcribed, and put in some better order, as soon as I can. If you fall upon any books or papers that may be assisting to me there, I'll be fond of them. Perhaps Mr Ridpath may have some in his collection of papers; and if his own sufferings be such as need a room, in such a collection, and he'll send them, I shall carefully insert them. By this I offer my kindest respects to him, and will be most ready to communicate with him any papers I have which may be of use for his Continuation of Buchanan, and I think I have some that may be helpful to him.

I could wish you could fall on some way, when at London, to take off the aspersions thrown on this Church by Mr Steele, in his preface to the Present State of the Popish Religion.¹ His books take mightily among young people; and it were good some notice were given of his senseless blunders about our baptisms and other things. I wrote a letter upon this subject to Mr Smith; but his illness then, unknown to me, I believe did stop his doing any thing in it.

There is another business I'll presume to lay before [you,] that, if your leisure and other business at London allow, you'll please to do any thing you find proper. You know the Rev. Mr Robert Trail, minister at London, published Mr William Guthrie's Saving Interest, with a Preface giving an account of his character and life, 1705. Mr Guthrie's relations could have wished for a fuller account of that great man, and yet reckon themselves obliged to

and Assemblies, three times a year. He had a strong memory, was well seen in our late history. He was a person of public spirit, and singularly sweet in prayer, and very much taken up in ejaculatory prayer, even to his being mocked for it by his enemies, and a solid divine. Our loss is very great."—(*Analecta*, vol. v. pp. 151-154.)

¹ See *supra*, p. 77.

Mr Trail for that short account. There are some few matters of fact they could have given Mr Trail better information [about] than he has had, if they had known of his design. But the chief reason of my writing to you is—in that Preface Mr Trail acquaints us, that he knows many passages of God's presence with him, and of his blessing his labours, which he does not mention, because he is not without hope that some will think it fit to make Mr Guthrie better known. He adds, that he hath yet by him several letters which passed between him and his father; and hath on record by him, in writing, for several years, some singular things concerning him, which he forbears to publish.

If you can have so much time as to meet with the Rev. Mr Trail, and find it proper, I would gladly know if Mr Trail knows any thing of publishing his Life at more length, to which I would very willingly contribute any thing lies in my power. I have drawn up some rude draught of his Life from the best informations I could gather up in this country, in some eight or ten sheets, and am still adding what I can pick up about him. This makes me very fond of having the passages of the Lord's presence with him, the copies of his letters to Mr Trail the elder, and, above all, a copy of that written record of singular things anent Mr Guthrie which Mr Trail forbears to publish. I'll stand at no charges to have a copy of all that relates to him, if Mr Trail will be so kind as to allow it, and presume to hope you will not be backward to do any thing you find proper to help me to them. The Rev. Mr Trail is now old, and I know not how his papers may be scattered, when the Lord sees fit to remove him; and any thing that can be done in this will be a great obligation upon us here, and a service, I hope, to the interest of religion. Any returns that I can make to the Rev. Mr Trail I know cannot be of that consideration as to induce him to this trouble, unless his regard to Mr Guthrie's memory and his surviving relatives prevail with him. But if you find it convenient, you may acquaint him that I have a good many letters of his father's to several ministers in this Church, Mr John Murray, Mr James Durham, Mr Thomas Wylie. I suppose there may be

40 or 50, or more, giving a very full state of the unhappy differences between the Resolutioners and Protesters, from the 52 to the 60, [from 1652 to 1660;] all of them originals, which, if he desire a copy of, I shall most willingly cause send them.

You'll best know how far it will be proper to desire as full an account of his father's sufferings in the 1661, 1662, and afterwards. I have his answers to his libel, or indictment, before the Parliament, I think 1662, and have carefully extracted all I met with in the Council Registers anent him, and in Mr Bailay's [Baillie's] Letters; but I have very little about his sufferings afterwards; and his son is now the only person that can help best to them.

It is probable, before your return, the ministers of this Church will be again under different practices as to the oaths, though I do not yet hear of the day fixed for their re-imposition. The melancholy views I have of that affair, unless managed with that candour and prudence the circumstances of this Church call for, I incline rather to be silent about than trouble others with. I have been still of opinion, since King George's happy accession, such whose light, after all due means for information, among which I never reckoned public debates in large meetings, cannot come up to fall in with them, ought to make as little noise with their difficulties as may, till sufferings oblige them to vindicate themselves the best way their cause will bear. This, in my thoughts, is both safest for the Church, and most for the interest of the Government, we all I hope wish well to. For my own share, whatever my practice happen to be, my own heart does not reproach me for any disloyalty to King George, or any want of regard to the descent and entail of the Crown in his family. I sometimes indulge myself in the hopes, that after this Rebellion, and the evident siding of the tolerated party with the Pretender, the Government needs not be upon the look to distinguish between Non-jurors among Presbyterians and them; and if it be against good policy and Whig principles, as well as the interest of religion, not to tolerate Papists in England, because they depend upon a foreign head, and own a foreign jurisdiction, it is as ill policy, and as much against liberty, to tole-

rate the prelatic party here, who have as much of a foreign dependence on the Pretender and Papists abroad, yea, a greater, than some Papists. And, if public oaths be made tests of loyalty to that set of people, and the toleration continued with them upon taking the oaths, and others who in their practice in the most difficult junctures have given real proofs of their sincere loyalty, be suspected or persecute for their want of latitude as to public oaths in our present circumstances, I shall be mightily confirmed in the thoughts I have for some time had, that oaths are a very unnecessary and insufficient method to know the King's friends from his enemies. I pray the Lord may direct all concerned in this affair.

I heartily wish you a good and safe journey, and the Divine conduct and presence wherever you are. You may be sure I'd gladly hear from you at London; but I know somewhat of the burden of writing many letters under the throng of other business. My kindest respects to Mrs Stirling. I am, Rev. and Dear Sir, your very affectionate and very much obliged.

Feb. 27, 1716.

LETTER XLVI.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1716.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 1.

MY DEAREST,—I came safe hither this morning. Yesternight I staid with Mr Guthrie. I am very well, and long for accounts from you. I send Prideaux to your father, which I believe he will like very well; at least I was much pleased with the glisk I took of it. I send likewise the Wonders of the 1716, which I have not yet read myself.

For news, I have none as yet. The Commissioner came on Sabbath night. He says, there is an indispensable necessity of passing the Septennial Bill. Papers were discovered, wherein subscriptions were come the length of five hundred thousand pounds for advancing Tory elections next year; and, in the midst of the elections, in case they should not be the plurality, there was to be an invasion. The Septennial Bill is passed the Commons by a vast plurality. There is a story here of Mr Haldane of Gleneagles, and one Snell, an English gentleman. Mr Haldane had a very handsome speech in favours of the bill. Mr Snell said, he did not much wonder to hear that gentleman, and others of his nation, speak after that fashion, for their nation was sold and enslaved, and they would have their neighbours so dealt with; whereon were great heats. Sir David Dalrymple said, the gentleman who spoke (Mr Snell) knew well where he spoke, and that the House was his sanctuary; others said more plainly, that he durst not speak so without doors. Mr Snell was brought to the bar, and to crave pardon. When the bill was passed, it was moved that none should be allowed to sit in the House of Commons who had pensions from the Government, and, they say, agreed to. Mr Lechmore moved that this should be extended to the House of Peers, but that was not gone into; but I have no distinct account of this. Honest Dr John Edwards,¹ in Eng-

¹ Dr John Edwards, the son of Thomas Edwards, a Presbyterian divine of England, but a Conformist, was born at Hertford in 1637. He was educated at St John's College, Cambridge, where his diligence and talents acquired him much reputation. In 1661 he was ordained deacon, and then priest, by Dr Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln. He was afterwards promoted to various situations. His style of preaching was simple, but eloquent and attractive. When he was appointed to Trinity Church, at Cambridge, in 1664, the most distinguished members of the University were frequently among his hearers. In 1697, having been unfitted, through bodily infirmity, from preaching, he formed the resolution of publishing works on religious subjects for the benefit of the public, and afterwards spent his life much in retirement and study. His principal works are, "Inquiry into Several Remarkable Texts of the Old and New Testaments;" "A Demonstration of the Existence and Providence of God;" "Twelve Sermons on Special Occasions;" "A Survey of the Different Dispensations of Religion," in 2 vols.; "The Preacher," in three parts; "Veritas Redux, or Evangelical Truth Restored;" "Theologia Reformata, or the Substance and Body of the Christian Religion," in 3 vols. folio. It is a curious fact,

land, is dead, which is a great loss. I mind no more. If there be no other thing, I need not write this night by post, since Robin will be with you, if the Lord will, sooner. I don't know yet where I stay. I am seeking the records, but have not yet got them. My dearest respects to parents. I am your own.

May 1, 1716.

LETTER XLVII.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1716.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 2.

May 2, 1716.

MY DEAREST,—I am now settled in Mr Ritchie's, and am in a very good room, and with very discreet people, and I am very well as you could desire me. Lenshaw is out of town, and he did not leave the books I need with his servant, being, as he says, to be in town the middle of the next week. So I am working with the Council books, till I get the Justiciary ones. I fear this delay keep me longer in town than I could wish. It was needless to write yesternight, for I had nothing further to add, and I have very little to add this day. I have two old comrades in the house with me, ministers in Aberdeenshire, who staid in their churches all the Rebellion. They tell me two Presbyterians in their Synod are deposed, Mr Hunter in Banff, and another whom I have forgot, by the Synod of Aberdeen; and two in Angus; that is all I hear of who have joined. The heads of the rebels are all off the country. Some of the lesser gentlemen are skulking in disguise, in beggars' habit; some with skin aprons as weavers, some with elwands and

that Dr Edwards never possessed a library of his own, but borrowed the books he needed from the University libraries, and from booksellers, whom he paid for the loan. The few books he had consisted chiefly of Bibles, Lexicons, Dictionaries, and similar works of reference. He died in 1716, in the 74th year of his age.

packs, and the like. The common people were at first averse to the Rebellion; but when once their heads went in, like one man they followed, and the skulkers keep up the disaffection. The rebels have been wonderfully restrained, and little hurt done to ministers' houses. None in Aberdeenshire were imprisoned. I hear there is a commission of Oyer and Terminer coming out. And, in July or August, the prisoners here are to be tried here, and five regiments are to encamp in Bruntfield Links. I must write all I hear when I have time, for, if once the Assembly were sit down, I shall have no time almost at all to write. Pray take a particular care of yourself, and let me know how my father keeps his health.

This night's news are, that the Council have appointed a thanksgiving for our deliverance, upon Wednesday, June 7th, for both England and Scotland; so they are before-hand with our Assembly.¹ This I thought was in view when the proposal was thrown out in the Commission, so we shall have no differences upon this head in the Assembly. The bill for prolonging the oath is passed both Houses. Upon Tuesday last, it is thought the Septennial Act will be touched, and other acts; and it's said, then the King will communicate his design of going to Hanover to the Parliament. He is only to take three noblemen with him, the Earl of Lincoln, Secretary Stanhope, and I have forgot the third. The Justices, in his absence, are not yet named. What I wrote before as to the clause added anent pensioners not being allowed to sit in the House of Commons was at Secretary Stanhope's motion agreed to as a new bill, and there it's to be stopped. The Lord Summers is dead.

¹ This thanksgiving for deliverance from the invasion of the Pretender was generally observed by the Presbyterians. We learn, however, that "Mr Webster observed not the thanksgiving, which gave great offence."—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xi. No. 130.) "On the thanksgiving day these verses were put into the Tron Church lettering, [the *procentor's* desk,] and the *Ladys* [ladies?] who put them in [were] secured—

"Did ever people play such pranks—
To murder men, and then give thanks!
Stop, preacher, hold, and go no further,
God will accept no thanks for murder."

Ibid. vol. xi. No. 128.

I have from a good [hand] this night, the gentleman who seized the servants, this account. On Friday last, there was a footman of Linlithgow's, and two or three more servants, were seized some where in Stirlingshire, or near Perth, by a factor of C. Erskine, in Kincardine, who took them straight to the Duke of Athole, and they have declared to him, in my author's presence, that upon the 18th of this month, there came a small light vessel from France to the Isle of Uist, and took in the Marquis of Tullibardine, the Earl of Linlithgow, Earl of Southesk, and three or four more of our Scots peers, and about twenty French officers, and as many Scots gentlemen, who had been skulking. They declared that several chests and great packs were brought out of the ship, and carried to a house of Clanronald's, and that the servants of that house said they were arms. The gentlemen and officers were allowed no servants with them; the noblemen had one servant allowed them, and thir who were seized were dismissed. My Lord Haddo, who is married to Athole's daughter, was present at the examination, and he asked if General Gordon was gone off, and the prisoners said he was still in the country. By private letters from London, I find my Lord Sutherland is the most popular Scotsman at London among the English; that he is extremely caressed there; that the Lord Mayor and Council of Aldermen were once upon inviting him to a public treat and entertainment; but it was waved because they would not go in likewise to treat A—le, [Argyle.] However, he is extremely caressed by the citizens, and the Squadron see fit to fall in with him, and the other side lessen all he has done.

May 3.

This day Mr Mitchell preached from Acts ix. 31,—“The churches had rest.” A most solid sermon. He spoke of rest from war, from persecution and error, and the import of walking in the fear of the Lord, and the reasons; and took care to notice Mr Carstairs' memory with honour in the entry of the application. I mind nothing further. After the ordinary steps the King's letter came, which is very general and abundantly kind. He gives all assurances of pre-

servation of our privileges, and takes notice of our firmness during the Rebellion, and concludes with recommending unity to us. We have nothing now about planting vacant churches, nor the looking after the Highlands and islands, nor charity to Episcopal ministers, as was the form some years ago. The instructions, they say, are favourable enough. The committees of bill overtures, and commissions, and preachers, are named. This is all I mind. My dearest respects to all with you. The Parliament is to rise in a week or two, and the King goes to Germany on the back of it.

When Mr Simson was put into the rolls this day, Mr Webster craved leave to speak, and it was by most who spoke waived. At length he dropt his desire, and desired the Assembly might observe that one of their number was under a process for scandal and error. My L. J. C. [Lord Justice-Clerk] said to me he wished, when Mr Stirling was chosen, and he could not be here, the College of Glasgow had not sent Mr S. [Simson] in thir circumstances.

My Dearest, I have yours by Mr Cuples, and yours by post this night. Pray, fail not to let me know how your eye is, and what sort of pain, if stinging or heavy. I am not in the committee I used to be on, for pr. [preachers.] I wish I be not put on that work of preaching. This day I was invited to dine with the Commissioner, which surprised me much. I am very well, and take a special care of myself. I have not time to read over what I have written.

May 2.

My Dearest Peggy, I am very well. Pray take a particular care of yourself, and do not overwork yourself. Let me know how your eyes are ; and how the children are, and how Ben continues. Keep all my letters, and let them not go too far abroad. This long letter will apologise for short ones afterward. I shall labour to write every post, but in case a throng of work intervene be not uneasy, for if any [thing] should ail me, as I hope the Lord will prevent it, I shall surely write, and nothing but throng of work will hinder me, and my not getting to the post-house. Let me know how Mr Stirling is, and how all at Doucathall is. The letter you sent was not broke up, for I compared it with the seal that was whole.

LETTER XLVIII.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1716.

To Colonel Erskine, No. 3.

May 3, 1716.

MY DEAREST COLONEL,—I could not but write this short line, though I am in such a hurry, that I can scarce write sense. As to our grievances, I am of opinion they should be pressed this Assembly, though I have no hopes of any thing being done this way, and they will be moved, though it be but to keep the thing agoing. I find the most of our leading men are not really in the thoughts you are, and I very much question if they really take them to be grievances, otherwise they would never stave them off as they do; and I am plainly in the mind, that whatever be said, we differ among ourselves in somewhat more than the expediency and season of application, for, at bottom, many are against all application. It's now urged that the Parliament is about to rise, that the King is going to Germany, and that it will strengthen the enemies of the Government to make any noise about them; but, in plain terms, laxness in principle is at the bottom. However, I think all this ought not to hinder us to be essaying all we can, though I don't think any thing will be got done this Assembly. I wish you may inform all you have access to speak with where these things will land, and what a hidden fire may come to at length, and how much it is the King's interest the Church of Scotland should be unfettered; and if you have access to drop any thing to the King, I wish hints were given to this purpose.

Meanwhile, let me know how people take the Septennial Bill, which, at first view, appeared to me an infringement; but I am sorry to hear there is so much necessity for it. We are at a poor pass. Let me likewise know what is to be done anent the sacramental test, and in favour of the Dissenters. This is a very me-

lancholy Assembly, and my fears are not over as to the Lord's controversy. Our state parties are evidently got in to our judicatories, besides our own differences, and the business betwixt Messrs Webster and Simson is like to inflame us. Great grace be with you! I am yours,

R. W.

LETTER XLIX.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1716.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 4.

May 4, 1716.

MY DEAREST,—I send you a copy of the King's Letter. Two remarks are made upon it, that none we have had is so kind, and it's not ordinary for Kings to return thanks as he does here. The other is, that he names only the Government, without either naming Presbyterian or legal, and without touching the doctrine, worship, or discipline, and that he says all his subjects have reason to be easy as to all their concerns, religious and civil, which is the reason given in the bill for toleration, and the words of it; and it is thought to favour the toleration; but, for my share, I see not this consequence. This day, the forenoon was spent in prayer. The Moderator, Mr Mulligen, Mr Boyse, Mr Cameron, Mr John Hamilton, Mr James Grierson, Mr Blackwell, prayed. I have been better at Assembly prayers. Then, the preachers were named for two days, which, I think, is indeed a good change, and to the advantage both of Assembly and preachers. Mr Chalmers of Kilw[inning] and Professor Anderson next day; and Mr Macmurdo and Mr Willison of Brechin for the second day. Their nomination was unanimously approven, because every body is willing to be free, at least some are.

In the afternoon, the Committee of Overtures met, and the draught of the Answer to the King's Letter was read, where, upon first reading, I missed Mr Carstairs. There were no amendments made, except of some few words not material. When we thank the King for his assurances, we take notice of the memorial given in from the last Assembly. There was a debate whether it was from the Assembly or Commission, because the last Assembly had left it to be transmitted by the Commission, but we got over that. And Townshend's letter was read to Mr Mitchell in answer to the letter we wrote from the last Commission, when the memorial was transmitted a second time. It's very kind, and he acquaints us that he had laid it before the King, and that the Rebellion had hindered him from considering it; but he assures the Church of Scotland of his protection and countenance, but speaks nothing of the removing the grievances. The committee, who brought in the answer, after they had gone through all the articles of the King's letter, added a short kind of address before the prayers, congratulatory to the King after the Rebellion upon the success of his arms, without mentioning the Duke of Argyle. The design of this was smelled to be the shouldering out of a congratulatory address, and so it was moved that clause should be left out, and an address agreed upon to be drawn up afterwards. This the Squadron opposed, and at length it was pressed to have a vote, Address the King or Not, and it carried unanimously in the committee, Address, among the ministers; a few of the elders did not vote. Then it was voted, Transmit the answer, with or without the clause. Here the Squadron¹ were violent to have the clause continued in the answer, and that was carried. It's thought they will improve this to curtail the address as much as may be; but I am mistaken if this way they get their design throughed; and by the souch of members I imagine

¹ The violence of party spirit had, at this time, risen to a great height between the Squadron and Argyle.—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xi. No. 125.) This explains the factious spirit displayed in the Assembly by the Squadron. The party was much gratified shortly after this, by the removal of Argyle from his post, as Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's Forces in North Britain; and by the Duke of Montrose's appointment to be Lord Register of Scotland, in the room of Argyle's brother, the Earl of Islay.

the Duke of Argyle will be named, and that warmly enough. It's a sore matter our State differences will still involve us in our judicatories. I suspect I shall not have much time after the morrow to write so full accounts. The committee for commissions were asked whether they had considered Mr J. Simson's commission from the C. of Glasgow, which had been objected against in the Assembly, by Mr Webster, because he was a person under process. The committee answered, that Mr Webster did not apply to them, and as to the Commission, it was formal enough, which was all under their cognizance. Whether there will be any more of this, I do not know. But I suspect it is in the view of some to have it in open Assembly. They talk much that it's an unusual thing to have one a member of an Assembly who is under process for the scandal of error.

May 5.

This day the Assembly met, and the answer of the King's Letter was read and appoven, without any amendment, and a Committee appointed to draw up a congratulatory address to the King. Then two hours debate ensued anent Mr Simson's being allowed to vote in the Assembly. He, upon that, gave in a complaint of Mr Webster as offering in an hour to prove him Socinian, Arminian, and Jesuitical. Both were referred to the Committee for Commissions to ripen an overture, and bring it into the Committee of Overtures anent that new charge. Meanwhile, Mr Simson laid himself aside from voting. This business is like to breed a dreadful heat in the Assembly. The Lord direct all well! There was no more I mind, but a Committee for Commission book and Instructions, and North [district] where I am. And [I am] this night classing them, and so want time to say any more. We have no news this night. Glasgow bill is engrossed. There has been an alarm upon Dublin; but I see no distinct account of it. The Bills in dependence were to be touched on Thursday last, and new bills bringing in anent the Highlands. They say the Earl of Stair is upon a treaty between England and France, but I don't understand it.

Dearest P.—I am very well and kindly dealt with by Mrs R.

You write not how your eye is. We must leave Ben and them all on Providence, who can guard from all evil, and prevent with blessings of goodness. I know not if my Lord Boyle be in town; but I shall as soon as I can inquire for him; but the throng of our work must be over. Langshaw comes not to town till next week. But I am throng at the C. [Council] Registers. Pray take care of yourself, and let not my letters go much abroad. The Lord be with you! I am your own R. W.

LETTER L.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1716.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 5.

May 7, 1716.

MY DEAREST,—Having a spare quarter of an hour, and that is much now that we are entered upon our work, I shall continue my accounts. I hear of nothing by Saturday's post, but some private letters pretend that the King has put off his journey to Hanover, and designs a circuit through his own dominions, and that he is to be in Scotland. This is wrote, but I don't much depend on it. It is said, with more confidence, that the Earl of Stair is busy in framing a treaty with France; but whereabouts, I do not understand. The preliminary to it is to be the Pretender's removal from Avignon, and all other places where the Regent can have interest.

Yesterday Mr Chambers preached on Dan. ix. 25, last part, "The street shall be built, and the wall, in troublous times;" where he got in the women¹ as the hinderers of the building the wall. He lectured on Zech. iii. chapter.² In the afternoon Mr Anderson

¹ The reference here is not easily understood.

² The frequent reference made by Wodrow to the practice of lecturing as well as preaching during the same service, is explained in the following account by an eye-witness, the famous Dr Edmund Calamy:—"The first Lord's day after I

preached on Mat. v. 46, "What do you more than others?" The address to the King on the Rebellion is sub-committed. In the forenoon, in the overtures, we had a reference from Angus. The case was to be determined by us there, and not to come to the Assembly. Mr Alexander Archibald, minister at Barry, at the pressing desire of his people, preached to them on the 26th of January, the Pretender's thanksgiving; but a practical sermon, without meddling with the business of the day. The Presbytery had called him, and, upon his penitence and sorrow, which they say was very great, after Argyle came to Perth, suspended him two Sabbaths, and rebuked him before his own congregation, where his penitence appeared, and absolved him. The Synod being in a few days, it was jealous the Presbytery did this to deliver him from the Synod. The Synod took in the matter, referred it for advice, and the Committee of Overtures remitted it, with this advice, that the Synod consider the Presbytery's hasty carriage, and likewise Mr Archibald's case. The strait was not so much the Synod's power to meddle with a finished process, but his being absolved before the people. However, he not having read the Seasonable Warning, and some curates being much in the same case, and willing to be penitent, the committee remitted it to the Synod to dip into both Presbytery's procedure and Mr Archibald's case.

The Committee before whom Mr Webster and Mr Simson's business came, as in my last, reported to the Committee of Overtures, that Mr Webster owned his offer in print, and was ready to give condescensions. Accordingly, he was called, and gave in a paper containing propositions extracted out of Mr Simson's own reached Edinburgh, [in 1709,] I was an hearer in the New Church. The auditory was much crowded. It was a very common complaint that they wanted more places for public worship. The ministers, even in the most solemn auditories, preached with neckcloths and coloured cloaks, which a little surprised me. It was their common way, unless they were Professors of Divinity, or persons remarkable for age and gravity. It was their usual way to expound some portion of Scripture during about half an hour, which they call lecturing. After a short prayer, a sermon followed of the same length. They usually take as much pains in studying for lecturing as for sermon, and some a great deal more."—*Calamy's Hist. Account of His Own Life*, vol. ii. p. 177.

Answers and Letters,¹ which he alleges prove Mr Simson guilty of Socinianism, Jesuitism, and Arminianism. Mr Simson would have him to class the propositions, and point out what was Socinian, and what Arminian, and what Jesuitism, and prove him guilty of the distinguishing errors of these sects, wherein they differed from other sects. Mr Webster said he would prove him guilty of errors which those three maintained, in opposition to truth and Calvinism, but would not take on him to class their errors, but alleged all the three were in the propositions given in. Mr Webster gave in likewise a supplication, desiring the Assembly might determine in this affair, and put a stop to this erroneous doctrine. We were so very long taken up with the parties, that we came to no reasoning on this matter. In the afternoon the Assembly met, and appointed a collection for the Society for Christian Knowledge, heard some representations from the north, and remitted them to the Committee for Instructions, and very unanimously transported Mr M'Derment from Dalmellington to the town of Ayr. This is all I mind.

May 8, 1716.

This day, in the forenoon, the Committees met. The draught of our address to the King was not ready. We began to go through the Instructions. The first was a day of thanksgiving. It was said the King had appointed one, and two were sent to the Commissioner to know the certainty. He returned, a day was appointed by the proclamation not yet come down, but the matter was entire as to us. We named a committee to prepare a draught of

¹ The Answers here spoken of were Mr Simson's Answers to Mr Webster's libel, which he read before the Presbytery of Glasgow, March 29, 1715, and prefaced by a speech, in which he professes to hold the Confession of Faith as the confession of his faith; and, yielding too far to the asperity of personal feeling, represents Mr Webster as an "ordinary accuser of the brethren," all whose "zeal amounted only to a loud publishing and bold spreading of calumny and slander, with a design to leave it there." These answers, which were published at the time, exhibit a strange mixture of truth and error, philosophical reasoning and idle speculation. Mr Simson's Letters referred to were those which he wrote to Mr Robert Rowan, minister in Penningham. Mr Webster refers to them in proof of some parts of his libel against Simson.

causes and an act on our part. The matter of the Church's grievances was next reasoned. We seemed to agree at this Committee that the last Assembly's memorial was lame in some things; that a Committee should be named to see what additions were proper of matter and reasons from the Rebellion: that the Commission send two, and lay it before the Commons when they sit, where we are not straitened as to our application, and that it's to go by way of bill from them to the Peers. These are great proposals; what shape they will yet take before they come to the Assembly I do not know.

In the afternoon the Assembly sat, and we had Mr Simson's process before us, in the new channel it's now put into, by way of a new offer and charge out of Mr Simson's answers. We debated four hours about the manner of proceeding; whether to order Mr Webster's propositions, which are indeed much that is already in the libel, to be given to Mr Simson to give an answer to as they stand, or to order him to class them as Socinian, &c., or, at least, what parts of the Confession and Scripture they are against. The defender had some angry expressions, that his accuser dealt just with his answers as the devil did with the Scripture to our Lord; which was very dissatisfying to many. This business, I fancy, must go to a committee, for it cannot be ended in the Assembly; but what turn it will take I know not. I mind no more, and give my dearest respects to parents and all friends.

My Dearest P.—I am quite outwearied with hearing I don't know what in the Assembly. It's now late, and I can only tell you I am very well, and free of my pain, which I needed not have named to you had it not been to be faithful to my promise. Yours is most refreshing. Pray take care of your eyes. Return my hearty thanks to my father, and Mr Love, for their help last day. You may communicate all my letters to Mr Love when he comes over. I cannot write things but as I have time, and as they come in my head. Let as few see them as may be, and see they be not opened at Glasgow. Mr Naismith is to be with you next Sabbath. You need not write to Mr Archer. I can say nothing to

my home-coming till Langshaw come to town. I shall write as soon as I can determine myself. Pray guard against melancholy. The Lord be with your sp. [spirit.] I shall stay as short while as may be. If occasion offer, send word to Thomas Gemble to acquaint Mr Coats to lay his count by [past] me, for I see my work will not allow me to be with him, though I come home sooner than I expect. I commit you and the bairns to the good hand that has still been about them. I dined this day at the Earl of Hyndford's; my lady is better. They go next week to Carmichael. My service to all friends.

LETTER LI.

LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1716.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 6.

May 9.

MY DEAREST,—This day from eight of the clock till nine at night, except at dinner with Captain Campbell and Major Aikman, I have been in the yoke, and I can give you very little account of any thing done. In the morning the sub-committee on the address to the King met and read the address in two shapes, one naming the Duke of Argyle, and but naming him *under the conduct of the Duke of Argyle*, and the other without naming him. The hour of the Assembly came on at ten, where we spent two hours on Mr Simson's affair, and came to put the propositions extracted by Mr Webster from Mr Simson's letters and answers in Mr Simson's hand, to see and answer against Friday, when we shall have another day I fear mis-spent on it. Mr Simson protested that Mr Webster had fallen from his charge of Arminianism and Jesuitism, by refusing to class the propositions, and condescend in the places of the Confession against which the propositions were.

We had next a lamentable representation of the irregularities of Mr Taylor at Wamphray, which was sub-committed to the Instructions, and some other little things. Afternoon, at three, the Committee on the address met, and we had most warm debates and scuffles among our ruling elders. One party alleged the bare naming of the Duke of Argyle was a making the Church of Scotland a tool to a party; that it was unprecedented; that if he were named, my Lord Sutherland and the Volunteers (none of which were spoken of) would be cast up, and the business of Preston and General Wills ought to be spoke of. On the other side, it was said this was matter of fact; there was no commendation of the Duke; that it was style, and what was ordinary in all addresses, and was siding with a party not to name him; and would be very ill taken if he were cast out when in. We were unwilling to come to a vote on it, and so delayed it till to-morrow. At five the Overtures met, and the business of the Church's grievances¹ came in, and was sub-committed to Mr Anderson, Professor of Aberdeen, Mr Hamilton, Mr Brisbane, Mr Wright, and me. I don't know what we shall do about them. This is all I mind, and I believe till this Committee is over I shall have little time to write much.

Our news this night, though I can have no time to read the letters, [papers,] is, that the King is not to go to Germany, that Mr M'Intosh and several others have forced their way out of prison. Rob Roy is taken; Coull and some others are come in.

May 10.

This day the Assembly met in the forenoon, and determined, in an appeal from the Synod of Lothian anent the case of Mr Hay's settlement at Peebles, that there was no appeal. In the sub-committee, after a vote, and two days' reasoning, the Duke of Argyle was carried to be named in our address, and others not to be

¹ "The Church's grievances," so frequently referred to, consisted chiefly of the Oath of Abjuration and Patronages. All parties in the Assembly being agreed on the latter "grievance," we hear the less about it in these Letters. See *Appendix*.

named ; and it's transmitted to the overtures who are on it at present. What they will come to I know [not.] It's moved Cadogan may be waited on.

This night, in the Committee of Overtures, we had a new debate about this address to the King, which has cost us so much work. The Earl of Sutherland was named and several others, and Mr Cadogan, according to the English style ; but it was found proper to approve the address as it came from the Committee naming Argyle. When this was carried, it was then moved that some of our members might be sent to Cadogan, being in town ; but the noblemen among us opposed that, and it was laid aside till the Assembly determine in that affair. What the Assembly does when it comes on I know not.

LETTER LII.

LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1716.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 7.

MY DEAREST,—I had written mine last post, but a Committee came in upon an important matter to my room, and staid till one of the clock, so that unhappily I missed that post. You must be easy when I do not write, and still believe I am well, otherwise you should hear from me, as I expect to hear from you. I am very well, and never had my health better, as generally I have when I am most throng.

Yesterday, May 11, the Assembly approved the Commission Book, with reserve as to Kettle, and read part of Mr Simson's answers to Mr Webster's propositions, in which about three hours were spent, and they are not done. He just refers to his printed answers, and sometimes two or three sheets out of them are referred to, and read this way as an answer to what Mr Webster proposed. Messrs Simson and Webster had some reasoning among hands, which I take to be out of the road, in such a full house as we have

when that matter comes in. Mr Simson explained himself upon the imputation of sin, and Christ's righteousness, as I took it, much to the same purpose with his printed answers; but I find some members are not pleased with it. An overture was proposed to stop, and remit this matter to the Committee, and meanwhile pass a kind of suspension on Mr Simson, restricting him from teaching those points till determined by the Committee and next Assembly; and reproving Mr Webster for some things in the method of his carriage: but it was not well timed, and came in in the middle of reading of papers. We are to have this matter before us to-day again. If I can command a start this afternoon, you shall know what is done this day; but I was never so straitened for time as I am this week. Langshaw is not yet come to town, and so I can say nothing till next post anent my coming home. We are not like to rise till Wednesday or thereabout; so that if Mr Naismith cannot stay till Sabbath come eight days, you must send to Mr James Muir, within a mile of Paisley, and see if he can supply; for it will be the end of the week at soonest before I can get home.

This day, in the Assembly, the business of Mr Simson came in, and the reading out his answers to Mr Webster's new libel, and then we fell a reasoning; and after many proposals, it was committed to a sub-committee to bring in an overture. The post from England is not come; so I have nothing from London. If any thing occur I shall write to you after; but I am just called out to the Committee for naming the Commission.

I hear little by this post. Private letters bear that the Grand Signior has referred his differences with the Venetians to our King. The Swedish fleet is before Copenhagen, to bombard it. The Triennial Bill, the Attainder Bill against Seafield, Southesk, &c., are touched, and the malt tax bill. I hear the Committee this night on Mr Simson's and Mr Webster's affair have been able to fall on no method, and it's said a great number are to protest, if the Assembly will not begin and determine on some of the articles anent Mr Simson. We are like to have warmth on the address on Monday, about the putting in Cadogan in the address. The Lord

help us ! I find in some private letters from the North that there are new stirs among the rebels in the North, but I lay no great weight on it. The heats between the Squadron and Cadogan, whom they set up mightily for, as standing fairest for the army after Marlborough, and Argyle's party, are very hot, and it's said some of them must fall.

May 12, 1716.

LETTER LIII.

LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1716.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 8.

May 14, 1716.

MY DEAREST,—I cannot but begin with what comes first in my mind, and that's Mr Bradbury's¹ sermon yesterday, in the Old Church. I never use to leave my seat in the New Church, but the fame of the man took me to hear him, and I do not repent it. His text was Rom. iv. 22—"Therefore it was imputed to him for righteousness." His method in beginning with petitions anent the public in his prayer before sermon I very much approve, being then most fresh, and probably most affectionate. His sermon was one of the best I ever heard, had he given us the application of it. He made the nature of imputation as plain as ever I heard it. His style is pointed and sententious, and his affection lively, and his gesture grave. He insisted much on matters of fact, under the Old Testament, to prove the nature of imputation ; the case of the sacrifices, which were not to be imputed, if not done in the manner prescribed ; and Abraham's surprising turn, Gen. xv. 1, 2, after one of the greatest promises, to a complaint for want of a son. And he had some sweet turns on James' account of justification, Ch. ii.

¹ Mr Thomas Bradbury, a celebrated Non-conformist minister in London, author of "The Mystery of Godliness," and other excellent treatises.

22—"Faith wrought with his works," that is, he exercised faith in his sacrificing Isaac, and by his works faith was made perfect, finished, completed, in the ram in the thicket, the Jehovah-Jireh, the object of his faith. He noticed the word "imputed" was translated by reckoned, counted, &c., which change of words really marred the sense. He was noble in fixing all upon free grace, and plain on the imputation of Adam's first sin; and showed that it was by valuable considerations, as the foundation of an imputation, that all business among men is managed. When speaking of Abraham's history, he told us, from Genesis xiv., that he had done much for his country, delivered five kings, and slain four—a noble action for a patriot, for which the Priest of the Most High God was sent out to congratulate him; and afterwards, Chap. xv. 1, God himself approved of him, gave a promise of protection here, and eternal happiness; and yet he fell into a complaint for want of a son: and what! if he wanted a son, when he had no land to give? but the sense was, that when God brought him out of Ur of the Chaldees, where he might have been much better as to the world than in Canaan, the primary promise was the Messiah, the object of his faith, and nothing down of an end being put to the seeming lingerings of Providence as to that great matter could satisfy. He has the most Scriptural style in prayer almost ever I heard. In his first prayer he was, I think, more than half an hour; and, in his prayer for the King, his phrase was, "Bless thy servant George, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain and Ireland." He thanked God we had a king of some significancy in the world, and influence abroad. He prayed for the Assembly most sweetly—that the Lord would guide and bless his servants here met about religious affairs, and save them from the wrath of man, that never wrought the righteousness of God; for the Commissioner; in short, he missed nothing, I mind, but the magistrates.. He was very short in his last prayer, and most satisfying in baptizing two children. I hope you'll excuse me for this account of this sermon, for it affected me much; and his orthodoxy and distinctness did mightily please me.

In the forenoon, before the Commissioner, Mr Willison,¹ in Brechin, preached. His lecture was on the 145th Psalm, and his sermon was upon ———. He preached most solidly and sweetly. In the afternoon Mr M'Murdo preached on the "keeping the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." Those who heard him say he preached very accurately, and was very particular in doctrine, and everything among us.

This day we have had as foolish and melancholy work about politics as ever I was witness to, and I hope never to be witness to the like again. Our two matters about which the Assembly's time hath been mostly taken up have been before us. The matter of the congratulatory address to the King came in. I wrote before, I think, that it had undergone a great struggle in the Committee of Overtures, where all the amendments proposed were heard, and reasoned at great length. The J. C. [Justice-Clerk] and some others moved the General Wills, the Earl of Sutherland, and Cadogan, to be named. The first two were but as blinds to draw in to the third, who was designed to be thrown in as a shade to the Duke of Argyle. At length it came to the vote, Transmit or Not, and it carried Transmit by a vast plurality. This day when it was tabled in the Assembly, there were some reasonings without dipping into the merits of the cause, and they issued in remitting it back to the Committee of Overtures, and a desire to all members of the Assembly to be present there, that they might hear the reasonings, and that all debate might be prevented in the Assembly. This was opposed with some violence by some, and it was said it was unprecedented entirely to remit a thing of this nature, after so much and long reasoning, and needless after all the time spent, if so be members had not been dealt with to alter their minds. This made a great man blush, but there was no more of it. The Assembly went in cheerfully to any thing that might unite us. The truth is, a great many members had been dealt with to drop the address, or to admit the English General into the Address.

¹ Who was afterwards translated to Dundee, well known as an author.

To give this unhappy debate altogether ; in the afternoon the Committee of Overtures met, and we had a full house. When the method for harmony came to be opened it was the adding of Cadogan. It was urged, that he was a very great man, and had done much, and that the addition of him was no detraction from the Duke of Argyle. Upon the other hand, it was said, there was nothing but matter of fact said when the Duke of Argyle was named ; that the compliment would not be so fair when others were taken in ; that Cadogan had nothing singular left him to do. It was then brought to a vote, and the friends of the addition moved that the vote might be, Add General Cadogan or Not. The other side opposed this, as what was a real slur cast on that excellent General, for whom they had the greatest honour, and whom, before he went off on Saturday, it had been moved that the Assembly had inclined to compliment by sending some of their number to wait on him in town ; but this proposal had been broke by the persons who now would have him in ; and, therefore, it was moved that the vote might be, Transmit or Not. None of the sides would yield, though it was earnestly pressed that the vote might be dropped, and the address unanimously transmitted without a vote. But that could not be gone into, and so we came to vote on the state of the vote, whether Add Cadogan or Not, or Transmit or Not ; and so the odium of voting out that General might be removed. And it carried, by a vast plurality, that the vote should run the second way.

When this trying vote was over, I took the liberty again to move that we should vote no more, but by agreement transmit the address ; but nothing would do. So Transmit was voted by a great plurality. It was moved, before we voted any thing in the committee, that since this meeting was designed for harmony, whatever way matters went there might be no more reasoning nor voting in the Assembly ; and this, indeed, I took to be the mind of all. However, it was otherwise. The Assembly met at seven, and when the address was read, paragraph by paragraph, the J. C. again moved in open Assembly that Cadogan might be added. This, indeed, put the house to a muse, and he craved a

vote, Add General Cadogan or Not. The members declined to speak upon the thing, but moved that this vote might be delayed till the address were gone through, and then the vote might be, Approve or Not. But a vote was violently urged upon that addition before we went further; and in that terms, Add General Cadogan or Not. It was countered by another state, Approve the clause of the Address or Add; and it carried, by a great plurality, Approve the clause. Every body expected that when the Squadron had driven it thus far, and had seen their weakness, there would have been no more. But when the whole Address came to be Approve or Not, the J. C. and E. of H., and one other elder, gave the Address a negative, and voted Not approve, that the compliment of unanimity might be spoiled. All the ministers, indeed, who had been for adding were silent, and what from one view, what from another, there were many silent. Thus this unhappy matter is over.

The Duke of Argyle has been opposed here in the Synod of Lothian, in the burrows, and in all public addresses, by the same party. And I find the heats 'twixt them and him are very great. But, for my own part, I never expected that two or three ruling elders, all of them our hearty friends, and two ministers, who came in to their side for the sake of the E. of Sutherland who was dropped, would have carried their party business to the open Assembly, after such a fair trial in private committees. The Lord preserve us from party heats and heights, for I never saw so much, when the matter was not conscience but compliment!

To return to the forenoon. After the committing of the address, Mr Simson's affair came in. He and Mr Webster both craved the Assembly might enter upon the determination of the two first propositions, on the use of reason and predetermination. Many long speeches were made, some panegyrics, and some satires. At length it was moved, that the three Professors of Divinity might give their judgments whether the Assembly could overtake these two propositions. Mr Haddo declined judging; the other two declared their mind that the Assembly could not enter into the detail of them.

It was urged, that there was no difficulty to find the proposition libelled contrary to the Confession of Faith; to consider whether these were Mr Simson's propositions; to consider the sense he gave of them; and whether they bear that sense. At length it came to the vote, Refer to a Committee, reserving power to the Assembly to consider what to do in the mean time for preventing the spreading [of] error; or, Enter on the determination just now; and it carried Refer, by a great plurality. Then a committee was appointed to bring in an overture against to-morrow, what shall be done just now. Many members were silent, and not a few for determining. In the afternoon, in a sub-committee, the thanksgiving was thought unnecessary since the King had appointed the day, and issued out a proclamation. In the Assembly at night, the Commission's nomination was approved and their Instructions. This is all I mind. As to the thanksgiving, though it was once agreed in the Instructions there should be causes drawn, yet I think the draught of them spoiled it. For the same day was proposed to be appointed. This was waived as not so proper, and what might confirm people in their scruples of keeping the day the King nominates without a church appointment.

May 15.

Yesterday has taken two pages, as this would take as many, had I time or room. But let me tell you the news we had last post; and that is, that the E. of Ilay is, some say made, but, I think, all agree to be made Secretary. The Justice-Clerk goes off for London to-morrow, either to receive instructions for the Oyer and Terminer, or for some other reason. Some say the Commissioner does not go up. It's held certain the differences between the Porte and Venetians are referred to our King, which is a great honour. I can give little account of the Assembly this day, it being now near to eleven at night. The affair of Kettle came in, and the Commission's procedure upon that head not being approved, that matter came to a vote of the Assembly, wherein it was refused to go in to what the Commission had done. In the afternoon, the me-

morial for the Grievances came in to the Overtures, and I hope shall pass to-morrow. Mr Simson's affair came again in, and the Overture of the Committee was read, discharging Mr Simson to teach any of those errors charged against him, or ministers to name him till the process be at an end. And the Committee is to sit the 2d Friday of August,¹ and none added to them. I shall, by my next, give you a fuller account of this day's work if I can. Mr Simson protested against the overture, and it was appointed that the Committee should suspend him, if he contravened any point of it.

My dearest respects to parents and all friends.

¹ This was the same Committee to whom Mr Simson's case had been committed by the Assembly of last year. Of the meeting in August, which took place according to the appointment of the Assembly, Mr Wilson, who was present, says in his Diary:—"The greatest part of the Committee were set on bringing off the Professor, and in the end came to the conclusion that he was free of the errors charged against him by Mr Webster. The Professor excepted against me, and I was rejected from being a witness in the business."—(*Ferrier's Memoirs of Rev. William Wilson*, p. 131.) Mr Wilson, in a letter to Wodrow, gives the reason why Mr Simson objected to him as a witness,—“It was moved, that all the witnesses yet to be examined should be called before them to see if the Professor had any exceptions against them, because now they had a quorum. The Professor excepted against me —1. That I had either dictate the libel against him, or furnished Mr Webster with memorials. 2. That I had preached against him, so as every body understood it was he. 3. That I had sent letters to Glasgow wherein I reflected upon the proceedings of the Committee, and particularly said that some of the members were endeavouring to wash the Ethiopian white. Mr Simson said he would appeal to my oath for the first, and the second was well known; the third, some members could give light about it. Although I was put out, Mr Anderson read a paper wherein the former words and some other words were; and this he said he had taken from the authentic copy. He said it was my hand write, but not subscribed. After much reasoning they voted me out from being a witness, and I am well pleased.”—*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xi. No. 149.

LETTER LIV.

LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1716.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 9.

May 16, 1716.

MY DEAR,—I promised you a fuller account of yesterday's procedure. I forgot to tell you that my father is added to the Commission. The affair of Kettle, in the Presbytery of Coupar, came in. I should have told you that in the approbation of the Commission Book, there was a reservation made of that process. It came in from the Bills; and, after the two petitions were read, Mr Dundas, Lord Arniston's second son,¹ had a discourse in favour of the settlement, and Mr G. Gillespie, a member of the Presbytery, against. The first spoke near an hour, but one of the cleverest speakers almost I have heard. The state of the case is, in short:—One Mr Jo. Meldrum, a preacher, free of anything to be laid to his charge, was named by some heritors about two years ago, and a presentation got from the Queen by the Jacobites. There was nothing of a call, nor essays that way. The whole Session are against him, and many heritors, and all the people, though nothing is charged but dislike. The Presbytery protested against the presentation, and declined appearing for the young man. The matter came before the Synod of Fife; they ordered the Presbytery to put him on trials, and that because the plurality of heritors and elders, as they alleged, that is, the plurality of the meeting, were

¹ Robert Dundas of Arniston, who stands distinguished in the history of his family. His genius and abilities did not long escape public notice. He was appointed Solicitor-General, June 1717, and Lord Advocate, May 1720; elected Dean of the Faculty of Advocates in 1721; admitted one of the Senators of the College of Justice in 1737, and raised to the chair of that Court in 1748. From personal considerations alone, he was repeatedly elected representative in Parliament for the county of Mid-Lothian.—(*Baronage of Scotland*, i. 181.)

by a petition for going on. The Presbytery, finding the dislike of the young man still growing, took one discourse, and stopped there. The next Synod referred it to the last Assembly. They remitted it to the Commission last year. The Commission determined and appointed that the Presbytery should obey the Synod's first sentence, (alleged now to [be] disannulled by the reference to the Assembly,) and go on to settle Mr Meldrum there. The Presbytery have done nothing since; but they say there was never any application made to them but once, by a Jacobite, now in the Rebellion, by a public instrument, and a counter-petition by the heritors and inhabitants, signed by 185 hands, brought in against his settlement. In short, the Commission's sentence is not obeyed, and the disaffection of the parish continues. The petition came in before the Assembly, and the reasoning began, what the Assembly should do. It was urged by the members of the Commission, that the Assembly ought not to enter on this business, because the power of the Commission was finally to determine in that process, and to overturn this was to destroy what the last Assembly had done, and cast all loose. On the other hand, it was urged this was a settlement merely on a patronage, no call [being] given, and the people really irreconcilably averse from that young man.

After reasoning pretty much, Mr Mitchell proposed an overture, Appoint the Presbytery of Coupar to obey the Commission's sentence; and in case it be not done against the next Synod, that the Synod of Fife take the affair into their hand and settle the parish; and to the great surprise of many it carried, Not approve the overture. This put the House to a stand what to do next; and, on the one hand, it was said our constitution was overturned, and after the Commission had done according to their powers, finally to determine in a matter, for the after Assembly to recognise the sentence, was of the worst consequence. We had sat long, and it was remitted to the Overtures to bring an overture. The Overtures met, and could not agree to any thing harmoniously. At length it was overtured, that the Assembly should vote whether their forenoon's vote was a reversing what the Commission had done. This

vote was violently urged, and the Committee by their vote laid it aside. This was a new tash [affront] put on the Commissioner, as was thought, for he has interested himself in that settlement of Mr Meldrum. However, nothing was done, and [it is] thrown over till this day. The Memorial of Grievances extended, was read and transmitted to the Assembly.

At night we expected to be raised by the Commissioner; but still he gave us to-morrow, which is a day longer than usual. Synod Books came in, as in course; and then the overture anent Mr Simson's affair. I have already given the form of it, as near as I mind. When Mr Simson was allowed to speak, he declared he had never taught any thing contrary to Scripture, Confession of Faith, and Catechisms; that the recommendation of not teaching, &c., had an innuendo in it very disparaging to him. When it was voted, he was called in, and gave the protest I spake of, and was removed. Then a great confusion arose, and many cried for a present suspending of him. This was as much opposed. Mr Hog alleged, the very soul of Pelagianism was in some of the propositions, and offered to prove it, and craved it might be marked he had voted Not. Mr Hamilton moved, Mr Hog might be obliged to prove what he had undertaken, and joined with Mr Webster in the pursuit. It was urged a judge might declare his opinion, and passed. Mr Wishart moved that the Assembly might continue at their appointment, since a protestation was what did not affect the sentence; and Mr Simson, if he brake the instructions of the Assembly, might be by the Committee suspended. This cooled the House, and was gone into. Every body seemed to be displeased with the protestation.

I come now to this day's procedure. When the minutes were read, Mr Simson moved that that clause of empowering the Committee to suspend him might either be taken out, or extended to other ministers, if they broke the instructions of the Assembly laid on them. But the Assembly were in such a pet, for the yesternight's protest, that he could not be heard. There are multitudes of things come in the last diet, which I neither can nor care for

resuming. The two great things were the business of Kettle, of which before, [and the grievances.] The Committee of Overtures voted out the overture proposed, and had not time to give another; so the matter came in to the Assembly what to intimate to the parties. It was said, on the one hand, that all discipline was overturned, and the order of things, if the sentences of Commissions, to whom so many things were finally remitted, [were not respected;] and, on the other hand, many were of opinion the Commission is accountable to the next Assembly, and that has power not only to rebuke and reprove them, but even to put matters right. At length an overture was proposed to this purpose, that, considering the import of the Assembly's vote yesterday, was a little dark, the Assembly might now declare, that they did not by their vote design to canvass and rescind a sentence passed in the Commission; but only had the execution of it, when at a stand, in their hand, and had sisted its execution, and did recommend it to the Synod to plant that parish in the best way for edification. Thus we got out of this *Kettle*.

Then the extended memorial anent our grievances came in, and it was referred as to the matter of it to the Commission to keep by that, and alter what the Assembly could not overtake as to the wording of it. And then it was moved that some should be sent up next Session of Parliament to prosecute it. There was a great struggle to have this likewise remitted to the Commission, to send, if they see cause. At length it behoved to be voted—Rest in the general instruction to the Commission, or, Formally appoint to send up; and it carried, Appoint. So I hope our grievances are in some measure in the way of redressing. The Lord send this a happy issue! for this seems to be a favourable season for it, and an inclination to have it done at Court. What influence party heats may have to prevent this good work, I shall not forebode.

Then the Moderator had his speech to the Assembly. He took notice of the great turn of providence, the greatness of the blessing of an Assembly after such threatened desolation, regretting our failures in managing such a talent; and, indeed, I think there was

ground for this modest reproof, for we have had very unbecoming management, and warmth, and idle consumption of time, and have done very little of importance. He excused it a little from the importance of what was before us, and the niceness and tenderness of some things we had been on. Then he cautioned us against security, and told us what hazard we were in after such a great deliverance, and put us in mind of what was observed as to the Christian Church when the Emperor turned Christian, that such were the pride, and divisions, and corruptions that fell in, that some said the state of their heaviest persecutions was preferable to that case. He ended with assertions of our regard for the King and thanks to the Commissioner. The Commissioner rose up, and in the ordinary form, after the Moderator had dissolved the Assembly, he did it in the King's name, and indited another the 2d day and first Thursday of May 1717, and had no more. It's thought he is in a pet, and was not a little crossed in the long address, and Kettle likewise. I wish our set speeches were out of doors. This year we have none from the throne at the end. We dismissed with singing the 124th Psalm, where there were I hope both hearts and mouths engaged, and the blessing.

My Dearest Peggy,—Yours this night is most refreshing. I bless the Lord you are all in ordinary. I am grieved for dear Mr Stirling. I am perfectly well. Langshaw is not come to town, and is not to be in till Saturday night. Send in the horses on Saturday, as I ordered last post. Mrs Stewart will be most welcome to my horse, since she rides single. I'll have work enough this week. I wish I get off on Monday. I design, if I be not detained a day or two by Langshaw, to be home on Tuesday, for I come by Hamilton probably; but if I be not to come off on Monday, I shall write on Saturday night. The Lord be with you and ours, and send a comfortable meeting, which I assure you I long for, though I weary not so much now as during the Assembly. I have been with my Lord Boyle this day, who says he gave no orders to James Wilson to take the house, but is willing my father pursue him for it, that he may produce his orders. He will write in a post or two to him.

May 17.

My Dearest,—I have nothing since yesterday, for I have been very little out, resolving to keep close by my books, if so be I may end them this week, if I can. I hear nothing of the Earl of Isla being Secretary by this post; so some begin to contradict it. The Commissioner is blamed by many for indulging his pet so far as to have no speech. It's thought he was put upon it by the J. C. [Justice-Clerk,] who, some say, has openly said, that if he keep his post no Non-jurants shall keep their Churches. It's alleged—as every thing now is laid on the Non-jurants by some people—that it was they who carried the address for the Duke of Argyle; that they oppose Mr S. [Simson,] and join Mr W. [Webster;] but this is all stuff, for there are not one of six members of that kind; and as many Jurants were for the Duke of Argyle as others. However, that warm gentleman is gone to-day for London, and some say is to get the Register's post when Isla is Secretary. I hear no other thing but a duel between one Rutherford, a gentleman hereabout, and his son-in-law, wherein the son is killed by the father, in drink or passion. They talk the Pretender and Duke of Ormond's court grew at Avignon; that the first is to be married to the Duchess of Berry. I but just now hear that Mr R. Stewart's servant, who has been so long with them, is imprisoned for murdering her child, which she concealed to a young villain, his boy. I have not seen him yet, but am extremely grieved about it, that his family should thus twice be pestered thus.

Since the Assembly rose yesterday, and this day, we have a heavy rain. I know not how it's with you; but nothing here has been like it since November. You'll be pleased I am not to travel in this ill weather. Keep this page to yourself.

LETTER LV.

GRIEVANCES OF THE CHURCH.—SEPTENNIAL BILL.

*Colonel Erskine to Wodrow.*¹

London, 21st April 1716.

REV. SIR,—I wish you and others had writt your opinion with relation to Church affairs; what may be proper for the Assembly to do, and what is expected of them with relation to their public concerns. I do not see any thing is to be done here for redress of what we think grievous, except when there is a complaint and demand made. It's not to be expected the English Statesmen will think of our grievances except when those concerned in Scotland apply to them, and I leave you to judge how few there are here who will do so, from a regard to the principles and privileges of the Church of Scotland; and most of our friends are so much concerned in their private and party affairs, that our friends in Scotland are to expect little from hence, except when some politic consideration determines the ministry to favour, or rather do us justice; and it's not my opinion only, that we are to expect no redress unless the Church speak their mind, which, as I have said many times, they ought to do, with due regard to the King and faithfulness to the Church.² This morning the instructions to the

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xi. No. 107. About this time Wodrow seems to have been so much occupied with his History, as to have found no leisure to write many letters, or at least to transcribe them. We here insert a few letters from his correspondents, to some of which no answers are to be found.

² If the Church was too much governed by a timid expediency in the reluctance she manifested to bring her grievances under the consideration of the King and Parliament, the statesmen of that day, from indifference or apathy to Presbyterian principles, manifested no disposition to redress her grievances, notwithstanding the

Commissioner were not finished. I have several times told the Earl of Rothes my mind, that it's not fit to be bound up so as to use endeavours to restrain the Assembly from laying their grievances before the King, in a full and plain address. They ought to miss none of these in our Synod's letter or representation to the Assembly last year. My Lord Rothes was desiring to meet with the E. [Earl] of B——n, [Buchan,] Principal Stirling, and me, about his instructions. I told him, unless we could meet to reason with those who were to frame them, a meeting amongst ourselves signified very little; and I am resolved to do what I can to speak what I think is the mind of the Church of Scotland, at least what was her mind in the days of our fathers, to some of the greatest about the King. But, as I said before I came here, several private men's speaking will signify but little, when our Church holds her peace. I know some of our countrymen have dealt, and are doing what they can, to get justice done us, and favour to the Dissenters here, (and have pled it as the interest of the government,) and just terms from them, upon our friends going in to the Bill for the Septennial Parliament;¹ for it's strongly argued with the ministry that this bill will

high claims she had upon the gratitude of the government, from the friendly interest which her ministers and people took in the Hanover family, and their stedfast loyalty during the late Rebellion, when the Episcopal clergy and their adherents were all on the side of the Pretender. "Most of our Lords and others here do so much depend on the English for their posts, and seeking somewhat or other, that their mouths are almost quite stopped; and really most of them go in to the English way in all things. Much more might be said, but by this hint you may judge of what we are to expect. It's not our sect of Whigs who have interest with the English here. I wish you had a while's on-waiting here, to see how matters go. . . Necessity and interest may soon oblige the government to do justice to the Presbyterians in Britain and Ireland; but regard to their principles and services is not like to obtain them justice."—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xi. No. 125.)

¹ So numerous and popular were the Tories in England, that the ministry, dreading that a new election would produce a dangerous agitation through the country, and give that party an ascendancy in the legislature, brought first into the House of Commons, and then into the House of Lords, a bill for enlarging the duration of Parliament from three to seven years, which passed both Houses by a large majority. "The bill for enlarging the duration of Parliament is now the great subject of conversation. The Court is obliged to push it. Such is the present madness of England, that it is not so much as expected that they can have another right Parliament, if this dissolve at

signify little to crush the Tories and get good elections, even after the seven years, if there be not a door opened for Dissenters coming in to the Parliament and Government, and which should not be delayed now when the Tories and church party are exerting themselves with vigour against this bill, that they may have a Parliament to their mind, which would destroy all that's good. I am, &c.

I've a great deal more to say, but have no time, and it's scarce fit for any body to write their mind fully of these matters, lest letters miscarry.

LETTER LVI.

GRIEVANCES OF THE CHURCH.

*Colonel Erskine to Wodrow.*¹

London, 3d May 1716.

REV. SIR,—I have yours by Mr Campbell, and am glad you're in health, but wish I had got that paper you were thinking to send, and also Mr W.'s, to whom give my service. I wish you were both here to see how matters go. I may freely say, if our church had earlier laid their grievances before the King, I doubt not something might have been done in several particulars; at least it would have prepared the minds both of those about Court and the Parliament, and we had been in our duty. But now we are told by many concerned in both, that they did all that was demanded to satisfy anent the abjuration, and they scarce ever heard of other grievances, at

the ordinary time; for it is computed that there are above three-fifths, if not three-fourths, of England Tory, so well have the faction improven the ferment, by representing every thing of the present administration in the blackest colours, to make the King odious, and his government insupportable."—(*Letters to Wodrow, ib.*)

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xi. No. 121.

least very few heard of them. I can give instances that will make these things plain. It has been uneasy for me to hear, and not very proper to repeat, the mean thoughts some have of our Church judicatories, especially Assembly and Commission, upon account of their carriage some time past, in being so far biassed from their way of managing public concerns, from what they were under a bad government and ministry.

I must end, being in a friend's house with some company, and write this short line lest I get not home before the post go. I'm thinking to send my son Patrick to Boston, in New England. If I do, I'll desire a letter from you to Mr Mather. Some people here are afraid there was a plot to choose a Non-jurant Moderator, which I am persuaded the court would not notice, though some people are afraid at shadows. I am, Dear Sir, yours.

LETTER LVII.

SAME SUBJECT.

*Colonel Erskine to Wodrow.*¹

London, May 10, 1716.

REV. SIR,—I sent a return to yours by Shawfield, and have now that of the 3d. I am sorry with you, when I think of the condition of our Church; for if the Assembly, whose business it is, do nothing more than formerly to have grievances redressed, and lay them fully before the King, I'm persuaded the statesmen will do as little as he thinks for our relief; and even our own countrymen, who are most ours, will think themselves little concerned if the Assembly be silent, the ordinary and probable mean being by their bestirring in a dutiful way to seek redress. And if they cannot be prevailed with to do their duty, I hope those of them and others who have at heart the sinking condition of religion, and our Church, will

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xi. No. 123.

find themselves obliged to do all that's in their power to retrieve matters. I wish those who for many years have scarce used any argument against application, but that it's not the season, would speak plain, and tell if the six particulars urged in the last Assembly be grievances, or not. If they be declared to be so, though no more be done, it would do well, and make way for private application, with more view of success than now. If they vote them no grievances, or proceed to explain and mince them to nothing, as they have done in the matter of doctrine in Mr Simson's affair, I think, then you and others ought to speak out, and give some proper testimony both as to one and other. As for the abjuration, almost every body here thinks the alteration made in it, with the explanation, was all that was demanded; and there is no doubt this is propagated by your clear brethren, for which, and other reasons, you cannot expect they'll join in applying that you may be free of it. Yet that unity may be kept as much as possible, I think they should be desired to join with you in that, because, if they will not, it appears the more proper for you to do something for yourselves, while you are together; and it will not look so well, when you apply about the oath, if the other grievances be neglected. The pretence that the parliament will soon rise seems to be ill-founded, none being certain how that will be, so far as I can learn; and it's now generally said the King's journey to Germany is laid aside. As for strengthening the enemies of the government, what mean all the congratulatory addresses, and, which is more, thanksgiving for the defeat of the King's enemies, if that argument be not much weaker than last year? I thought to have writ to others, and more full to you, but can write no more lest I miss the post. I am, yours, &c.

LETTER LVIII.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

To the Honourable Colonel Erskine of Carnock, for present at London.

MY DEAREST COLONEL,—While I was at Edinburgh I wrote to you frequently, and was fully determined to write on Thursday last the account of the ending of our General Assembly, had [not] Mr B. told me he was to write that post at full length to you. When I came home, I thought it my duty to let you hear from me, and to give you what I now can recollect as to the procedure of this Assembly, which, I confess, to me has been one of the most heartless that ever I was a member of.

The three or four chief things before us were the Congratulatory Address to the King; the design of an act for a thanksgiving; the business of Mr Simson and Mr Webster; and the important affair of the Church's grievances. And you shall have what offers to me upon each of these heads, with all the shortness I can.

The business of the Congratulatory Address to the King upon the crushing of the late unnatural Rebellion, was a matter wherein to me there appeared so much of party, and of a design to draw in the Assembly to dip upon the parties among our great men, that I am perfectly melancholy upon the back look of it. When the answer to the King's letter came to be read, the design to involve us in this matter was evident. After all the articles of his Majesty's letter were answered, at the close a kind of address was tacked to it, to prevent any congratulatory address to the King, wherein the Duke of Argyle should be named. The design was soon smelled out; and it was proposed that either an address of congratulation should be agreed upon, and this clause left out as extraneous, or this clause should be enlarged, and due notice taken

of the Duke of Argyle, and this serve in room of an address. The enlarging of the article in the Answer to the King's Letter was waived, and a congratulatory address agreed to in the Committee and Assembly.

When the Sub-committee was named to draw the draught of an address, two draughts were brought in, or one and the same draught, with two different readings, *without* any mention of the Duke of Argyle, and *with* the mention of him. The debates were not small when the Committee of Instructions met, which of the two should be agreed to and sent to the Overtures. The Squadron elders were the great sticklers against the naming of any body in the address, as what was not ordinary, and what was a running into parties. It was answered, that it was matter of fact and common style to mention the General without any epithets or characters, and there was no ground to insist for the naming of any others beside the General; and so it carried only by one vote, to transmit the draught with the Duke of Argyle named in it. General Wills, the Earl of Sutherland, Carpenter, and some others, were proposed to be added, but it was evident adding was endless, when once we went under the General. So it was thus transmitted to the Overtures. When the Duke was thus got in, nobody had the impudence to urge him to be taken out. But the project was to get in others, to make the compliment to him little or nothing. Accordingly, by the Overtures it was moved that Cadogan should be added. To waive this, it was proposed by the other side that some members of the Assembly should be sent to wait upon that great man from the Church, he being upon the place; but that was violently opposed by the Squadron, and so let fall. By a vast plurality, the adding Cadogan was refused, and the address transmitted to the Assembly as it came from the Committee. The reading of the address in the Assembly was delayed for two or three days, till pains was taken upon members to bring them off the Duke of Argyle, so far as to bring Mr Cadogan to share with him in the compliment.

At length the Address came to be called for; and, for unanimity,

it was again remitted to the Overtures, and all the members of the Assembly were allowed to be present and give their opinion, that an address of this nature might be unanimously voted in the Assembly. Accordingly, there was two or three hours' debate, and the first draught was transmitted a second time to the Assembly by a plurality large enough. When it came in to Assembly every body expected it should have passed without contradiction; but the Justice-Clerk cast up Mr Cadogan, and it was carried against him by near eighty votes, Not alter the first draught. And yet, when the Address came to be voted in bulk, he and the E. of H. saw fit to give a negative upon the address, to prevent its passing unanimously. It's pretended that all this warmth was not from any disrespect to the Duke of Argyle. But we who were present could not conceive the protestation made by great men to be matter of fact that nobody had a greater veneration for the Duke of Argyle than they, when we observed they were against naming any, when they would have had the Duke out when he was in, when Mr Cadogan was trumped up, and the motion to wait on him at Edinburgh crushed, and when, *ad nauseam usque*, this was insisted on when the sentiments of the Assembly were known in open Assembly.

The next affair of consequence we had was an act for thanksgiving. There were instructions from near thirty or forty Presbyteries to appoint a day of thanksgiving. When this came to be spoke of, it was told us that the King had appointed one; but the proclamation was not come down. Matters were so managed that, though a committee was named to draw the causes of a thanksgiving, by way of act, yet it was delayed till the proclamation came down, and then it was urged that it would confirm people in their scruples at appointments by the Magistrate, if the Assembly should do any thing on this head. And an act appointing the same day was not thought convenient, and so nothing was done on this head, and we are like to be threaded out of the exercise of our power as to fasts and thanksgivings by the Assembly;—no Assembly, that I mind of, having appointed any days of this nature these six or seven years.

As to Mr Webster's and Mr Simson's affair, I don't love to write or speak on it. You know my peculiar circumstances. In short, that business took a new turn. Instead of a report coming in from the Committee appointed by the last Assembly, a complaint was made that Mr Simson, in his answer, declined sitting as a member till once a new reproach and offer, made by Mr Webster, in print, to prove him guilty of Socinianism, Jesuitism, and Arminianism, in an hour's time, were considered and determined by this Assembly. The Assembly took it before them, and Mr Webster owned the charge, and drew up eight propositions out of Mr Simson's defences and letters, which he alleges are his own words, and prove him guilty of these errors. This work took us up four or five sederunts very uselessly, in hearing Mr Simson's answers to the propositions. It was violently urged that the Assembly might enter upon the discussing of some of the propositions, and by a vote carried, that none of them should be entered upon, but all remitted to the former committee; and an overture was agreed to in the meantime, for hindering the spreading of error, that Mr Simson should be discharged to teach any of these things charged on him, till the committee should determine in them, and that ministers should be discharged to preach against him on these heads by name. Against this Mr Simson protested in pretty warm words, which displeased the Assembly, and there was a great cry for suspending him, but a clause empowering the committee to suspend him, if he contravened the instructions, was rested in; and the committee are to meet August 10th or 12th next.

The last matter of importance before us was the Church's grievances, which was miserably shuffled out by our losing time on Mr Simson's affair, and the idle debates anent the address. It was agreed there were two kinds of grievances we lay under; some the King could help, and some the Legislature only could help. As to the first, an address was drawn up by a sub-committee; and as to the other, the memorial of the last Assembly was enlarged, and some of the laws specified, and some things after the Rebellion, aggravations of the evil of toleration and patronages were added.

The last was read once in the Overtures, and transmitted to the Commission, as materials for them. The first was not read ; for of design both were shuffled off to the last diet of the Assembly, though the person who drew both every day applied for the meeting of the Committee for four or five days, but they never met.

Thus this Assembly has, as one said, delayed the matter of doctrine and set diets for politics, and done little or nothing to the purpose, except the appointing the Commission to send up two to London anent the grievances. The Commissioner was so chagrined with the Assembly's vote anent the address, and the business of Kettle, that he dismissed us without a speech, and mostly, as is said, by the influence of another, who said his Grace had no good to say of us, and he did not think it was proper to say evil of us. Perhaps he may come to wish that he had taken other measures, ere all be done.

You will be surprised to hear that the Commissioner lands all the cross treatment he thinks he has met with in this Assembly, in the business of the Address, and Kettle, upon the Non-jurors ; and I did not at first believe the truth of the report, till occasion offered that I had it from his own mouth. I happened to be the amanuensis of the enlarged memorial of the Church's grievances to the Parliament ; and after I had read it to the Committee of Overtures in the Assembly, and they were transmitting it to the Assembly, it was found convenient that I should go in to the Commissioner, and show him the draught of it, before it came to be read in the Assembly. Accordingly, I went and read it to him in one of his rooms our alone. He was satisfied enough with it, and content it should be read in the Assembly, and remitted to the Commission. And after that was over, and I about to leave him, he was pleased to say, " Mr Wodrow, you need not question but the King and Legislature will, in due time, redress all your grievances, providing you be joint and unanimous in coming up to the oaths ; but if this be not, the refusers will be prosecuted ; and I find it must be so ; and they have discovered themselves very much at this Assembly." I was a little surprised with this attack, and all I said was, " I believed no

person who had a real scruple at the oaths, but ought to lay his account with the worst; and I thought none should refuse but such who were at a point as to their stating their sufferings upon it." His Grace was pleased to say, "I protest, Mr Wodrow, I do not know whether you have qualified or not, and don't say this as to you; but I have observed the warm temper of the Non-jurants hath carried every thing in this Assembly." I took the liberty to say, that I was surprised to hear his Grace say so; and I thought I could give a demonstration it could not be so; for there were five who had qualified to one who had not, and yet every thing had been carried by a considerable plurality. The Commissioner said, he did not think there had been so few. I assured him it was near to what I had said, if not beyond it. And so we parted. In short, from what art [quarter,] I shall not here say, the greatest hardships are threatened against us, and every thing is said to flow from us, though I am persuaded there is no ground for it.

This is all I mind worth your while; and so long an account needs an apology from, Dear Colonel, yours in many ties.

May 24, 1716.

LETTER LIX.

RIGOROUS MEASURES PROPOSED AGAINST NON-JURORS.

*Rev. James Hart to Wodrow.*¹

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—By some private letters, this last and a former post, we are advised by our friends above of a meeting on Friday the 1st inst., between the English ministry and some of our countrymen at the Cockpit. Those present at that meeting were the Chancellor, the two Secretaries, the Dukes of Montrose and

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xi. p. 129.

Roxburgh, the Marquis of Annandale, the Earls of Sutherland and Isla, Lord Justice-Clerk, and Sir James Stewart. One subject of conference was the Oath of Abjuration. The Lord Justice-Clerk said, that the continuance of such a rent in the Church, as this had occasioned, was of bad consequence, and the only expedient to heal the breach was to appoint a new day in a new act, which should execute itself. By this, as it was explained, was meant that the ministers who did not take the oaths should, *ipso facto*, be declared incapable, lose their benefices, &c.; and the Presbyteries should be appointed to declare their Kirks vacant, with all convenient speed, under the same penalties, if a certificate of their being qualified was not produced at their next meeting, after the day appointed for that end. This, he said, would convince the Non-jurants that the government was in earnest, and all of them who were not Jacobites would qualify. So far his Lordship. This last part, I must own, was an hard saying; and who among the Non-jurants, who are so from principle, can bear it?

The Earl of Isla did take up the Justice-Clerk, and, with great dexterity, did anatomize his proposal; and what he said was to this purpose: He was of opinion every thing ought to be done to make these men easy. He was convinced they thought their scruples were solid, else they would not put themselves and their families upon the footing they now stand on; and, without some further condescension by the Parliament to their weakness, the remedy was infinitely worse than the disease. He was certainly informed that, before the Queen's death, and during the whole of the Rebellion, they had, almost to a man, acted with all the zeal imaginable for the Protestant Succession; and that it was not only an unjust and cruel measure to prosecute honest men under the notion of Jacobites, who were the farthest removed from it in the world; but that it would, he believed, be of fatal consequence to the clergy, (who had complied with the law, and who, he was sure, would not advise such a measure,) if not to the nation. And this he enlarged on, which admitted some reasoning, in which he had the better, and which produced some discourse on the nature of the condescension.

My Lord Isla inclined it should be such as would remove all scruples, and therefore proposed the taking out the reference altogether, as what would, and would only, answer the end; and a declaration to salve the reputation of the Jurants. This was opposed by all the Squadron with violence, and the English went in with them. And, after a great deal of reasoning, all my Lord Isla could obtain was a further explanation to satisfy the Non-jurants; and it's not to be wondered at that the English opposed what the Lord Isla proposed for our relief, considering [what] pains the Squadron had been at to give [both the] English and German ministers bad impressions of the Non-jurants. But the Duke of Argyle, Lord Isla, and the Earl of Buchan, were at great pains to take off these impressions; and, therefore, at a second meeting, which was on Tuesday the 15th instant, where were present, besides the above mentioned persons, the Duke of Argyle, Lord Chief Justice Parker, and Sir David Dalrymple, both the English and the Squadron were somewhat softer, and not so violent. What effect this will produce a little time will determine.

On Monday last, the affair of the oath was to be under the consideration of the House of Peers; by which you may see how much the Non-jurants are obliged to the two noble brethren, the Earl of Buchan, and Colonel Erskine, in dealing with the great men to make them condescend to my Lord Isla's proposal, in taking away the reference to English Acts, which, if the Parliament shall do, it will satisfy the most part of brethren with us. I shall be glad to know if it will be satisfying to brethren in your bounds.

The King, it's said, will go abroad. The Duke of Marlborough, it's thought, is dying. You may be pleased to communicate this to Mr Linning at Lesmahago, with all convenient speed. That the Lord's work may prosper in your hands is and shall be the earnest prayer of, Rev. and Dear Brother, your affectionate brother,

JAMES HART.

Edinburgh, June 15, 1716.

LETTER LX.

NEWS.

To the Rev. Cotton Mather, D.D. &c.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I sent you a long account of our circumstances in this country by Mr Zuil in February, and I presumed to write to you, from Edinburgh, in May, with a young gentleman, Mr Erskine, who are both come to stay some time at Boston. Nothing from you hath come to my hand these eleven or twelve months, but I cannot but take hold upon every occasion that offers, to cultivate a friendship I value so much, and I flatter myself there are by this time more than one letter from you on their way hither, though they be not come to hand.

It refreshes me to hear from some of our people in Glasgow, that your venerable parent is yet alive. Let this make my humble respects acceptable to him.

My Lord Pollock, now in this place, lays it upon me to give him and you his thanks for the letters and papers you favour me with, and I communicate with him, and earnestly desires the continuance of as full accounts of the state of the interests of religion with you, and through America, and wherever your excellent correspondence reaches, as may be. Your letters very much refresh him in his old age.

Very little offers from this country at this time. We are at present in quiet, but how long we know not. The evil temper of malignancy at the work of our Lord continues among too many, and the clemency of the government is much abused by a restless party. We have some hints of new attempts from abroad, but the rod is in the hand of our God.

The Committee of Assembly is sitting just now at Edinburgh,

anent Mr Simson's process, and are not yet come to any resolution. The last Session of Parliament have delayed the reimposition of the oaths upon us here, which is a great mercy, for that flame which our different practices upon that score raised is but too much yet among us. I send you a paper which was given in to the Members of Parliament on that subject.

Abroad, great things are upon the wheel, and we are waiting for the vision that tarrieth. Last week we had the accounts of an entire victory over the Infidels at Carlowitz,¹ where their treaty was made; and the Highflyers in France are daily more and more uneasy to the Regent, and the breach 'twixt him and the Pope seems widening. I am longing to hear the thoughts of your Rev. father and your own, and those with you, with whom the secret of the Lord is, upon the present state of providences through the world. What shall the end of these things be!

It is but this day I hear of a ship going from Glasgow to you, and I am obliged to break off, that my servant may not miss this occasion. It is as waters to a thirsty man to me to hear from you; and I presume to beg you'll miss no occasion of letting me hear from you, and favouring me with all that offers from your country. May the Lord multiply his blessings upon you and yours, and all the fearers of his name with you, and signally serve himself of you, to the praise of the glory of his grace in Christ, in whom I am, Rev. Dear Sir, your affectionate and very much obliged,

R. W.

Eastwood, Aug. 22, 1716.

¹ By Prince Eugene, who obtained this victory over the Turks on the 5th of August 1716.

LETTER LXI.

HOME NEWS.—QUERIES RESPECTING FOREIGN CHURCHES.

To the Rev. Mr Robert Black, Minister at Rotterdam.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—Doubtless you have full accounts of things with us from better hands than mine ; however, to show my good will, I shall hint at some things as they come in my head. There is now an open door for planting the north more wide than we have had since the Revolution. The bulk of the intruders and incumbents there joined openly with the Pretender, and kept his fasts and thanksgivings, and are skulking up and down, and a good many of the gentlemen who stood in the way of planting churches are now retired or feigning subjection. I am told there are thirty-six vacancies or thereby in the Synod of Aberdeen.¹ The Commission for visiting Aberdeen College meet this week or the be-

¹ " In the Presbytery of Aberdeen there are seven vacancies, in Kincardine three, in Alford seven, in Ellon two, in Fordyce six, in Turriff three, in Old Deer three ; besides what Episcopal ministers are yet to be deposed, which are about six in number." The people in these parts were generally favourable to the Pretender, and appear to have felt no desire that their churches should be filled up with evangelical and godly ministers. " There are a great many in this Synod that are heart Jacobites, and the spirit of Jacobitism so much prevails with the people to this day, that where there are any vacancies, whoever goes to preach, he is sure either of a well paid skin, or else gets the back of the church-yard dyke to preach at, the congregation consisting generally of 20 or 30, not exceeding 50 persons." Many of the ministers in the North at that period were persons not very likely to reform the people. " My uncle, [Professor Blackwell of Aberdeen,] and Mr Fordyce, and many more, told me, that in the Presbytery of Turriff there is not an honest man a minister. The Presbytery of Alford had a meeting lately at Alford town, the seat of their Presbytery, where, after their work was over, they went all together, and took their bottle that very hearty, that they fell out among themselves, and beat one another's skins to very good purpose, being all beastly drunk ; but this came not before the Synod, being done away privately."—(*Mr David Brown's Letter to Wodrow*, dated Aberdeen, October 8, 1716.)

ginning of the next.¹ In these two Colleges there are, except our professors, but one or two of the masters who have not been dipt

¹ The Commission appointed consisted of twenty-one persons. Their first meeting was in King's College, Old Town of Aberdeen, and fifteen of the Commissioners were present. After their Commission was read, the Earl of Rothes was chosen Lord President. The Masters of the College were then called, and each of them asked if he had taken the oaths to his Majesty King George, to which all of them, except Mr Fraser, sub-principal, replied they never knew that law had obliged masters of colleges to take them. They were next asked if they had prayed for King George, the Prince, and the Royal Family, in express terms; and all of them answered that it had been customary with them, all along, only to pray for "the King" in general. Witnesses were then called, and being asked whether they ever saw Principal Middleton, or any of the rest of the masters, in the church, where the Pretender was prayed for by the name of King James; three of them deponed, that they saw the Principal twice in the church, the Civilist Mr John Gordon several times, Mr Richard Gordon, son of the Civilist, and Mr James Urquhart, every day, and Mr James Gordon, Humanist, and Dr Patrick Urquhart, in the College Kirk, once, when one Barclay preached, before he took possession of the cathedral. Two witnesses deponed that they saw Mr Richard Gordon and Mr James Urquhart at a bonfire at the Cross of Old Aberdeen on account of the Pretender's arrival, where they were drinking healths; and several deponed they saw illuminations in Principal Middleton's chamber-windows in the college, and likewise in his own house, and in Mr James Urquhart's windows; as also that they saw bonfires at the college gate on several occasions, and that Principal Middleton caused the bells to be rung. At one bonfire there, for the pretended victory at Dunblane, King George was burnt in effigy with the devil and a horn in his head at his right hand, and several noblemen on his left. Their foundation charters were next called for, together with the rest of the papers, mortifications, acts, &c., and it was found that they had kept ten thousand pounds Scots among them every year, which ought to have been bestowed on bursars, according to the mortifications, besides many mortifications unsubscribed, that they can give no account of, and many debts contracted, they could not tell how or upon what occasion.

The Commission next met at Marischal College, New Town, Aberdeen. After reading their Commission, the Masters were called for. Mr Blackwell, afterwards Principal, being asked if he had prayed for King George, the Prince, and Royal Family, in express terms, during the late Rebellion, answered he did. The same question being put to Mr William Smith, Mr Alexander Peacock, and Mr Alexander Muir, knowing that their practice during the Rebellion was such, that they could not stand a trial, they demitted their situations. One of the Regents, Mr William Meston, was admitted during the Rebellion, after having delivered a violent harangue against King George, and in favour of the Pretender, but when the Rebellion was extinguished fled to France; and upon an examination of the admission book, which the masters for some days denied to the Commissioners, it was found that all the masters had subscribed to the admission of Mr Meston, except Dr Liddel, Professor of Mathematics, against whom it was proven that he was in the church several days

in the Rebellion, and a clean house will now be made, since the King becomes patron of Marischal College. The persons named are several noblemen, the Justice-Clerk, my Lord Cullen, Sir James Stewart, the Laird of Meggins, and Kelraick, Principal Stirling, Principal Haddow, Mr Samuel Johnstone, and some other ministers.

Mr Simson's committee is just now sitting, and have gone through the libels, and this week the witnesses are to be before them. This is a matter I meddle very little with, lest I should be reckoned a party on the account of my relation to his predecessor; but I'll be glad to hear what are people's sentiments of this matter with you, and particularly your professors, some of which are some way concerned.

The delay of a reimposition of the oaths, of which no doubt you have heard, makes our differences at present less sensible, but I want not melancholy impressions of matters, when they come to be reimposed, and, in the meanwhile, our love is evidently cooled one to another, and we are far from what we ought to be. Yet this summer there has been somewhat of a coming nearer to the Assembly's rule in some places than formerly.

Our Jacobites are as upish almost as ever. I own they are the best party-men, and the most steadfast to an ill cause I almost ever heard of. In the north they are renewing their insults, and bearding the friends of the government, and declaring their expectations of another attempt from abroad.

In Ireland matters are not as were to be wished. At the last Synod there in June they have quit our Confession of Faith, and come in [to] a loose uncertain formula, any body almost may subscribe, as the terms of their legal toleration they are seeking.

This is all that offers on our present circumstances. You know my Athenian temper, and I have a great deal of things in my

when and where the Pretender was prayed for by the name of King James. The Commission having adjourned to the 10th of October at Edinburgh, appointed the masters of both colleges to attend at that meeting, and left the inspection of the papers relative to both colleges to two committees.—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xi. No. 155.)—Meston was the author of a scurrilous and disreputable poem, directed against the Church, and in praise of his own faction.

head to propose to you as to the state of learning and religion abroad, some of which I hinted at in some of my former, but I'll just repeat them here, and add any thing that offers. I do not expect an answer to them all in one letter, but I propose them and other things they will bring to your mind as the subject of your writing now and [then] to me, as you get information anent them and have opportunity. You are in a place where you'll have excellent opportunities to know these things, and I'll expect large accounts of them at your leisure, and as they come to hand.

I am still fond to hear what new books are coming out, and what are upon the file in your universities and at your printer's. I have the *Journal des Scavans*, but I wonder we have no important Journals printed with you in Holland. Let me have as large an account of the state of your Universities as you please, and what Professors are Voetian, and what Professors are Cocceian in Leyden and Utrecht, for I suppose the other two are entirely Cocceian; and how Cocceianism and Voetianism stand among the Dutch ministers through the Provinces. I have but a very faint idea of your Judicatories in Holland, and would gladly have an account of the Dutch Consistories, Classes, and Synods, and all the customs and methods in them distinct from our order, and of their ordinations, and what encroachments the civil magistrate makes on them. Let me know if they use the trine aspersion in baptism, their method of calling ministers, catechising; if there be Societies for Reformation of Manners, or Christian fellowships for prayer and conferences; what are their customs for alms and maintenance of the poor, which I hear are very good; if there be any oath of allegiance imposed upon ministers to the States, and many other things that will offer to you. I would gladly know every thing that is peculiar in your people at Rotterdam, all singular providences, what good the gospel is doing in the Provinces, and all you can send as to the state of practical religion; whether the Dutch Judicatories appoint fasts and thanksgivings at any time, or if it be only the magistrate, or what of proper ministerial and Church power they have, their method of licensing young men, if they have preachers among

them. Let me know of what strength the Arminians are in Holland, and all you can gather of the Socinians and Deists. I see the English Deists come over and print their books in Holland. Whether Mr Whiston's revived Arianism meets with any followers among you?

I'll be glad to have all you can send me of the present strength of Barnavelt or French faction in the state, and how matters stand as to a Stadtholder, of which we have some rumours, as if some designed the Duke of York. And pray let me have all you can anent Christianity in the Dutch Plantations in the East Indies, and what foot it's gaining among the heathen, and what success the Danish missionaries have there. And you'll allow me to desire you, when it's in my head, to buy any books or pamphlets in Latin or French that relate to the history of Religion, and the present state of it in any part of the world. I hear Professor Roel at Utrecht is Socinian. Let me have any accounts that offer about him.

Let me now go with you up the country, and at your leisure give me all you can collect anent the state of religion in Germany. I long for as large an account of the Frankian Schools in Halle as may be. There seem to be strange providences about them. Give me all you can anent the state of Protestants in Denmark and Sweden. I hear they are hardly enough treated. And now when you are among the Lutherans, I know nothing almost anent the nature and power of their superintendents, their worship, &c. I hear Arminianism is flagrant among them, and they sing the Psalms with their heads covered.

You'll inquire into these, and the present state of any attempts for uniting Lutherans and Calvinists, and how that matter stands; and send me as large accounts as you can of the number of Calvinist ministers in Prussia, Hesse, and other places in Germany. I hear in some parts there are many hundreds of Protestant Calvinist ministers, and that they have yearly meetings like our Assemblies. Pray let me have all you can anent the Calvinists and Lutherans in the King's dominions in Germany, and about poor degenerate Geneva. I am told young Turretine has

taken a great deal of the English education thither, and he and Osterwald at Neuchatel are setting up forms of prayer, and an accommodation as much as may be with England. Let me have all you can meet with anent the Protestant Cantons, and the Universities there, and in Germany, their famed men, and the state of learning and religion there, and what impression the efforts to spread the English Ceremonies and Liturgy make among the Churches abroad.

May we hope that our King and his son-in-law will get any thing done in Germany for the interest of the Reformation? How stands the Protestant interest in Poland, where there were once some hundreds of public churches? And what is the state of Socinianism there? Are we to think the young prince of Saxony is corrupted with Popery? What is become of the Protestants in the Palatinate, and in Savoy, and the Valleys? Any thing anent them will be most acceptable. I know nothing almost of the circumstances of the Protestants in Silesia, their numbers or state, and very little anent that once glorious church in Bohemia, nor how things are in Hungary and Transylvania. There are still students at your Universities from these places, and I promise myself large and satisfying accounts.

To return homeward, pray be as large as you can about the present state of religion in France. I can very little depend upon any hints of things we have in the newspapers. Are there any numbers of Protestants hid in France, especially the South? Are our brethren in the galleys eased? How stand the Regent and the Pope? Send us as full an account of Father Quesnell's affairs, and the matter of the Constitution, as you can, and the Jesuits and Jansenists, and what is doing in favour of the Protestants. Have any of your professors any expectations from the year 1716, or your Apocalyptic persons any thoughts that matters are hastening to the judgment of the great whore? What may there be in the accounts that Salamanca, and other places in Spain, are less regardful of the Pope than formerly, and some way siding with the Sorbonne, and pointing towards a reformation as it were? Let me have all your accounts of the Popish clergy in France and Spain.

By this time no doubt I have wearied you, but I cannot end without an inquiry what influence this advantage over the Turks may have to open any door to the East. Send me all you can gather of the present state of the Muscovites, and the revival of learning, and, I hope, religion there in due time: Of the Greek Churches, and the correspondence between one of your professors of the Oriental tongues at Leyden, and the Patriarch of Antioch or Babylon. I have forgot any thing anent the present circumstances of Mahometism, and the poor Jews through the world.

Thus you have a confused heap of things. I hope it will not be lost labour for you to inquire about them, and I promise myself much information from your excellent conversation. No question, your Reverend colleague, to whom, though unacquaint, I give my dearest respects, will help you in many of them. I expect you'll write frequently, and at full length to me, and send me any curious new books, pamphlets in Latin or French, and theses, or the like, and keep account of what you lay out for me, and I shall refund it. My wife and I most kindly remember Mrs Black. All this needs an apology, but I hope it will be acceptable from, R. D. B., yours most affectionately.

Sept. 1716.

LETTER LXII.

ANSWER TO THE PRECEDING.

Rev. Robert Black to Wodrow.¹

Rotterdam, 5th October, N.S. 1716.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I received your first Saturday last, which was very acceptable to me. I am astonished to think that

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xx. No. 40.

your former have been miscarried, all my letters that come not by post coming from Borrowstounness, and Mr Grosset is very careful to send them to me. This being the week our sacrament is to be given, I have not time to consider at any length the contents of your letter, to which I fear I shall not be able to give you so full and satisfying an account as others, that are more acquaint with public affairs than I am, can do. However, dear brother, you may depend upon it, I shall lay out myself as far as possible to satisfy the desire of your public spirit. As for the state of our congregation, we are entirely Independent; in fact, we have no dependence upon the Dutch Church, and it's good for us in some respect that it's so, for we are not obliged to observe the formularies and anniversary days, that are more strictly observed for the most part than the Sabbath. All the public fasts and thanksgivings are enjoined by the civil magistrate; for any thing that I can learn, the Church is not so much as consulted in the appointment. No minister can be placed in any part of Holland without consent of the magistrate; and the list must be approved before the parish can go on to a call, and after the call is drawn up, it must be approved by the magistrate before it can be presented to the person called. I was present at one of their Synods in the Hague, where there is present one from the state that they call Commissarius Politicus, as there is in all their Synods. This Commissarius hath more power over them than any Commissioner in our General Assembly. As for the number of Cocceians it is very great, and rather increasing as [than] decreasing. The number also of Arminians is very great, and these the most substantial people. In this city they have two churches, and four, if not six ministers, that are public[ly] allowed. As for Socinians, there are also many, but go not under that name, but of Anabaptists. There are also two Jewish Synagogues, but their worship looks nothing like devotion. There are more than ten thousand Papists in this city, who have also public and allowed houses for worship. There are about twelve reformed ministers in this city, besides four French, two English, and two Scots, and some of other countries, and the Dutch are half and half Cocceian and Voetian.

As for reconciliation betwixt Lutherans and Calvinists, I hear that Lutherans are pretty hard to the Calvinists, where they are super-numerary, and more stiff in their opinions, and yield in nothing.

Dear Brother, I am sorry that I can give you no better account of affairs, neither will I desire you to depend too much on my information, because you know I have been but a short while here, and may be under some mistakes; but this is according to my best information, and any little personal knowledge.

Thus I have given you a short and confused account of some few things in the general, and in great haste; the ship that I design this with being just making ready to sail; but I could not altogether omit to let you know I had received yours, which is the principal design of this. I hope, afterwards, you shall hear from me at more length, and more particular, as I shall come to the knowledge of them. This confused scribble needs an apology indeed. My wife and I give our dearest respects to Mrs Wodrow. I am, Dear Brother, yours, in the old manner,

R. BLACK.

LETTER LXIII.

WIDOWS' AND ORPHANS' FUND.—WODROW'S HISTORY.

To Mr Patrick Cowper, Minister of the Gospel at Pittenweem.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I had yours¹ of the 11th of December, with your valuable Essay for the provision of ministers' widows and orphans. My debt to you is the greater that you have begun a correspondence I value so much. I hope you'll hold hand to this

¹ We regret that this Letter is not among the Letters to Wodrow, as it might have cast light on the plan of a Widows' Fund proposed by Mr Cowper, who seems to have been among the first to have suggested the idea. Several plans of such a fund were proposed about this time. Mr Cowper was settled at Pittenweem in 1692, and died in 1740. He had a son who died in Anstruther at an advanced age, and a daughter, who was married to Mr Andrew Burn, minister of Anstruther Wester.

History of the Sufferings, since you have it so much at heart. Where there is a moral evidence of the truth of facts, and such as adversaries cannot disprove, we must rest satisfied; this is all has been sought by our martyrologists.

The method you proposed to yourself is both just and full, and I have several instances to every one of these heads. In the scheme I have fallen on, there is nothing of answering the common objections you propose, nor the aggravating the severity of those times from the lenity since the Revolution.

I had, indeed, somewhat of this and several other things in view, in a general preface, and such a deduction with references to the most flagrant instances in the body of the History; and I had some thoughts to have enlarged this preface to three, four, or six sheets, for the use of country people, to which my large History, if ever perfected, will be of very little use; and to have printed a good many of these separately, or if the History should be published in 8vo, to have printed some hundred more of the Preface than would serve the book. But I have not brought this to any ripeness as yet, having taken up myself wholly with the History itself, in which I follow just the chain of the years, and draw down the History of the remarkables—Pentland, Bothwell, &c. The interspersing of these will, in my opinion, both render the book more pleasant and useful, and tend much to show the unreasonableness of Presbyterians' persecution, and the blackness of the times, and will make the History more palatable to many who, had it been a bare account of matters of fact as to suffering Presbyterians, would not have regarded it.

Mr Warner, my father-in-law, who is in the house with me, has read your paper on Widows, &c., and is much pleased with, and wishes heartily it may take effect. I designed to have sent you my confused thoughts and overtures for bringing it to a bearing, and a pamphlet some way relative to it, but must wait till you lay down a method for transmitting the same to you.

I give some hints at the characters of ministers, as materials after; and upon the first view of the first edition of Calamy's Abridgment,

I began to entertain some thoughts of a Scots Biography; and, besides about twenty sheets of collections relative to particular ministers, I gathered as many of the lives of ministers as I could—Mr P. Simson of Stirling, Mr Livingston, Mr Blair, Mr Ja. Maul, Mr William Guthrie, Mr James Frazer, &c., and am still continuing what I can pick up this way. But the business of the Sufferings has diverted me these several years. I'll be impatient till I know this hath reached you. I am, R. D. B., yours most affectionately.

Jan. 1, 1717.

LETTER LXIV.

EPISCOPAL CLERGY IN ABERDEENSHIRE.

*Mr David Brown to Wodrow.*¹

Aberdeen, Jan. 1, 1717.

REV. SIR,—I wrote lately to you in a postscript to the copy of a letter that came from court with respect to the Episcopal clergy in Scotland, and I hear it's taking effect in thir northern parts, for the Sheriff-depute went last week in person, and laid five Episcopal ministers aside. And the Presbyteries in this Synod, and in Mearns and Angus, are as ready upon the other hand; for when they cause any Episcopal minister to be cited legally to compare before them, immediately upon his not coming, they send a minister next Sabbath, and declare it [his congregation] vacant. There

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xii. No. 1. Mr Brown was the nephew of Professor Blackwell, and like him a native of the West Country. He was now studying divinity under his uncle at Aberdeen, and was settled as minister of Peterhead in 1721, and translated to Belhelvie in 1725. In 1744, he unhappily fell under scandal, and was deposed; but in consideration of "the blameless character he had always maintained before, and the evidences he had given of his repentance," he was in 1747 reponed by the Assembly, "to the exercise of his office as a minister of the Gospel, he having declared his resolution to go to foreign parts."—*Morren's Annals of Assembly*, i. pp. 102, 388.

have been three ministers ordained in this Presbytery since I came here, and a fourth to be next month.

On Saturday's night last, there came a letter to the Provost of Aberdeen from Glenkindy, dated from Peterhead on the Thursday preceding, showing that on Thursday was eight days, the most part of the inhabitants of Peterhead went to the sea side and mustered, and there bound themselves by an oath to stand by King James the Eighth his interest, while their blood was warm. Upon which they come marching into the town in very good order, and well armed, and set on several bonfires, and went to the council house, and there they drank King James' health, and after the same manner they did at the bonfires, and fired frequently, yea at every health, and had many illuminations at night, and all this parade was in commemoration of that day twelve months, which was the day the Pretender arrived there. Upon which the Sheriff and Glenkindy went there, and took a list of the ringleaders' names, and that list is to be sent off to court this post.

Yesterday's post brought account of several north country gentlemen being cast upon the Dry at Holland; amongst whom were two Aberdeen's gentlemen; the one was King James' collector for lifting the cess in Aberdeen, the other was Sheriff for this shire the time of the Rebellion. In short, I think what the wood-die¹ leaves the water gets.

I long for a sure hand to get the Key,² &c., and a paper of Dr Blair's, which is but a jumble of stuff, sent to you. Mr George Gordon is not yet come home. I hear he has been at London making moyen and friends to be made Principal of the Old Town College. Mr Colin Campbell, one of the Ministers here, has read Mr Menzies'³ declaration at his death many times over, and, I hear, he can give a distinct account of the heads of it. If you please, I shall copy what he has of it from his mouth, and send you. If I

¹ The gallows.

² "A key to another plot that is among them. If you have not got a double of it, let me know, and you shall have it."—*Brown to Wodrow*, vol. xi. No. 151.

³ See the following letter.

remember right, you were once speaking to me about a gentleman in Brechin, I think Whiterigs was his style, who was a great persecutor; and it was said of him, that, as soon as he was dead, he bled at all the places of the body in which he afflicted honest people, particularly between the fingers, in which he put red matches, and at the finger ends. There was a great deal of pains taken to conceal these things after his death. But I hear there are two women in this place who could attest it; and if you would have it attested, you must write to Mr Fordyce to search narrowly.

LETTER LXV.

MR MENZIES' RECANTATION.—THE JACOBITES AND THEIR EXPLOITS
IN BUCHAN.

*Mr David Brown to Wodrow.*¹

Aberdeen, Jan. 29, 1717.

REV. SIR,—I had yours with Bailie Fordyce, and also one enclosed in my mother's, for which I reckon I am much in your debt. Before your last came to my hand, I went myself to Mr Colin Campbell, one of the ministers of this place, and desired him to dictate to me what of Mr Menzies's² paper he remembered, which

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xii. No. 12.

² Mr John Menzies was Professor of Divinity in Marischal College, Aberdeen. He had been converted from Popery, and in his youth, during the period of the second Reformation, he maintained the cause of Presbytery and the Covenant with great zeal. He was much esteemed by the people for his piety, which was unquestionable, and for his popular talents as a preacher of the gospel. He wrote against the Papists and Quakers, and was considered a learned man. Such was his uncommon fervour in the pulpit, that, we are informed, he "used to change his shirt always after preaching, and to wet two or three napkins with tears every sermon." But his moral energy did not equal the sensibility of his feelings. He evinced, on more than one occasion, much pliancy of temper, and unsteadiness of purpose. In the time of Cromwell, he became an Independent; upon the accession of Charles the Second to the throne, he conformed to Prelacy; and in 1681, he took the Test. It

he did instantly, and severals that I let see it, after I had writt it, said that they firmly believe that there is not a material sentence of it wanting, it is so very full ; and I also desired him to set his name to the paper, which I thought would be the more pleasing to you, because he has seen and read the authentic copy so often. He gave his humble service to you, and desired me to tell you, that he would be at pains to search after the authentic, which if he got, you should have it ; therefore, receive this till you get better, and if you want to know when he died, I shall get you notice. *N.B.*—That there is not one word, or comma, or colon, but what he dictated in it.

The copy which I had of a Key, &c., I found not to be so correct as I could wish, and, therefore, I have not sent you it, being fully persuaded, that, with a little moyen and pains, I can procure the original, in which I shall not be wanting.

As for news, we have little since I wrote you last. There is a large party of soldiers sent out to Peterhead, to bring in those people prisoners that proclaimed the Pretender lately. Mr John Gordon,¹ (minister at Old Deer,) son of the present Provost of

is said, that from that time he never enjoyed health, and after a lingering illness, he died on the 1st of Feb. 1684. Before his death, he felt much remorse of conscience for his sinful compliances, and repeatedly disclosed the state of his mind to Mr Mitchell, Minister at Lumphanan, his brother-in-law, who was forced to leave his charge for refusing the Test ; and he desired him to make it known to others for their warning. "Mr Mitchell," says Wodrow in his *Analecta*, "read to me some of Mr Menzies' words which he uttered to him a little before his death, wherein he showed himself very penitent for complying with Prelacy, and even for turning Independent. His taking the Test was the thing that grieved him most, and he said it was much aggravated in him, because he had been so forward for the Covenant, and glorious work of the Reformation, and had sinned against very great light. But he had that expression, 'Though he should tread upon me, I must look up to him for mercy. O to have one day in the pulpit of Aberdeen!' 'What would you do?' said his brother-in-law. 'I would preach to the people the difficulty of salvation.'" In his greatest agony, he expressed his hopes of salvation through the merits of Christ, and said he would be saved, but so as by fire. (Vol. i. p. 342, and ii. 107, and vi. 263-265. See also Wodrow's History, vol. i. pp. 315, 316, and iii. pp. 310, 311.) His declaration at his death, referred to in the text, was that which he made to Mr Mitchell, respecting his compliances with the times.

¹ See vol. i. p. 218.

Aberdeen, came to town the other day. I went to him to know how matters were going in that country, to wit, in Buchan. He told me, that he was come in for a party of soldiers to come and lie in their bounds; and that he himself had gone to preach the Sabbath immediately preceding at a place called Longside. When he was come within two stone-casts of the church, the people came and met him, and paid his skin to very good purpose;¹ and he saw a rascal, called Robison, a Jesuitical body, late preacher there, go into the church, and all his canonical robes on him. He told them, seeing they would not allow him to preach, he would only read an act of Parliament for dismissing of mobs; but that they would not hear of, and 150 old wives pursued him two miles off. The Sabbath before that, one Mr John Lumsden, late student at Glasgow, now a preacher, who was sent to preach at a place called Pitsligo, the neighbouring kirk to the former, was dreadfully abused, and his head and face cut in many places. There must be some course fallen upon to handle these blades. Mr Gordon tells me, that there are several great nests of Jacobites and priests in that country. Kirks are planting very fast. The Presbytery of Aberdeen are going to settle that man, called Mr James Farquhar,² (who turned Independent,) at a place called Nigg,

¹ The gentry in the North encouraged and excited the people in their maltreatment of the Presbyterian ministers. The following is so shocking as almost to exceed belief:—"When probationers go to preach in vacant congregations, the gentlemen in the parishes cause take the bottom out of the pulpits, and put in tubs full of water; others raise children newly buried, and put [them] into the pulpits, which I had from the preacher himself, who helped to carry them out."—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xi. No. 151.)

² Of this Mr Farquhar, who was known by the popular soubriquet of *John Gallone*, many traditional stories are still current in Aberdeenshire. Being a man of great muscular strength, as well as moral courage, he was frequently employed in the somewhat hazardous task of "preaching vacant" those churches from which the Episcopal intruders had been ejected. On one of these occasions, he lodged, on the Saturday night, in the house of the only Presbyterian gentleman in the parish; who strongly dissuaded him from making the attempt, which, he said, might cost him his life. Farquhar, however, resolved to do his duty; and, next morning, he ordered the bell to be rung. Hearing the sound suddenly interrupted, he sallied forth, and found two men pommelling the bellman on the ground; upon which, seiz-

within two miles of the town. We have no Episcopal ministers but one in this Presbytery, Mr James White, minister at Maryculter. But I think it will not be hard to get him out; for two gentlemen in his parish deponed before this Presbytery, that they heard him once and again pray, "Lord bless our king *de facto*, and our king *de jure*;" and, after he had said thus, he explained himself, "Bless our king that reigns, but much more our king that *should* reign!" He is to be laid aside next Presbytery day. I mind no more at this time; but all friends here have your wife and your father-in-law, and all of you, kindly remembered, as so do I, who am, very Rev. Sir, your friend to serve you to power,

[DAVID BROWN.]

Mr Fordyce will make inquiry about that Whiterigs when he goes to B., [Buchan,] which will be shortly, the persons that knew the story being there at present.

LETTER LXVI.

EPISCOPAL INTRUDERS IN THE NORTH.

*Mr David Brown to Wodrow.*¹

Aberdeen, Nov. 20, 1717.

VERY REV. SIR,—Yours of the 27th of August, from Edinburgh, came to my hand when at La——k, [Laurencekirk,] on the 30th of September. It seems it was carried back to Glasgow, and Cristie enclosed it in hers to me. I wrote you once when in

ing the assailants, he knocked their heads together, and having thus, with the utmost ease, put them *hors de combat*, he coolly stood sentry till the bell was "rung out." He then invited the amazed people, who stood around gazing at the scene, to follow him into the church, where he said he "had a message to give them, such as they had never heard before;" and, as the report goes, they were so much pleased with his eloquence, that, on his leaving them, they crowded around him, inquiring when he would be back again.

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xii. No. 119.

that country, and then gave you an account of the state of that and some neighbouring shires, with respect to their Episcopal ministers and meeting-houses.

In my last to you from this place, I suppose I gave you some account of the insolence of the Episcopal clergy upon the indemnity's coming down; and in September it came to greater height. The Synod sitting down the first week of October, their great and only business was, to consider what way they should fall upon to get relief to their insulted brethren in Buchan and several other places, who had their churches intruded upon, and were dispossessed of their houses; and then, what way to get rid of the Episcopal clergy in these parts. The Synod unanimously agreed to send some of their number to apply to the Justices of the Peace, who were to sit in that place that same week. The Tory party of the Justices, understanding that the Synod was to apply to them for removing the Episcopal clergy from the churches they had intruded upon, cast their heads together; and, being informed that their party would at that time be supernumerary to the Whig party, they resolved to baulk the Synod of their design, and, withal, to give the Episcopal ministers a dead lift. Accordingly, they resolved, if possible, to get a gentleman fit for their purpose to be elected Preses; and the man they pitched upon was the Laird of Culter, who has been under the lesser sentence of excommunication these many years. He was never in one of their meetings before, but came in and qualified himself the day before their meeting for that purpose. All this the Tory Justices did privately, without the knowledge of the rest. Accordingly, the Justices meet; Culter is elected Preses; the Ministers came in before them, and represented the hardships under which many of them laboured from the Episcopal Ministers in their shires, and required their answer against the afternoon. The Ministers being gone out, the Tory Justices considered what way they should take to get the Episcopal Ministers kept in their churches and benefices. Accordingly, [they] agreed among themselves to give this answer to the Ministers sent from the Synod, viz. That they declared them-

selves not competent judges to determine in such a matter, and, therefore, would neither meddle nor determine anything about it. The Ministers, when they got this answer, were greatly surprised, considering that they had judged in cases of the like nature some few months before that.

However, the Ministers being returned to the Synod, and having given the answer they had got from the Justices, the Synod was at a stand what to do next. My uncle being indisposed, and not able to attend, some members were sent to consult him what to do in the affair. He gave this as his opinion, that three or four Ministers should be sent up to Edinburgh, and get criminal letters raised against the Episcopal Ministers, and, if possible, to get these Justices fined who refused to judge in that matter. The Synod unanimously went into this, and sent three of their number to Edinburgh.

All this I could and would have written to you a month ago, but delayed till I should hear what was got done in the affair at Edinburgh.

Saturday's post brought up the criminal letters against all the Episcopal Ministers in the bounds of the Synod of Aberdeen, so that there will not be an Episcopal Minister in all thir bounds that will either enjoy church or benefice, except three, who kept very calm in time of the Rebellion, Mr Burnet at Monymusk, Mr Hay of Woodnay, [Udny,] and his brother at Montquhitter. The two Maitlands are to be cast out amongst the rest. But nothing could be got done against the Justices at the time.

I am to send you once this week a pamphlet done by all the Episcopal party, ministers, gentlemen, and lawyers in the North, in behalf of Mr George White, minister at Maryculter. You will see many things charged against the Presbytery of Aberdeen, which are horrid aspersions; therefore, lay no weight on them. There are many things said in it which I know to be false in matter of fact.

I have got nothing done with Mr George Gordon about the papers as yet. My uncle and Mr Fordyce think it advisable that you write to Mr Gordon himself, because he is a man loves to be

noticed, and likewise to Professor Anderson, and enclose them to me. Meantime, you may speak to Mr George Chalmers at Kilwinning, who is Principal of the Old Town College, and he, with the rest, will get your business done.

Let me know if you have the history of Bishop Sharp's Life in a Manuscript, written by one Hamilton of Kinkell, who lived either in or very near St Andrews, who was an eye-witness of many remarkable passages in the Bishop's life. If you have it not, write me, and I will endeavour to get it to you from a gentleman in this country who has the original.

I had almost forgot to tell you that we have five private Episcopal meetings in this town, and two in the Old Town; Doctor Burnet, Doctor Gairn, Mr Blair, Mr Maitland, and Mr White, younger, in this place; Mr Barclay and Mr Cruickshank in the Old Town.

The honest party here are very well pleased with the new regents; but they are not like to have much encouragement this year, for as yet they have very few scholars.

I would be satisfied to have your news sometimes; my sister Jane being so low, she is not able, and Cristie cannot well do it. I shall write unto you as often as I get subjects for it.

Mr Fordyce, my sister, and I, have you and all friends with you kindly remembered.

I am, very Rev. Sir, yours most affectionately,

[DAVID BROWN.]

LETTER LXVII.

ADDRESS ON THE ABJURATION OATH.

To Mr William Wilson, Minister at Perth.

[Mr WILLIAM WILSON was born at Glasgow on the 9th of November 1690. Both his parents were eminent for their piety, and their disinterested attachment to the Presbyterian principles of the Church

of Scotland. His father, Mr Gilbert Wilson, who was proprietor of a small estate near East Kilbride, in Lanarkshire, was stripped of his property by the Government during the persecution of Charles II., and subjected to other hardships. His mother, Isabella, daughter of Mr Ramsay, proprietor of Shielhill, near Kirriemuir, Forfarshire, who was a bigotted Episcopalian and Jacobite, having, on a visit to her aunt, Mrs Guthrie of Stirling, the wife of James Guthrie the martyr, been brought to the saving knowledge of the truth, was, in consequence of her refusing to renounce her new profession, disinherited and disowned by her father. Mr Wilson was devoted by both his parents to the holy ministry, and gave early indications of his piety and talents. With a view to the Church, he went through the regular course of education at the University of Glasgow. He studied theology under Professor Simson, but repudiated his errors. "As he was opposed to the Abjuration Oath, it appears that the Presbytery of Glasgow, most of whom were Jurors, would not enter him on trials for licence; but he was licensed by the Presbytery of Dunfermline, none of whose members had taken the Oath, September 23, 1713. He was ordained third minister of Perth on the 1st of November 1716, where he laboured with diligence and success to the period of his death. When the Marrow controversy was agitated, though not one of the twelve Representatives, he held their sentiments, and was present at some of their meetings. He was one of the four brethren, who, having been expelled from the Established Church, originated the Secession, and was appointed their first Professor of Divinity,—a situation for which he was well qualified by his piety, learning, and amiable character. The public papers of that body emitted prior to his death were of his composition; the last he drew up was the bond used by Seceders in Covenanting. He died on the 8th of October 1741, in the 51st year of his age.

Mr Brown of Haddington used to say of Mr Wilson, "that he had all the excellences of both the Erskines, and excellences peculiar to himself." His Diary, which he left behind him, written in shorthand, and from which there are copious extracts in Ferrier's Memoirs of him, prove him to have been deeply impressed with religion at a very early period of his life, and distinguished by elevated devotional feeling, tenderness of conscience, and a high degree of maturity in every Christian grace. During the whole of his life he exhibited the same spirit of intrepid firmness and disinterested zeal in adhering to the cause of truth which his parents so nobly displayed; and this was united with much mildness of temper—a quality in which he was superior to the Erskines, who, notwithstanding their many excellences, were unquestionably warm-tempered men. What he said to the crowd

on the day of his ejection from his church in Perth, when it was proposed to open the doors by force for his admission, was quite characteristic of the man—"No violence, my friends; the Master whom I serve is the Prince of Peace."—A few of Mr Wilson's sermons have been published, but his principal work is his "Defence of Reformation Principles," in reply to Mr John Currie, Minister of Kinglassie, who wrote against the Seceders.—Ed.]

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the end of December this day. As to the Address anent the oath,¹ it was before the Nons at our Synod in October last, as I acquainted you before. I don't find it hath been among us since, only some letters desiring brethren who have clearness to sign it, to come to Edinburgh as soon as may be, and sign it there. I do not hear of any going in. Nothing now offers to me upon this head. My difficulties are what do not straiten many brethren, and I am very unwilling to propagate them. You heard a sketch of them in a letter I wrote one day when you were here with me, about this time two year. And they still remain.

I am very earnest that all who can attain light sign this address. For my share, I have none as yet to go into the frame of the oath proposed in it. It is not like, indeed, to be harmonious here; and I was apprehensive, and told my mind at the meeting at Edinburgh, some more than two years ago, where it was first framed, that I feared we would never unite in one form of an oath; yet I then supposed as I yet do, this would most generally please.

I would have inclined the Address should have been more short, and cast into such general terms, as all might have gone into it, and the materials of this long address, and the new shape of the oath, to have been cast into a memorial apart, to have been presented with this short general address, as what stuck with, and contained a draught that would satisfy many of the Non-jurors. And I thought several of the brethren at Edinburgh were upon this lay in November last. But, since that time, I have heard nothing about it.

I know not well what to hope as to the effects above. There

¹ This is the Address mentioned before, and inserted in the Appendix.

are few there to appear in behalf of any such address, and I could fill a sheet of paper with my fears about it. These are not at all to be a rule; and I jealousy¹ myself the more, that so many worthy and reverend brethren come into it.

Upon the whole, Dear Brother, though I fancy this may not reach you till you be determined one way or other, it's my advice, that as you are not to suffer yourself to be carried against your light by regard to any whomsoever; so, upon the other hand, use your utmost endeavours to get light, if possible, to come up to the signing of it, since your colleagues² have done it. I truly pity persons in a collegiate post. By all means possible endeavour, by reasoning, meditation, and prayer, to be of a piece with them in every thing lawful. They are worthy men, and of greater experience than you, and if there should fall in different practices, love may be in hazard to cool. But I hope the Lord shall prevent this. You see what freedom I use. I am, yours most affectionately,

R. W.

Jan. 11, 1717.

¹ Suspect.

² The Rev. Thomas Black and the Rev. John Fleming, who were both Non-jurors. Mr Black was then the senior minister of Perth. He was first settled at Strathmiglo, then removed to Wemyss in Fife, and next translated to Perth in 1698. He lived some time after Mr Wilson seceded from the Established Church in 1733. Mr Fleming was admitted minister of Perth in 1713. He was previously minister at the Castle of Edinburgh. He died in the beginning of the year 1721. Mr Wilson declined signing the address, although his colleagues complied.

LETTER LXVIII.

SUBSTITUTE FOR PATRONAGE.

To Mr George Chalmers, Minister at Kilwinning.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours. The Presbytery's Representation¹ should be forwarded to our brethren commissioners at London, under a cover to a member of Parliament, by the first post; it's too long a sending. In the Letter to a Member of Parliament, p. 4, the author says, and, indeed, it is commonly said, "That the power of calling was before the restoration of patronages lodged in the plurality of heritors and elders;" whereas, in my opinion, the law does not say so, but only the power of nomination, which to me is very different from that of calling; and after the heritors and elders have nominated, and the person is proposed to the people, the call comes from all the three at sight of the Presbytery. Though my notion should be wrong, it appears safest for the author to keep by the words of the law. He speaks honestly and forcibly in section third, which I much approve. The second section is a good compend of the Presbytery's Representation, and both I think need not be published. The great difficulty proposed by our friends is, when patronages are removed, what shall come in their place. I see nothing so good as to reponc us *in statu quo*, and wish the reasonableness of our former constitution were a little farther insisted upon, and the fewness of any cases which bred difficulty in twenty-two years time, which were only four or five, Cramond,

¹ This was a Representation or Memorial from the Presbytery of Irvine on the subject of patronages; which they ordered to be sent to the Commissioners of the Church at Court, Professor Hamilton and Mr Mitchell, leaving it to them to make what use of it they thought proper.—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xii. No. 25.)

Crawfordjohn, Bothwell, &c., and the occasion of the noise was real differences among heritors themselves, who biassed others, and made the splutter. I wish the letter were printed, but it must be at London, if to purpose. And though I am for your sending to Edinburgh to brethren there, yet I see little advantage of publishing it there. I wish as soon as possible a copy were sent to Messrs Mitchell and Hamilton at London. I wish some more were added, if possible to prevent regulations to patrons, which will just be useless to us, and some things anent the patron's losing his power of presentation, after the first six months are elapsed, if he fall not on a fit person, and other hints out of Mr Forbes' memorial. Several other notions run into my head, but time fails me. I am yours, &c.

R. W.

Feb. 11, 1717.

LETTER LXIX.

SAME SUBJECT.

To the same.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I had yours of the 16th, and have dispatched the Memorial to London this post. The Letter¹ shall go next, both being too bulky for one cover. I still continue in my opinion that that act of Parliament allows heritors and elders to propose and nominate the Minister, and the Presbytery have the legal power of calling. And I oppose the plain words of the act of Parliament, which I had compared with the abstract,² which

¹ This was the Irvine Presbytery's Letter to the Commissioners of the Church at London.

² "Your remark on the title of the other paper is just, and I have taken upon me to amend it accordingly, as likewise to correct the other mistakes of the transcriber. But as to the p. q. [principal question] anent the power of calling Ministers, you will find what is there expressed are the very words of the act of Parliament, as stated in the compend of them by Sir James Stuart, which I looked to since I read yours."—*Chalmers to Wodrow.*

hath led you and many others, in my opinion, into a mistake in this point; and I can assure you that great lawyer was of the same opinion I wrote in my last, and I had it from himself; and without this you will find a kind of inconsistency betwixt the different parts of the statute. However, they [that] clause shall stand; because I know not how far it may be convenient at London, in this juncture, to assert that power in Presbyteries, though it be Scots law. The Advocate told me that he drew the act with a view to the Church's power, 1649.

I have no time till Stirling be over¹ to enter on the head of Patronages; but if there be any need, then you shall have all the assistance I can give, in a matter that lies so near my heart, but upon condition, that if this letter be not printed at London, you'll prevail with the author for a copy to me, which I shall pay for. I am, Rev. Dear Brother, yours affectionately,

R. W.

Feb. 17, 1717.

LETTER LXX.

WODROW'S HISTORY.—SCOTTISH BIOGRAPHY.

To the Rev. Mr William Veitch, Minister of the Gospel at Dumfries.

[MR WILLIAM VEITCH was born at Roberton, in the shire of Clydesdale, seven miles from Lanark, in 1640. His father, Mr John Veitch, had been minister of that parish for about 45 years; but was ejected for non-conformity in September 1664. William completed his course of education at the University of Glasgow; and, towards the end of the year 1664, was married to Miss Marion Fairly. Nearly two years after, he joined that party of his countrymen whom oppression had driven to take up arms in self-defence, and, during his subsequent life, suffered numerous hardships, and had many hair-breadth escapes. Although not at the battle of Pentland, having been at the time en-

¹ The process before the Presbytery of Paisley, anent Wodrow's call to Stirling.

gaged in a perilous mission to Edinburgh, his name was among the leading Whigs, for the apprehension of whom a proclamation was issued. To escape the danger to which he was thus exposed, he fled to Newcastle, and assumed the name of William Johnston, after his mother. On the 16th of August 1667, a sentence of forfeiture of life and property was pronounced against him, and others, in their absence, for alleged concern in the rising of Pentland. Having resided in different parts of England, and preached the gospel with success, he was, on the 19th of January 1679, apprehended in his own house at Stantonhall, in the parish of Longhorsly, Northumberland, through the hostility of the parish clergyman and two justices of the peace ; and an express being sent to London to inform Charles II. of his apprehension, an order was issued by his Majesty that he should be conveyed prisoner to Scotland, there to be tried as a notorious ring-leader in field conventicles, and proceeded against according to the utmost rigour of law. He was conveyed by different stages to Edinburgh, and lodged in the tolbooth ; but at last he was set at liberty, and banished from the kingdom of Scotland. He then returned home to his family in England ; and, meeting with Argyle after his escape from prison in December 1681, he accompanied that nobleman to London, where about that time meetings were held by several of the nobility, gentry, and others, to concert measures for delivering the nation from slavery and Popery. This scheme, which was called Monmouth's Plot, and more commonly the Rye-House Plot, being discovered, Mr Veitch, to escape the danger to which the discovery exposed him, went over to Holland, where he met with the Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Argyle, and many other friends. He was afterwards sent by Argyle to Northumberland and the Scottish borders, to inform the well-affected of Argyle's intended attempt. The apprehension and condemnation of Argyle shortly after rendered it necessary for him to conceal himself. Upon the publication of King James' toleration, he returned with joy to his native country ; and having received a call from the Presbyterians in the parishes of Hounam, Oxnam, Eckford, Morebattle, and places adjacent, he entered on that charge April 1688. After the Revolution he was called to Crailing, Melrose, and Peebles. He accepted the call from the last parish, into which he was inducted September 1690. He was afterwards called to Edinburgh, Paisley, and Dumfries ; and, on the decision of the General Assembly, was sent to Dumfries much against his own inclination, where he was admitted, September 1697. He died May 1722, in the 82d year of his age, on the day after his wife, who was in her 84th year. His youngest son, Ebenezer, was minister of Ayr. He was a young man of eminent

piety, but died in early life, December 1706. Ebenezer's widow afterwards became Wodrow's wife.—See *Memoirs of Veitch, by Dr M' Crie.*—ED.]

REV. DEAR SIR,—I have yours of the 8th. I wish your friend who read over the first volume of the History of the Sufferings had marked the Scoticisms and old uncommon words, that I might have altered them. I am very sensible my style is not agreeable to the nice turns of the English; but in giving extracts out of acts of parliament, council, and accounts of matter of fact, I cannot evite the style used at that time. The names of members of parliament and council appear not so necessary, the work swelling so much on my hand, that it's like to be buried in its own bulk.

You have mightily encouraged me to go on in this toilsome work by the important accounts, and valuable extracts out of your memoirs, which no other could have given, and shall be carefully insert. Some of them, indeed, will scarce come in upon the History of the Sufferings; but they are not a whit the less acceptable to me, and exactly hit another project I have long entertained, and been collecting of memoirs for these several years, and that is a Scots Biography,¹ the lives of our ministers, gentlemen, and Christians, who have been most eminent for religion and usefulness; with all the Remarkable Providences, deliverances, answers of prayer, &c., relative to them, of which you have sent me the richest treasure I ever got from one hand. The certain and undoubted accounts you give refreshes my soul, and if I mistake not, confirmed me more and more in the foundation truths, and things accompanying salvation.

¹ Wodrow here, and elsewhere, refers to a work which he afterwards executed, in ten volumes folio, with four quarto volumes of appendix, which are preserved in the Library of the University of Glasgow. Selections from these Lives have been printed by the Maitland Club. "The work," says Mr David Laing, "is certainly not the most important of Wodrow's labours. The Lives are compiled and filled with extracts from works now much better known, and much more accessible than in his days; and being in most instances only first draughts, hastily put together, the style is remarkably careless and slovenly."

In order to this, I have collected thirty or forty sheets of particular instances, with the lives of Mr Simson, &c. But since I was put on the History of the Sufferings these two or three years, I could do nothing but continue my collections as to the other design; for if there be too many irons in the fire, some will cool.

You have furnished me with so much, that, like beggars, I must return to the door I am so well served at; and I humbly desire that whatever else offers to you, from your memoirs and memory, relative to any of the two former designs, at your leisure may be sent to me.

It's our sin and shame in this Church, and perhaps the increase of irreligion, Deism, and Atheism, may be charged upon this, in part, that we have not recorded the *Magnalia Dei et Christi* to this Church, and its faithful ministers and members, since we wanted not matter. Dear Sir, you are among the eldest fathers among us, and have had more occasion than any alive, from your own observation and converse with old ministers and Christians, to know the glory of the former temple. Permit me, with the deepest thankfulness for the valuable and extraordinary instances you have sent me, to beseech you to cause set down, and communicate, every other thing you can recover that can be useful for this design.

All that relates to your brethren Mr John, Mr James, and David, and the Lord Brodie in the North, with respect to yourself, excellent wife, and family, your observations upon religion, the success of the gospel, and God's way with the Church, and changes in the state since the Revolution. You'll mind Usher's prophecy, and Owen's character of Jerviswood, and Mr William Guthrie; with all the remarkables you can receive anent Messrs Durham, Henderson, Rutherford, Mr George Gillespie, Blair, Douglas, Guthrie, Argyle, Warriston, Mr John McClelland, and the other worthies you would hear of and know in your younger days. Mind the fire in the parish of Carnwath, after Pentland. These hints will bring [many things] into your mind, and you'll dash down, and gather all you can about them.

Mr John Adamson, Sabbath was fortnight, intruded on the mini-

stry, and took on him to baptize two children at Hamilton, and blundered, and forgot prayer before the action. My respects to Mr Guthrie.—The author of the Humble Pleadings is Mr Gavin Mitchell. We hear Mr M'Millan is dead. I'll be glad to hear if it hold,¹ and what influence it's like to have on your bounds, and what is done with Taylor and Gilchrist² since the last Commission. I have no apology to make for all this trouble, but that I am a universal beggar for accounts, and presumed upon your kindness, and ventured on my father's friend, and know none so much in case to help me as you. I'll be glad of your news from London by post, where I give my humble duty to your son; and am, yours in many bonds,

R. W.

Feb. 19, 1717.

To-morrow comes on my process before the Presbytery anent the call to Stirling, which probably will go to the next Commission in March.

LETTER LXXI.

TOLERATION OF THE PRESBYTERIANS IN IRELAND.

*The Rev. Alexander M'Cracken to Wodrow.*³

Lisburn, Feb. 1, 1716-17.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 7th of November, which is all I have from you since mine of June. I much longed to hear from you. I am truly concerned to hear how some things are going with you. I pray God may prevent the evils impending.

I have the paper you sent, but we have nothing I know of lately printed, or you should have it. As for what you desire relating to the formula, I formerly gave you what I then had. Since that

¹ This is really too bad, and affords a melancholy proof how far the *odium theologicum* had overcome the better feelings of Wodrow's heart.

² Two Nonjurors.

³ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xx. No. 126.

there is something fallen in, viz., some people have presented a protestation against proceeding to seek a toleration upon the formula, and are against its being the terms, but are for having the Confession of Faith the terms of the toleration. This being from the people threatens some discord. How far it may go is not yet known. We had a quarterly Synod lately at Belfast, (but I could not go to it,) before whom this matter came. They had some discourse about it, and finding the dissatisfaction that is amongst many about this, they came to resolve that, for the quieting of the people, they would declare that they will not go on with the toleration unless the Confession of Faith be secured to us. What this may do time must tell. Some ministers have been with me about this, and have let me see the formula as it now is, which hath something in it, the former, which I saw, had not, viz., *in their and our Confession of Faith*; so that the formula now is:

“I profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ the eternal Son of God, the true God, and in God the Holy Ghost; and that these three are one God, the same in substance, equal in power and glory. I believe the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament were given by divine inspiration, and that they are a perfect rule of Christian faith and practice; and, in obedience and pursuant to this belief, I agree to all the doctrines common to the Protestant Churches at home and abroad, contained in their and our Confessions of Faith.”

I find those that are for the formula lay great weight upon the naming of our Confession in the formula; but others do not think so much of it, especially considering that the Confession is first to be offered to be the terms, and it is taken for granted that the government will not allow of the Confession; and then, upon that, the formula is to be given in. Upon which, it's plain the Confession is once laid formally aside from being the terms, and the formula is in so far put in its place. Now, some cannot see that the naming of the Confession, considering with what it is joined, doth bring back the Confession to be the terms of the toleration. I find, if God prevent it not, we are like to be divided upon it; but our Lord

rules. I have not been able to visit the sick out of the town these several months past. My recovery is very uncertain. This, with affectionate service to all with you, is from, Dear Brother, yours to power,

ALEXANDER M'CRACKEN.

I'll be glad to hear from you. I suppose you know that there are two of our ministers to be with you next Assembly.

LETTER LXXII.

SAME SUBJECT.

To Mr Alexander M'Cracken, Minister at Lisburn.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the first instant. I thank you for the accounts you send me. The formula appears to me some better than before. But I wish the Westminster Confession had been specified; and if it were, I am of opinion all the rest of the formula might be spared. But I want not my fears that such generals are not insisted upon without some cause, and that direct engagements are not satisfying to some. It appears plain to me, that if those who are applied to, grant a toleration upon this draught of a formula, they will grant it upon the bottom of the Confession itself.

You signified to me in June last that two were coming over to our next Assembly, but do not tell me who they are. I wish if your health allow you were one of them; but I doubt this will not answer the design. If the Lord will, I design to be there, and as soon as this comes to hand, I could wish to know all you think proper to communicate of their powers and commission, and whatever may give light in that affair.

I regret your want of health, and fear you may be calling off from an ill time to the joy of your Lord. Therefore, while you are

able, let me have the benefit of your letters as frequently as you can ; for they are very refreshing. I am, yours, &c.

R. W.

Feb. 22, 1717.

LETTER LXXIII.

SAME SUBJECT.

To the Rev. Mr Robert M'Bride, Minister at Ballymony, Ireland.¹

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 23d of January, and congratulate you on your entrance to the holy ministry, and pray for a double portion of the Spirit to be on you. The God of your fathers be with you !

When you write to your dear father give him my kindest respects, and tell him for as ill as his hand is I can read it very well, and I'll be glad that he make a new trial of my skill this way.

I am glad any differences from misunderstanding the overtures of your late Synod are over. I love debates nowhere, especially in Synods, and shall be glad of a full account of what is done and doing anent a toleration.

The formula I have seen appears to me to be very general. And as I still looked on the Presbyterians in Ireland as a part of this National Church, or rather one of our sister Churches ; so I'll be afflicted to hear of their quitting our standard of doctrine, which I hope I shall never live to see. Pray, let me have all the accounts of what is done at your general Synods and quarterly meetings. I am, yours most affectionately,

R. W.

Feb. 22, 1717.

¹ The son of the Rev. John M'Bride, Belfast, of whom see vol. i. p. 482.

LETTER LXXIV.

SCHEME FOR SUPPORTING MINISTERS' WIDOWS AND ORPHANS.

To Mr Patrick Courper, Minister at Pittenweem.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—As to your proposal about orphans and widows of ministers, I have communicate with several ministers and others here, who all seem much pleased with it. I dare promise nothing for myself, far less others, but am made to believe it will meet with encouragement. I should be much for P. [Principal] Haddow's opinion in yours of the 13th instant, were it not that I think an abstract, in half a sheet, or both sides, might suffice to let brethren fully into the design ; and then, when you see how this takes, I would have the whole of the paper printed and sent to Presbyteries. I would have room left in the abstract for ministers to send in their proposals for facilitating this design, and these to come to your friends in every Synod, who shall transmit them to you, that the larger accounts of this pious project may come forth with greater advantage. You'll consider how far a fund of this nature may be augmented with voluntary collections in every parish, and some small thing to be given yearly by each session able to do so. People who pay nothing to maintenance of ministers, as tradesmen, merchants, &c., should be dealt with ; and since the management of such funds is the main thing [that] encourages contributions, some lawyers and others, and ministers from every Synod, should be thought on. An estimate would [should] be made of the number of widows and orphans, and some guess may be given at the general sum that is needful, and care would [should] be taken that nothing of this kind may hinder ministers' children from access to mortifications already given, as bursaries, hospitals, &c. These, and many other things, will offer

with greater advantage to you. I am, Rev. Dear Brother, yours
most affectionately,
R. W.

March 18, 1717.

LETTER LXXV.

SCOTTISH BIOGRAPHY.—REMARKABLE PROVIDENCES.

*To the Rev. Mr John Paisley, Minister in Lochwinnoch.*¹

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—I was much satisfied with the accounts you gave us of the singular instances of Divine condescen-

¹ Wodrow, in his *Analecta*, has preserved a memorial of this good man :—" That same day, (18th of April,) or the 19th of April, this country sustained yet a greater loss, by the death of worthy and honest Mr John Paisley, minister, since the year 1690, or thereby, in the parish of Lochwinnoch. He has not been able to attend our Presbytery these two years, since he got a fall from his horse. He was asthmatic, and had a cough for many years, but never hindered from his work and attendance of judicatories, in which he was very exemplary. He had one thing very singular about him. These twenty or thirty years he slept very little; two or three hours was much for him to sleep. He went to bed about ten, and was generally up against twelve or one in the morning. O! what vast deal of time had he, by what I and many others have, and he well improved it, in meditation and prayer. He may have been said to have lived 120 years or more, though he died about 70, since sleep can scarce be justly reckoned part of our life. His father was a worthy Christian, bailie in Paisley. I know not but he was one of the converts at the Shotts. His mother was a solid Christian, E. Ferguson, sister to Janet Ferguson, in the Wool, of whom in the former part of these Collections. There were four or five sisters of them, very eminent, solid, judicious Christians, as I ever knew of country women.

" Mr Paisley was chaplain at Pollock till his being licensed, when Sir John Maxwell got him in to Lochwinnoch. He married Mr Simson's daughter at Renfrew. He was under a call to Aberdeen after the Revolution, and was transported either by the Commission or Assembly to that place, and refused to obey the sentence, and was overlooked, and another, I think Mr Blackwell, transported. His father-in-law, old Mr P. Simson, was much for his obedience to the sentence of the Church. I have heard him say that he knew none that disobeyed the ultimate sentence of the Church but providence pled controversies with them before they went off the world. I hope this was in cases of obstinacy and perversity, whereas this was from a deep sense of

sion and exercise of grace in Janet Gillies and others. It's many years now since I began a collection of Remarkable Providences towards ministers and Christians in Scotland, which, when well vouched, might confirm myself in the great foundations of our holy religion. I was of opinion, that, in poor Scotland, the Lord, since the Reformation, hath manifested himself, and the secret of his covenant, to his servants and people, as much as any where since the primitive times; and I thought it a pity that all these *Magnalia Dei* should be entirely buried; and therefore I dashed down confused notes of them in a good many sheets.¹

These three years, indeed, I have been much diverted from this, and almost every other thing, by the History of the Sufferings, and wanted many occasions of converse upon these subjects; but still, now and then, as occasion offered, I have been gathering hints.

You'll pardon me, then, when I earnestly beg you'll dash down in write what you told me anent Janet Gillies, with the year of her death, and her general character; the account likewise of your aunt, of that elder of yours, and the remarkable instance of the adulterer, to whom Mr Peebles said, "This shall beal out of your breast!"

And when you are setting down these things, I doubt not but other passages, remarkable manifestations, conversions, answers of prayer, judgments on sin, &c., will come into your memory. I have had no small help this way from your father-in-law, and am

his unworthiness and inability for so public a post as Aberdeen, especially at the planting the North after the Revolution, which I know was what stuck with him. In the year 1709 he had a call from Glasgow, but stuck fast by his parish, and my Lord Sempie, educate Popish, appeared for him, and professed himself Protestant, which had great weight. So he continued still at Lochwinnoch, a useful, faithful, laborious, gospel minister, a man of great weight and authority among his people, where he had many seals of his ministry, and a set of grave excellent elders. He was of a most kind, affectionate temper, and a firm, bold, honest man, and a serious, affectionate, excellent preacher, and very useful in this Presbytery."—Vol. v. pp. 411, 412.

¹ Of this Collection of Remarkable Providences, to which Wodrow makes such frequent allusion, nothing has been preserved, unless we suppose the MS. volumes, entitled *Analecta*, now printed by the Maitland Club, to be the "sheets" here mentioned. It may be, however, that he means the "Scots Biography," to which he refers, p. 230.

an universal beggar for such accounts, where they can be depended upon. I do not know if ever I shall be able to put them in any order, and under their proper heads, but am fond to make a collection of them in as far as I can. At your leisure, then, I expect you'll indulge my Athenian temper this way, and dash down all the instances you can recover. This comes just to be a memorandum to you. You'll certainly mind a great many remarkables of the old set of Christians in Paisley, of Mr Baird, Mr Eccles, and others; and you'll not grudge a little pains in reflecting upon them, and writing them down. I am, Dear Brother, yours most affectionately,

R. W.

March 20, 1717.

LETTER LXXVI.

DETERMINATION OF GOVERNMENT TO RE-IMPOSE THE ABJURATION OATH.

*To Mr William Gusthart, Minister of the Gospel at Crailing, for
present at London.*¹

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—Last post I had yours of the 13th instant, which was extremely welcome, and more than I could have presumed to have asked, knowing well your fatigue in writing, and hurry of business where you are. These, however, make it the more obliging upon your part.

The accounts you give me are melancholy enough,² but not sur-

¹ Mr Gusthart was an eminent minister in his day. He was first settled at Crailing in 1708, and was translated in 1721 to the Tolbooth Church, Edinburgh, where he was colleague to Mr James Webster. Being one of the Non-jurors, he was sent by them this year to London, with an Address to King George. He became a Dean of the Chapel Royal, and died in 1765.—(*Morren's Annals*, i. p. 337.)

² Mr Gusthart, who was now in London for the purpose of presenting the Non-jurors' Address to the King, informs Wodrow in his letter, that he had waited on

prising. I have been long under the fears that the Lord had a controversy to plead with this poor Church, and I feared when we entered into the cloud of the last horrid and unnatural Rebellion. But when I look on the horrid increase of sin and sinners since, sure his anger is not turned away, but his hand stretched out still. My own temper under all, that of ministers and people, and of all ranks, frightens me; then the Swedes, Sq. [Squadron,] or any thing I hear of; and my tender sympathy with our excellent Sovereign King George rises sometimes very much, when I think he is come to rule over kingdoms with whom the Lord hath a controversy.

But I blame myself for venting my fears to you, who, perhaps, may be too much under the same melancholy views. Dear Brother, you are called in Providence to act now in a matter which very nearly concerns this poor Church, and wherein the Lord hath hitherto helped; and you have no cause to be discouraged. Present work is what we are cheerfully to engage in, and leave events to the Lord; and I hope he will guide you by his eye. I am sure you have some room in the concern not only of brethren in your circum-

the Duke of Roxburgh, Secretary, and given him a copy of the Address, to show to the King; but the Duke delayed doing this from day to day, made excuses for the delay, gave good words, and was very civil. Mr Gusthart farther writes,—“Colonel Erskine came up two weeks ago, who did more for us than all of us together could do for ourselves. He minds no affairs of his own, but ours. He and I went to wait on General Stanhope, who said, in the House, when the bill was moved, that he was informed many of us were Jacobites. We told him we came to inform him better. He made apology for himself, that he meant the Episcopal ministers Jacobites, that were sheltered under us, and told us, ‘Gentlemen, make yourselves easy; the Government will do three things,—Give you a new day, indemnify you of the penalties you’ve incurred, and give you an explication that will please any reasonable man, and more they’ll not do; nay, they’ll venture a second Rebellion.’ I leave you to make reflections. I’m only giving you history. The Duke of Argyle and all his friends are ours, and I’ve been plainly told by one of the Squadron that we’ve taken him by the hands, and he us, and therefore ———. This is at the bottom of all the opposition we meet with from the Squadron. The Colonel and I are going through Scots and English, to give them the state of our affairs. We must depend on God, and leave the issue to him. The hearts of all men are in his hand. As for our common grievances, I’m afraid they’ll not be redressed to our mind. Alas! we have few that heartily concern themselves in Christ’s affairs. Nothing here but parties and particular selfish views.”—*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xii. No. 59.

stances, but many others who have the interests of this poor Church very near their heart. And whatever be the issue, you cannot but have peaceful reflections upon your offering yourself willingly to this service you are upon, and of his own you are to serve him, and I persuade myself he is not, and will not, be wanting to you. You are essaying to make up the gap, and repair the breach, and if any will widen both, they have very much to answer for.

The parties and divisions I very much regret, and my heart reproaches me not when I say I am for peace. But I have remarked Providence, since the Revolution, using differences and parties in the State, to the benefit of the interests of religion in Scotland, which meanwhile makes them not a whit the less sinful. What shall be brought forth from these evils at present I know not. I desire only to be found waiting, watching, and trembling for the ark of God.

You are pleased to desire my mind fully upon our affairs, which I would most willingly give, and unbosom myself to you, if I knew where to begin, or when to end. One of my dearest friends, who is with you, knows my sentiments as much as any living. In short, I have still owned that even the removal of the reference¹ would not clear my way. I am one of those weak brethren whom some, it seems, think need colleagues,² who pray constantly for King George, and from my heart own him as my only rightful and lawful Sovereign; and will, through grace, carefully perform all the duties to him contained in the Fifth Command, and, from my heart, loathe and abominate Popery; and, as to my present light, could never own myself a subject to a Papist; but then I cannot, by any overt act, allow myself to approve the complex of our present constitution in Britain, though I can and do live peaceably under it; neither can

¹ The reference in the Oath of Abjuration to Acts of Parliament, which secured the Episcopal and Erastian constitution of the Church of England.

² Mr Gusthart had said in his letter, "I am told the penalty of refusing [the oath] is only to extend to deprivation of half benefice. This I don't understand, unless it be that the Nons are all counted weak brethren, and therefore stand in need of colleagues to be joined with them to instruct them."

I engage myself actively to give obedience to some laws which we are under. For instance, if his Majesty should, as he may by law, and his engagement to govern according to law he is under, require me, as a minister, to receive a patron's presentation, and concur, in my station, in settling a minister upon it, I would take it to be my duty to suffer before I sinned: though nobody, when brought to a choak, may be readier than I to fall. Besides, I must own, I have a stated aversion to the practice threaded in among us almost only since the Revolution, that ministers of the Gospel should be subjected to all the various turns of state oaths, which come about; when every week, yea day, they give sensible and public proofs of their loyalty; and I heartily wish the wisdom of the Parliament would fall upon another and better test of loyalty than public oaths, at a time when they are so little probative, that I profess they appear to me unnecessary, because insufficient for their end, to a great many of those who are suspected. I want not difficulties about the reference, though I cannot say these stuck so much with me as some others.

But though these be my sentiments, and it may be I am not only singular, but mistaken in them; yet I am as much as any for the taking out of the reference. I could have wished, indeed, that the oaths had been dropt, and especially at this juncture, the re-imposition had not been sought, particularly by ministers. But since they must come, I am really of opinion the removal of the reference will satisfy the most part of brethren who formerly stuck; and this, together with the alteration the commission desired in the narrative, which I own does not affect the body of the oath directly, I think will make the Non-jurors so few, as though these few should come to suffer, there will be the less hazard as to the interest in general, though it may be they may appear so weak as they may be overlooked. But if the reference be kept in, as far as I can judge, nobody will come in but such who would swear without any alterations at all. And I presume to know so much of the state of this Church as to be pretty positive upon this head. And although some be so sanguine as

to put a second Rebellion in balance with the satisfaction of such who seek a re-imposition, and for my share I tremble at the thoughts of a second Rebellion, or new confusions upon any score whatsoever, and I am not of opinion a re-imposition will issue in a rebellion, yet the consequences of two hundred ministers standing out, and being prosecuted, will be much worse to the interests of this Church than a second Rebellion, which some make so light of, may be to the state.

And after I have heard all the reasonings against removing the reference in our Synod, and in the Commission, I cannot but wonder to find any oppose it, when I am persuaded it tends so visibly to the peace of this Church, and the sinking of the lamentable rents we have been under. The three things I found urged against the taking out of the reference were, that it would be impossible to get it in Parliament, that it would rivet schism, and bring new difficulties with it, to the straitening of the brethren who had taken the oath.

The first of these is a fact I cannot determine about positively, but only profess my ignorance of what of this nature is impossible to our gracious Sovereign and the British Parliament. Yet I'll take the liberty to add, that the removing a reference to acts purely English, is what I suppose may, by our reserved rights, be legally sought by Scotsmen and ministers, in any oath imposed after our incorporation. And if just reasoning and good grammar may be urged by one under a grammatical schism, I think both will infer no reference of this kind should be used in the matter of an oath. Neither do I look upon any impossibility urged in this case to lie in the English members, but among some from Scotland, to whom, indeed, we owe our incorporation.

The second argument, from the rivetting the schism by such an alteration, was what really surprised me, not only as the continuance of the reference will continue the Nonjurancy of greater numbers than our brethren are apprised of, and so the differences of the people will infallibly be lengthened out; but especially as the alterations gone into by the Commission, in the oath itself, and the

narrative, when granted, will give the more ignorant and thoughtless of the people the very same handle to say, that the oath is altered from what it was, when our brethren formerly swore it, as they can take from the reference being cast out. This is a subject I cannot see how it can bear reasoning. Our brethren have taken it with the reference, and new alterations are as much alterations as what is sought would be ; and any real alteration will be as much an argument in this case, as the removal of the reference, which, as it would cement ministers among themselves, so it would infallibly cement the people.

The last reason looked, I must own, to me, as melancholy as any thing I ever heard advanced since our unhappy debates began ; especially when I heard more than one of our brethren declare they could not take the oath, if imposed without the reference, because the reference to the limitations prevented their swearing to an absolute monarchy, and arbitrary government. For my share, I indeed thought that all oaths in subjects contained a necessary relation to the sovereign's coronation oath, which secures in this point, and obliges him to govern and us to obey, according to known laws. But to advance, that it's the English limitations that are the fence against tyranny and arbitrary government, involves a necessary consequence which many times hath been disowned, that the matter of the limitations is brought in by the reference to be a part of the oath ; and how to distinguish between the matter of them relative to the English Church and the British State, if once it be brought in, is what I cannot at all satisfy myself about. And though I am not very soon shaken as to my charity to my brethren, till I recovered myself, I was in hazard once to conclude this was either a fetch to serve a turn, or else imported somewhat worse.

Thus, I have given you my opinion without reserve, as to our affair. Whether it reach the design of your letter I know not. This is what offered ; and if in any other thing I were able to offer you any help, I would spare no cost nor pains to do it. But I am persuaded you want not my assistance, though your good nature has made [you] seek my mind. And it's not that I reckon any

- [thing] I can say will be of any use to you, but purely to let you see how willing I would be were I able, that I have sent you this scribble. And in what I have said upon the reference, I reckon myself perfectly unbiassed, because even its removal would not clear my way.

Nothing further offers, but what I shall write to my dear Colonel; ¹ but that I humbly beg you'll favour me as frequently as your important affairs will allow, with a line, which I shall communicate with our brethren in this country. When it's franked, it's only the more acceptable, that it comes the safer, and is not in hazard to be opened; but for the postage, pray, spare me not. You mistake me much if you think this will stick with me. I am ashamed to ask this, when I reflect on what toil you are at in writing; but when you consider the satisfaction I have in yours, you must pardon me. I heartily commit you to the Divine conduct; and am, Dear Brother, yours, in the greatest sincerity,

R. W.

April 23, 1717.

LETTER LXXVII.

WODROW'S HISTORY.

To Colonel Erskine at London.

MY DEAREST COLONEL,—I have written at full length to Mr Gusthart, and add nothing upon that subject. I pray the Lord may guide you and him in your essays for the healing this poor bleeding Church, and that you may find favour in the eyes of those with whom you have to do. I thank you both for your news, and was never so impatient for them as I am now, when not only civil mat-

¹ Colonel Erskine.

ter, but what so nearly concerns the interest of religion in England and Ireland, and poor Scotland, is in dependence. Permit me to beg that I may hear as frequently from you both as may be consistent with your business. David sends me hints more regularly since parting than ever, but *dulcius ex ipso fonte*; though I am really much satisfied with his distinct writing. Your own affair is, what you, as it were, overlook for the public; and it becomes others to be the more concerned about it. I pray Providence may bring it to a comfortable issue to you and your family.

I am going on in my toilsome work, which grows much on my hand. I shall be glad of my dear friend George Ridpath's thoughts, animadversions, and additions, to the sheets you got from Mr Mil-lar to let him see. I am now at the 1682, in my last draught, but will be much taken off by the Assembly, and the work of my parish and communions in the summer.

Any papers relative to it pray pick up, I could wish to have, as the Episcopal pamphlets, which relate to the period I am on. I am fond of all that relates to the constitution in France, and wish for doubles of what you pick up, with what relates to our Scots affairs and that. A pamphlet now and then, under some of our Scots members' cover, will be most welcome. Write much in time of Assembly, and direct to me to the care of Mr Weems, Post Office, Edinburgh. I design to be in a witness, and would be glad to know wherein I can serve you or yours.

From Ireland, I find they are going into the Formula, and Mr Bruce and Mr Kilpatrick are coming over to our Assembly, to take off any impressions their quitting the Westminster Confession may have among us. I wish we were sticking faster to it than we are. I send you up a copy of our Synod's excommunication of Adamson. Great grace be with you! I am yours, under many ties.

April 23, 1717.

P. S.—You may consider how far the promiscuous making of a piece of divine worship, (an oath,) in such a profligate age as this is, an ordinary test of loyalty, might not be encountered with much

the same arguments, as the making the Holy Sacrament a test to civil posts and places.

LETTER LXXVIII.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1717.¹*To Mrs Wodrow, No. 1.*

May 1, 1717.

MY DEAREST,—I am come in very safe this night. We had a very pleasant journey, no rain except what I had 'twixt and Rugland, [Rutherglen.] I stay in Mr Stewart's; John Ritchie's three rooms being all taken up, which makes me wish to have come here sooner. However, I hope to get my work with the Registers done. This day, that villain who murdered Bailie Gordon's sons was execute. I am told that you have an account of the sentence and execution in the Edinburgh prints, so I need not give an account of it. In short, that wretch was a schoolmaster in the North, and was turned out for Bourignianism; he was a mighty disciple of Dr Gairns, and came in to Edinburgh, and was governor to Bailie Gordon's children. On Sabbath last, he enticed them out to a private place, and cut their throats, and afterwards attempted to cut his own, but shrinked. He was perfectly stupid at death, had his hands cut off, and was hanged with great difficulty; for the wound he gave himself opened, and he breathed through his throat, and was near half an hour before he died. The occasion they say was, the two boys had discovered some wickedness 'twixt him and their mother's servant. But he attempted to have cut off two other sons of Bailie Graham, that are elder. He seems to have been possessed. He owned he had been seeking an opportunity for this villany for four days.

¹ Inserted among Letters to Wodrow, vol. xii. Nos. 64-70.

Archibald Smith has got twenty shillings for your cheese, which I depended on here, and if I need it, shall send for it when the horses come in. Mr Mitchell is to be Moderator to-morrow. The patronages and toleration are to be in this session, though the Commissioners be come down. I mind no more, but pray take a care of yourself, and your health. My dearest respects to father and mother.

May 2.

This day the Assembly met. Mr Hamilton's text was, "I'll give them pastors according to my heart." It was a good practical sermon. Mr William Mitchell is chosen Moderator. I mind nothing farther remarkable. I shall write to you next post, but need not write this post, since Robin comes off this afternoon. Pray take care of yourself. I am perfectly well. There is little singular in the King's Letter to the Assembly.

LETTER LXXIX.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1717.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 2.

May 3.

MY DEAREST,—I know not if I shall have time to write the morrow; and so I send you this scrape to-night. This forenoon the Assembly met for prayer. The Moderator, Mr Livingston at Biggar, Mr Dalglish, Mr Glass, Mr John Curry, prayed. Mr John Stirling and Mr George Campbell are to preach before the Commissioner.¹ In the afternoon, the draught of the Answer to the King's Letter was brought in to the Overtures; that passage about

¹ John Earl of Rothes.

the secret attempts of "factious and designing men," thought to be levelled at some people whom I shall not name,¹ is waived, and in the answer just repeated here in the words of the letter. There was no debate in the Committee about it, and I think it will pass to-morrow without any difficulty in the Assembly. The Moderator of Mr Simson's committee acquainted the Committee of Overtures that the report of that Committee was ready, when the Assembly was ready to call for it. It will probably be in on Monday. This is all I mind.

Sir James Stewart's lady is this day safely delivered of a daughter.

The Assembly were unanimous in their answer. We have no news this night I hear of.

May 3.

My Dearest Peggy,—I am perfectly well,—as throng as ever. I have got the Registers² to my room, and am working at them, and making all the dispatch I can. * * * I fear further breaches at this Assembly. I hope now to end my work with the Registers, and if staying a day or two for that will do, I must take it. The Lord be with you and the children! I do not hear Lady Russeth is any worse these two or three days. Grace be with you! My dearest respects to father and mother. Tell my——— I spoke to my Lord Boyle in the Assembly, who directed me to come to him some morning, which I shall not fail to do. Mr Williamson hath his sacrament next Lord's day.

I have yours this night. Be sure to write every post. I am perfectly well. Take care of yourself.

¹ "The constant zeal and affection of the Church of Scotland to our person and government, which neither the force and violence of our open enemies, nor the artful contrivances of factious and ill-designing men, has been able to alter, gives us great satisfaction." (King's Letter to the General Assembly.) The Non-jurors, probably, were the persons "thought to be levelled at."

² The Council and Justiciary Registers, from which he drew a great part of the materials of his History.

LETTER LXXX.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1717.

To Mrs Wodrow, No. 3.

May 7, 1717.

MY DEAREST,—Upon Saturday the Instructions came in, which gave me work since. On Sabbath, Principal Stirling had a good lecture on Isaiah lii., and a very suitable sermon on Jude, 5th verse, upon the destruction we may expect after deliverances. Mr Campbell, in the afternoon, preached upon the victory of faith over the world. Yesterday, the Assembly came to enter upon Mr Simson's process, and read the report of the Committee,¹ and Mr Webster's protest,² and the Committee's answers. The first question that came to be cast up was, whether the Committee did right, in in-

¹ Extracts from the Report of this Committee will be found in the Appendix. "I find Mr Simson is like to be cleared by the Committee, and the libel not found proven. I find many honest men are not pleased with these proceedings."—Colonel Erskine to Wodrow, 1st September 1716.

² This was a protest which Mr Webster made, August 22, 1716, against the resolution of the Committee, that the witnesses examined against Mr Simson should depone upon the *ipsissima verba* used by Mr Simson, and not upon the meaning of his expressions. "And he declared he would complain to the next General Assembly against the Committee, for the injustice they had done him in several steps of this process, and he protested that he would lead no more of his witnesses, nor insist any further in this cause; and having taken instruments thereupon he withdrew. And Mr Simson protested, that if Mr Webster would lead no more of his witnesses, the Committee might find that he has failed in proving of his libel by witnesses."—(Minutes of Committee for maintaining Purity of Doctrine, 1715, 1716, in Wodrow MSS. 8vo, vol. xiii. No. 4, p. 175.) However, notwithstanding of Mr Webster's refusal to insist, the Committee, finding themselves obliged by their instructions from the Assembly, proceeded to the examination of the witnesses. Mr Webster afterwards gave in the reasons of his protestation, which were read at the meeting of Committee, 1st Sept. 1716, and ordered to be kept in *retentis*; and Messrs John Hamilton and

terrogating the witnesses upon the words of Mr Simson's libel, in as far as they remembered.¹ There was a long debate upon that head, and my Lord Grange had a very good speech. It came to the vote, Approve or Not, and it carried, Approve 87, Not 60. The members of the Committee voted all in this matter, though some thought them parties. This day, we are to have another nice question anent the sensing the propositions. This matter is like to take up very much time; what turn it will take I know not. I see no news in the letters this day.

May 7.

This day another favourable vote for Mr Simson.

John Gray were appointed to draw up answers to them, and give them in to the Clerk to be transmitted with the said reasons of protestation to the next Assembly. (*Ib.* p. 240.)

¹ The Committee, before examining the witnesses, decided that they should be interrogated what the words were in which, to the best of their remembrance, they heard Mr Simson express himself upon the subjects of the several articles of the libel sustained relevant, and placed in the first class. "Though some of the Committee," says Mr Allan Logan, "thought the question permitted the deponent to use a greater latitude in the way of answering, the majority seemed to exclude the least variation from the words emitted, upon pretence that the witnesses are not to be judges of the sense and meaning of Mr Simson's words." Messrs Allan Logan, Andrew Cameron, and Thomas Linning, judging, that if Judicatories are not to receive the depositions of men, who are intelligent, judicious, and conscientious, when they cannot depone as to the precise words in which a Professor or Minister taught erroneous doctrine, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to prove error in doctrine against any,—disapproved of the Resolution to limit the witnesses to Mr Simson's precise words, and gave in reasons of dissent.—(*Ibid.* p. 188–192.)

LETTER LXXXI.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1717.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 4.

[May 7, 1717.]

MY DEAR,—This day already I wrote by post, which coming off earlier than usual, I can write little of what is done that day. It is a lamentable thing to see processes of doctrine, and I cannot but say, this day and yesterday makes me wish to see no more processes of this nature in this Church, and particularly in the supreme numerous judicatory. There necessarily falls in so much heat, and so many irregularities, that agree not well to so grave a subject. In the debates, there are indeed a great many who speak well, and to the purpose, on points of law and form, but then an evident siding appears, and not very much to the clearing of the head controverted; and every thing on each side very soon discovers the biases and passions we are under. This day the Assembly have spent three hours close sitting, and have determined very little.

The first question, in the general, was, whether the Committee for Purity had done right in sensing and qualifying the propositions when they classed them.¹ The lawyers, my Lord Grange, and Sir James Stewart, were heard, and it seemed pretty plain the last Assembly's instructions led them to class Mr Simson's propositions; but it did not so well appear that this led them to qualify or sense Mr

¹ As will be seen from Appendix, the Committee arranged the propositions in the libel under two classes, before doing which they *sensed* them, that is, put their own sense on them, stating in what sense they were unsound and heretical, and in what sense they were sound and orthodox, or controverted among orthodox divines, classing them according to these senses.

Webster's libel, he having libelled the words, and not words qualified, as to this or that purpose. The members pleaded that plain necessity and the nature of the thing led them to this, and otherwise they could not class and rank them. When this point came to be voted, a question was cast up, whether the members of the Committee for Purity were to vote or not. It was agreed by all, that in the issue of the process they might vote, but in this point wherein a protestation and complaint was made against them, they ought not to vote, being parties. For this, it was said, that as to them, this was for them to state whether they had done right or not. To this it was answered with great heat, that they were but a preparatory Committee, like bills or overtures, that they might in a larger meeting get new light, and find they had been wrong; that the excluding them would be of dangerous consequence, and a cutting off of all committees who had not a determining power; that in no civil judicatories it was so; that the Lords of Session voted in their own causes, because a Supreme Court, and in the reports from the Outer-House, and many of them upon new light would vote against their own report. At length the vote came to be stated, whether the members of the Committee should vote in this whole process. This state was refused by many, and it was moved it should be whether they should vote in this particular, wherein they had determined, and a complaint was made upon them. The first state was gone into, and carried 97, and 5 Nots. The whole almost who appeared to be Mr Webster's friends did not vote, because they alleged the vote was wrong stated. Then the Committee's sensing or qualifying was gone into without a vote. And they began to go through the Committee's propositions in their report.

I forgot in the entry to remark that the Moderator, at the beginning of this sederunt, moved that since the Committee could not overtake the inquiry of Mr Simson's answers and letters, and other things committed, that the Assembly should name a Committee to sit and go through them, and bring in their report once this week. It was expected that the members of the Old Committee should have been gone into as those who were most acquaint

with the affair, and it was indeed moved. To this (before the former vote) it was said that the Assembly might name others, and some of the old members declined it, and said they were abundantly worried already. And it was moved, as I took it, to break the thing, that all upon one side who had appeared most against Mr Simson should be named. Accordingly, to my surprise, this was gone into, and Mr Allan Logan, Mr Cameron, Mr Hog, Mr Black of Perth, Mr John Logan of Alloa, Mr Brough, and two others, were named. What they will bring in I don't know.

To return to the Assembly's going upon the Report of the Committee for Purity. Upon the first proposition, first article, about the light of nature, Mr Webster complained that his proposition was wrong sensed. Some debate ensued; but in respect nothing was proven, and the defender denied it, it was passed; though, indeed, I did not see the need of qualifying it, since not proven and denied. Then six more were read, and passed, because nothing was objected against them. In the afternoon, at five, we had but two hours interval. I don't know how the Assembly came back upon the seventh proposition, first article, anent the salvation of all infants, as qualified by the Committee; the relevancy of it was long and needlessly debated, and both sides mistook one another, I am sure, for two hours. The relevancy at length was agreed as the Committee had explained it, and the probation from Mr Simson's letter he sent in to the Committee was offered, which paper was read, and I must say sounded ill, and seemed, compared with his printed answers, to go a very great length in saying, [that] all infants had saving spiritual benefits, by reason of Adam and Noah's covenant, till they cast themselves out by rejecting the remedy, which was alleged to take in the adult heathens likewise, who never had the Gospel among them. It was alleged with warmth, that to come to a vote in this was to determine the eternal state of infants, which no Protestant Church had done; and, upon the other hand, it was said, that what the Professor had said was a determination that God could not damn any infants without

breach of his promise and covenant [which] he owed with them, Acts ii. 39. The Professor explained the covenant, I cannot well tell how, to be much the same with this, that they were not in the state of reprobate angels. In short, his sense of covenant I did neither ever hear nor understand. It was remitted to a Committee, after we had sit till near nine, to bring in the passages out of the letter, and printed answers, to compare them with the proposition classed contrary to the Confession of Faith, against to-morrow at nine. If it had come to a vote this night, in the temper the House appeared to be in, I little doubt but the probation would be sustained. What they will do when the heat of the reasoning is off them I know not.

May 8.—This day the Assembly went on to consider the propositions, and Mr Simson came in and offered an explication of what he was challenged for, and softened the expressions in his letter, which satisfied the Assembly. They were reckoned unguarded expressions, and he was called in and admonished to beware of them and not use them, which he thanked the Assembly for, and promised to obey. Mr Webster, when he heard this, broke out in a dreadful sally, and told he would, for his own vindication, print Mr Simson's letter; and would do it, though the Assembly should discharge him, and went off. The Assembly went in to appoint a committee to consider what was done by Mr Webster; and went on to the article about divine concurrence, and delayed that and other heads whereon there were dissents, till the second class of errors not directly against the Scriptures and Confession.

May 9.—This day the Assembly met, and Mr Webster, after reading minutes, acknowledged his passion, and craved the Assembly's pardon, which was accepted. And the Assembly came to debate upon the head, to me of the greatest importance, upon the connection 'twixt moral seriousness and grace, and reasoned six hours near on it. I cannot resume, only I am glad I heard the debates. It's remitted to be drawn up as to its proof, and brought in to-morrow. What the issue will be I know not; but I am per-

suaded, if it had come to a vote this day, he would have been found having taught the proposition as sensed. And some complain much that diets are thus delayed just when at a vote.

May 7.¹

My Dearest,—I take a special care of myself for your sake. That matter your father writes about is noticed by the Magistrates of Edinburgh already. I hope to win off beginning of next week; and if Robin cannot come, R. Young will bring the horses, or some other, for payment. You must fix on a lad for me some way or other. Remember me to parents, and all the bairns. I have bought two books for the two eldest. Pray take a care of yourself, and let blood if your stitch continue, and take a vomiter. The Lord be with you! If the Assembly continue at this rate upon this business of Mr Simson, I must stay the longer, for I get no time from morning till night for the Registers. However, I am glad I came in on many accounts. Great grace be with you! Remember me kindly to Mr Naismith. I hope the horses may come off on Monday; but I shall write afterwards at more length.

Write to your father, if west, that there is here a report of my Lord Sutherland, that he is not only turned more [sober,] but seemingly pious. Miss Williamson is said to be in terms of marriage with John Martin of Little Ellies, a bookseller in this town, with three children; a good man, a comrade of mine, who was in the class with me. I doubt if I get writing so fully after this as I do to-night.

May 9.—I have been all night at Collington, and write to my Lord this day, that his sister is near death. I have yours this post, which was doubly satisfying. The Lord be with you in your lonely condition! I shall haste home as soon as possible. The Assembly will not rise probably till Tuesday. I am fond of seeing the issue. I wish I be not kept, by being a member of the Commission and the Registers, which I would fain be through when here at this time.

¹ The dates are repeated here by some mistake.

From morning to night the Assembly keeps me. I take a special care of myself.

My dearest Peggy, take care of yourself for my sake. * * *
I am perfectly well.

I have not time to read over this.

LETTER LXXXII.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1717.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 5.

[May 10, 1717.]

MY DEAREST PEGGY,—Yesterday at six the Lady Russyth died at Collington, which you will have before this reach you, for a council post was dispatched yesternight after the post was gone. This day the Assembly met, and Mr Simson produced a paper, wherein he answered the paper given him as the Assembly ordered yesterday, by Professor Haddo, containing the proposition anent the connection 'twixt moral seriousness and grace, with the proofs adduced from his papers, to prove that he had taught that proposition as classed by the committee, and in a sense contrary to the Confession of Faith. His answers were very satisfying to the Assembly, and fairly enough cleared him as to his being Arminian or Pelagian upon that head, and, to my uptaking, of any thing contrary to the Confession of Faith; but then how to reconcile his answers given in, in write, this day, with the passages in his printed answers, I did not so well see. He very fairly and fully disowned the Arminian and erroneous sense of them, and distinguished some words he used, as *natural powers, accepted through Christ*, and some others, in such a manner as appeared not usual. When he was removed, the Assembly spent some time in reasoning that point.

Mr Haddo at St Andrews, Mr Blackwell at Aberdeen, spoke long and fully to the purpose; Mr Hamilton, professor at Edinburgh, and Mr Smith of Cramond, spoke in his defence as far as it would well go, and some others. The reasonings were more distinct and calm for two hours, and more grave than I have seen in the Assembly as yet. It was not liked, that he had asserted there was a connection between moral seriousness and grace by any promise or covenant. It was owned he differed from the Pelagians, in that he made all the seeking and doing of duty to flow from the decree; yea, from an efficacious Providence, and the workings of the Spirit, and grace to be given sometimes without these; but then it was wondered, that he did not call this saving grace; and it was urged, that this could not flow from natural powers, and could not be accepted in Christ. And though it was urged in his defence, that by "natural powers" was meant only such as hearing, reading, going to ordinances, and by "accepted in Christ," only God's being well pleased with these actions as parts of the execution of his decree, and not as flowing from as while in nature, yet these stretches did not satisfy. And though he urged, that his scheme did remove the difficulty, not by running up to the decree, where he thinks we can the better answer the Arminian objection, and there, indeed, the difficulty is the same in his method and that of the orthodox, but by landing all upon the perversity of the will, yet this was not thought satisfying, because the will was impotent, and dead in sins, as well as averse, which he indeed owns, and cannot apply to a right exercise or seriousness, without supernatural assistance, of which there is no promise or covenant conveyance till the person be in Christ, to him in particular. After long and distinct reasonings, I must say, upon all these heads, the Assembly came to consider what to do. The persons, at least some of them, who appeared most against Mr Simson, urged a vote, whether the probation adduced proved the proposition as classed by the committee; and, if I may believe noise, and a very indecent cry in the House, for which the Commissioner desired the Moderator to admonish his brethren, a good argument, the proba-

tion would have carried by a vote, that Mr Simson had taught this proposition contrary to the Confession of Faith. But the other side brought in a proposal of a committee to bring in an overture what the Assembly should do. It was urged for this, that the Professor had peremptorily denied the proposition in the erroneous sense, declaring himself for the contrary truth; and suppose the Assembly should by the vote find that he had formerly asserted it, what would it amount to, but that he had altered his mind, and contradicted himself? And it was agreed by all, that, upon this head, he had given just ground to the Church to suspect his orthodoxy, and to Mr Webster to jealousy him upon this head, and for the Assembly to make this inquiry; but that, seeing now he disowned all that the Confession made erroneous, and owned the contrary truths, it was urged, that some proposal might be made to show the Church's dislike of the proposition as sensed by the committee, and the propositions which appeared to come so near it, and prevent the spreading of error on this head, and shorten the Assembly's work; it was gone into with a reservation of the voting the probation afterwards, if found needful. And Mr Haddo, Mr Allan Logan, Mr Hamilton, Mr Smith of Cramond, my Lord Grange, and Doctor Dundas, and the Moderator, were appointed, and to report to-morrow.

May 11.

This day, the Committee appointed yesterday acquainted the Assembly they were not ready to report, and begged leave to sit again; and so they had liberty to sit, and are to report on Monday; and the Assembly went on private business. There were multitudes of things referred to the Commission; for since meeting, nothing but Mr Simson's affair has been on the field; only Mr Hay's settlement at Peebles ordered by the Synod of Lothian, against the mind of the Presbytery, is approved by the Assembly, and he ordered to be settled there. The Commissioner's aunt, the Lady Mure, sets up for him.

What overture the Committee will bring in anent Mr Simson, I

hear not; it will be much to please all sides. The Committee, they say, reckon themselves concerned that their soft sentence they overtured stand, and some others would have matters further, as to the condemning some propositions they think wrong. The Lord direct them!

LETTER LXXXIII.

WODROW'S LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1717.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 6.

May 14.

MY DEAREST,—I have not time to write; but, I can assure you, Mr Simson's process has taken a turn this day to the disappointment of many. I have not seen a more unanimous vote than was this day anent [it,] 132, without a Not. Some six or seven were silent upon the head. It was remarked that both the Chaplains voted Not, and some few were silent.

Having a little more time I come now where I left [off.] On Sabbath, Mr Craig lectured and preached in the forenoon, on Psalm xvi., and preached upon "Better is the day of a man's death," &c. Eccles. vii. 1. In the afternoon, Mr James Ramsay, on [Psalm] cxv. 1; and we had a stale sermon, and remarks on the Lord's hand in deliverances. Upon Monday the Committees sat forenoon, where matter was prepared. After dinner I went out to the Lady Ryssyth's burial, and came in to the Assembly at six at night, where they ordered the sentence of excommunication to go on against Messrs Gilchrist and Taylor; it was asserted there were immoralities in their case, and these gross, besides schism. However, the Commission is to be consulted before the pronounciation. Mr Hepburn, his process is to be renewed in order to deposition by the Presbytery, but they are to stop till the next Commission, to see if he can be broke off from joining in with the other two,

and in case he do it not, the Commission are appointed to go on. A great many causes were remitted to the Commission, and, indeed, all the matters almost before the Assembly have been hindered to come in by the business of the purity of doctrine, which has completely spent their time.

Which brings me back to tell you that the Committee have sat since Friday close on their work. The four ministers sided two's and two's, and the two elders, my Lord Grange and D. Dundas, moderate the matter; with the Moderator they had great debates. As I am informed, Mr Simson would make no acknowledgments nor yielding, and Mr Logan on that left the Committee. However, they got the Overture finished yesternight. They had a distinct Overture anent the connection, wherein they stated the proofs, and gave their opinion much in the general terms of the Overture now agreed to, and to be printed, and so that first Overture was dropped, as included in the general one. I need say nothing of it, since a copy of it comes with this.¹ It was ripely de-

¹ We shall give the most important part of the act determining the Process, Mr James Webster against Mr Simson:—" *Edinburgh, 14th May 1717, Sess. 12.*—The General Assembly, considering that much of their time has been spent upon the process pursued by Mr James Webster, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, against Mr John Simson, Professor of Divinity in the College of Glasgow, laid before them by the report of the Committee for Purity of Doctrine; and that they cannot overtake the whole by discussing particularly every article. It being, nevertheless, expedient and requisite that this affair be brought to some issue, that may testify the zeal and concern of this Assembly for the preservation of truth and peace in this Church, and preventing what may tend to the hurt and prejudice thereof; therefore, although Professor Simson does declare his adherence to our Confession of Faith, and doctrines therein contained, as his judgment, and his disowning the errors opposite thereto, wherewith he was charged; yet considering, that by his printed answers, and the letters written by him to the now deceased Mr Robert Rowan, some time minister at Penningham, and his letter to the foresaid Committee for Purity of Doctrine, dated the 14th of April 1716, he hath given offence, and that it is judged that therein he hath vented some opinions not necessary to be taught in Divinity, and that have given more occasion to strife than to the promoting of edification; that he hath used some expressions that bear and are used by adversaries in a bad and unsound sense, though he doth disown that unsound sense. And for answering more satisfyingly (as he supposeth) the cavils and objections of adversaries, he hath adopted some hypotheses different from what are commonly used among orthodox Divines, that are

bated, every word in the Committee of Overtures from eight to eleven, and all members and ministers allowed to speak. No material alteration was [made,] but the word *tend* instead of *seeming*. Mr Hog, Mr Allan, and some others, were heard in pressing a particular enumeration of the positions to be condemned; but there was no time to do that, and it would have involved in so many debates, that the Assembly could not overtake them.

In the West country, the act will appear harsh on Mr Simson, and it was evidently with reluctance that such who appeared most for him came in to it. But what brought them to this was an open dissent, threatened not in public, but in private, they say actually signed by a good many, which would no doubt have broke the peace of this Church. The Lord has happily prevented this, and I am persuaded prayers have been heard sensibly upon this head; and if the Lord bless this ordinance of his appointment with the designed success, I shall take it for the greatest token for good we have had in this poor Church these many years. It was evident those who appeared most against Mr Simson voted with a great cheerfulness, and seem most to be satisfied, and the other side are more dissatisfied.¹ The committee's running in another channel, and assoil-

not evidently founded on Scripture, and *tend* to attribute too much to natural reason and the power of corrupt nature; which undue advancement of reason and nature is always to the disparagement of revelation, and efficacious free grace; the General Assembly, for the reasons above mentioned, prohibits and discharges the said Mr John Simson to use such expressions, or to teach, preach, or otherwise vent such opinions, propositions, or hypotheses, as aforesaid. And as concerning the parties in this process, whatever complaints have been made as to the manner of raising or managing this process on either hand, the General Assembly, for peace's sake, do overlook and pass these without further insisting thereon, and do discharge any prosecution on either side on these accounts, &c."—*Acts of the General Assembly, 1717.*

¹ It is evident from the report of the Committee in Mr Simson's case, and from the account here given of the proceedings of the Assembly with regard to it, that Mr Simson had many friends in the Church, who, if they had not imbibed his errors, considered them trivial and unimportant. "I have lately had much occasion," says Mr Williamson of Musselburgh, "to observe how his notions spread here both among students, gentlemen, and some who we ought to have been more solid."—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xi. (No. 130).)—The consequence of the inadequate censure pronounced upon Simson by this Assembly was, that he not only persisted in teaching the above-mentioned errors, but was emboldened to proceed still farther. For, in

ing Mr Simson in September, was what I did not see well how it could have come over; but certainly a concern for the purity of doctrine, joined with fear of a breach, has brought this matter to this pass, which was really a great surprise to me, as well as many others, and I wish Mr Webster do not triumph upon it. He complained a little after the sentence that more was not done. Mr Simson said nothing, and was the wiser.

After this, the process of transporting Mr Allan Logan from Torryburn to Culross came on, and he was most unanimously transported to Culross; only three Nots. He did not appear much against it, though he declared he was most sincere in his papers.

This afternoon a very unhappy business, that has made much noise, came in. The Presbytery of Auchterarder had a young man, Mr Craig, under trials, and before licensing him, they examined him, and put many questions anent Mr Simson's opinions, and set down his answers in write, and drew them up in six articles, under form of a subscription, formula, or creed, "I believe," and so and so. One of them made a dreadful noise, and hath been in all the coffee-houses at London,—“I believe that a person's forsaking of sin is not necessary in order to a man's coming to Christ, and being instated in communion¹ with God,” or to this purpose.² The

the second process, begun in 1726 and terminated in 1729, it was proved that he had adopted what indeed he had previously avowed in his letter to Mr Rowan, the fountain error of Socinianism, by making human reason the supreme judge of revealed truths, had denied the necessary existence of the Son of God, and maintained that the three Persons in the Trinity are not numerically one in substance and essence. Wodrow, though he took a deep interest in this process, seems to have studiously avoided taking an active part in it, for the reason which he assigns to Cotton Mather, p. 159, “His being my father's successor makes me decline dipping into that affair.” In the second process, however, he threw off this reserve, and took a more active share in the proceedings.

¹ Wodrow is mistaken here; it is “being instated in covenant with God,” a very different thing from communion.

² To put a stop to the spread of Baxterian doctrine, which then much prevailed, the Presbytery of Auchterarder had agreed to a number of propositions, on which they required satisfaction from this young man when about to be licensed. This Presbytery had licensed Mr Craig, but *suspecting him*, refused to give him an extract of his licence, “because he did not satisfy them as to some articles of faith,

young man signed all, and the offcome [excuse] of the Presbytery was, that he wavered so in his answers, that they behoved to set them down in write, and the formula was drawn out in his own words, and he made to sign it to fix him; though they did not advance this much in public. The man, it seems, is weak, and they allege ignorant, and, therefore, ought not to have passed him. There were long debates on this head, the imposing of new formulas in matters of doctrine, different from what the Assembly has agreed to, and defining in debateable points, and making new articles of faith, was reckoned great presumption in a Presbytery. On the other side, it was urged that this flowed from the Presbytery's zeal for purity of doctrine, and that the proposition quarrelled was capable of a soft sense, and could not be understood in the gross sense it seems to bear. The same persons who were for sensing propositions in the former process appeared absolutely against sensing this, and were for condemning it as it stands; the other side were as much for sensing it as they had been against it before, which I am sorry for, since it exposes us too much. However, it carried that all Presbyteries should be discharged to impose new formulas upon intrants further than the Assembly had appointed; that proposition was condemned as false and detestable, and the Presbytery was appointed to come up to the Commission in August, and explain themselves on it, or be censured.¹

whereof this was one, viz., *And, further, that I believe that it is not sound and orthodox to teach that we must forsake sin in order to our coming to Christ, and instating us in covenant with God.*" The matter came before the Assembly, by the appeal which Mr Craig entered against the Presbytery.—*Acts of the General Assembly*, 1717.

¹ The act of the General Assembly, in which they "declare their abhorrence of the foresaid proposition as unsound, and most detestable," stands in melancholy contrast with their act concerning Mr Simson's errors, in which the worst they say of them is, that they are "expressions that bear and are used by adversaries in a bad and unsound sense." Boston tells us that the condemned proposition was called by way of derision the *Auchterader Creed*, that it was all at once, at one diet, judged and condemned; and that although he believed it to be truth, but not well worded, yet, from his natural diffidence and bashfulness, he could not open a mouth in the Assembly for it. He adds, "For this, when I came to my chamber, my conscience smote me grievously, and I was obliged yet to speak upon it and exoner my conscience, when it

Every man must be present at the Commission, which will be penance to them for going out of the road; and they are appointed to give extracts of Mr Craig's licence to him. Thus, I hope all matters of debate are ended at this Assembly, and I see all sides almost rejoicing that matters are come to this pass.

May 15.

This day the Assembly met. The Presbytery of Auchterarder made some queries to the Assembly if anything scandalous in Mr Craig offered, whether they might stop his extract of licence? They were appointed, before they came to a sentence, to advise with the Commission. Then ordinary business came in, petitions for charity, and the like. Upon the report of the two Commissioners, Messrs Hamilton and Mitchell, the Assembly approved it; and Mr Logan and several of the Non-jurors declared the Commissioners had acted according to their instructions; but these instructions given by the commission were unfavourable, and hard upon the brethren who had not qualified. It was declared that no hardships on them were designed. Then the Moderator had his speech, wherein he took notice that, generally, fears are great when Assemblies sit down, and never greater than at this; and yet the unanimous conclusion come to, after all debates upon the head of doctrine, was owing to the prayers and great concern on the spirits of many as to this. He said, that, if ever an Assembly could say, he was of opinion they had ground to say, that what was done appeared good to the Holy Ghost and to us, and then desired them to ply their proper work among their people; and since much of the sense of the Assembly's actings depended on the accounts they gave of their proceedings, desired all might give fair and candid

was out of season, that is, upon the reading over of the minute about it in the following diet."—(*Memoirs*, p. 330.) The condemnation of the Auchterarder proposition was the immediate origin of the Marrow controversy. Mr Hog wrote a tract for explaining and defending it; and in order to vindicate the doctrines of grace from the injury done them by this act of Assembly, at the recommendation of several ministers and others, he republished the first part of *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*, with a recommendatory preface.—*Brown's Gospel Truth*, p. 6.

accounts, and then adjourned to May 14, 1718. Nothing more singular.

LETTER LXXXIV.

SIMSON'S CONDUCT AFTER THE ASSEMBLY.

Wodrow to Mr D. E. [David Erskine.]

DEAR DAVID,—Very little offers from this place. The heats in Glasgow are as great as ever. A passage fell out Sabbath was eight days, May the 19th, which has raised a new flame. P. [Professor] Simson was preaching in the Outer Church, in Mr Scot's absence, upon "yielding our members servants of unrighteousness;" and took occasion to fall upon the differences of the place, and told his hearers "they were privileged with a faithful gospel ministry; but many in the place are for breaking the hearts of five honest men to please one man," or to this purpose, for the words are differently represented, and some say there was an innuendo on the Magistrates. I cannot positively say how it was, but it makes a terrible noise; and it is said the Magistrates design to complain of him to the Presbytery, and to essay to cast him as a judge in their affair. People say the act of Assembly charges him with teaching "unnecessary things tending to strife and debate," and that the first time he preached after it, (and, indeed, he has preached little these many months,) he made good the charge.

That same day, Mr J. Clerk in the Laigh Church blessed God in his public prayers for bringing the Assembly to so comfortable an issue, and enabling them to give a fair testimony to the form of sound words. Other things are added in repeating, that they had checked the venting of Arminian errors; but I hear this is contradicted.—I am yours.

May 27, 1717.

LETTER LXXXV.

THE ABJURATION OATH.

To Mr William Gusthart, [Minister of Crailing.]

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours this night of the 23d, which was most acceptable, though I have no time almost to think upon the heads you propose to me,¹ far less to make acknowledgments, and though I had time, any thing I could would not be worth your while. I am to preach to-morrow at a neighbouring communion, and am far behind in my work. Take, then, what offers, with all the allowances you would have made to yourself in a hurry.

The paper, the heads whereof I saw and was much pleased with at Edinburgh, does not appear to me necessary to be published, in the event of the dropping of the bill anent the Oaths this session, partly for the reason you give, that what we appear against openly puts some people the more violently upon the chase,² which I wish

¹ Mr Gusthart and his friends had written a pamphlet on the subject of the Abjuration Oath, which had been begun to be printed, but they had stopped the press, as it appeared probable that the bill respecting the Oath would not be introduced into Parliament that session, and they were doubtful if it would be advisable to publish it if the bill should be dropt. Mr Gusthart, in the meantime, requested Wodrow's thoughts on the following heads, which would require to be touched upon in the pamphlet if it should be published :—" 1. What is the separation at present? Because it is objected there is a schism in the Church. 2. If the Jurors' reputation and ministry be in danger of being broken by an alteration? 3. That striking out the reference makes us swear to an absolute monarchy. 4. The changeableness of the ministry. At first an explanation would satisfy, and then as turned into *which* would do good service; and now, when both are granted, yet they ask more, and where will they stop?"—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xii. No. 80.)

² Mr Gusthart had said that there were hopes of the bill being dropt for that session, not out of kindness to the Non-jurors, but because of other affairs and humours; and that to speak of dropping the Oath at London was the most effectual way to bring it upon the ministers of the Church.

were entirely dropped, and because it wants an end and view at least for this session, and if the design be resumed afterwards, the circumstances may be so much altered one way or other, that a new paper may be found necessary; and chiefly because, if it be now published, it will infallibly draw on a paper war; and some on the other side will make reflections and answers, or, at least, send up counter informations in write, as you know they have done in cases where there were no such temptations. And for my share, if one might wish for such an improbable thing, it's my desire our differences upon this head were entirely buried, and if the Government would see it their interest as well as of this Church to drop this vexatious imposition, I hope it would gradually die away among us, at least it's my wish it do so.

You ask me what is the separation at present, and tell me it's objected there is a schism in the Church. I can tell you in this country there is no great separation, except of a very few, who, if overlooked, perhaps in a little time may come in. And I hear of no schism upon the head of the Oath but in the South, and that mostly in Nithsdale and Dumfries, where two things are the occasion of it, not to speak of what some allege the heat and imprudence of some who have taken it. 1st, That in that bounds ministers in King William's, and a good part of Queen Anne's time, were, through the late Duke of Queensberry's favour, overlooked as to the Oath of Allegiance, and the bulk of the brethren there had never taken any oath to the Government, when they took allegiance, assurance, and abjuration in bulk. 2dly, The great spring there of the schism is the people who follow Mr M'Millan and Mr Hepburn, their virulent pamphlets, and blowing at the different practices of brethren. And yet, as I am informed, there is no formed schism, even there, from our brethren who have qualified, but in a few parishes bordering upon M'Millan, Hepburn, Taylor, and Gilchrist, where, indeed, their circumstances are grievous, and it's hard the whole Church suffer by a reimposition for their sakes.

As to your next, whether the Jurors' Ministry be broke by an alteration, I think I formerly gave my mind anent this, and showed

it cannot. It will both be a declaration of the Parliament sense, which should and will be improven to their advantage, and will unite Ministers very much in practice and entirely in affection, which will be the best salvo both for our Ministry, as to men and reputation.

That the striking out of the reference makes us swear to an absolute monarchy is such a consequence as I was grieved to hear from any Minister, and can never bear reasoning, especially in a successor, who must take the Coronation Oath before his accession, and then our allegiance necessarily involves our subjection to the laws according to which he rules. For my share, I can have no idea of an oath but what refers to limitations and law ; and either one or all of them must be taken in, as I noticed before. And their scoring out of the coronation with the Church of England in their own reasoning, without any hazard to the rest, shows they cannot believe there is any force here.

For the changeableness of brethren in our circumstances, I know nothing ever was proposed by them, but the taking out of the reference. An explication, I am sure, was never satisfying, neither was the turning *as* into *which* sought by any number I know of ; neither do I believe any thing, save an alteration by removing the reference, will satisfy any, who, upon the change of circumstances by King George's happy accession, and the greater regard they have to him and his administration than to the last, will, in the event, go in to the oath, without any change at all, as our brethren in Ireland have done.

No doubt, all this and much more has offered to you, much better than it can come from me. But your desires are commands upon me, though thereby I show you my weakness. You'll favour me exceedingly by writing to me as oft as you can. I have nothing from this country. The heats at Glasgow continue, and a note of Professor Simson's sermon, Sabbath was eight days, has not tended to allay it, "That the inhabitants were breaking the hearts of five honest men to please one." And when I name him, I hope the issue his affair is brought to in the Assembly may well be improven, in hopes that if the oaths could be got dropt, peace

and unity would soon, through God's blessing, come back to this Church. So many in our circumstances, happening to fall in for the purity of the doctrine of this Church, made his friends cry out it was made a party business, but in the event it appeared not to be so, and many who qualified were for as great heights against Mr Simson, and greater than Non-jurors. And now the Church has put an end to that affair, which, I hope, may help to a mutual forbearance upon the head of the oaths, in case of no reimposition, or promote an alteration in the reference, which will satisfy so many, though your friend is like to be unsatisfied to the end of the chapter.

LETTER LXXXVI.

AMENDMENTS ON PATRONAGE.

To Mr Gusthart, at-London.

I had yours last post under the Earl of Buchan's cover, and have returned this to his Lordship. I am grieved to hear the bill about patronages and toleration has been read,¹ if it be not of another strain than I hear it is; *it's ill taming tod's birds.*² No amendments I ever heard of satisfied me, and a wrong turn to this matter, under King George, will for ever nail down this Church-ruining burden on us. The most tolerable project I ever heard of was, that heritors, with the patron still as an heritor, though he have no land or interest in the parish, meet *separatim*, and the Session *separatim*. If they agree, it's good; if not, that the Presbytery judge, as they do, of the man's qualifications. I believe this will be as hard to pass as the utter abolition.—I am, your affectionate brother, R. W.

June 21, 1717.

¹ Referring, perhaps, to an Act giving the *jus devolutum* to Presbyteries, in the event of a person not accepting, or declaring his willingness to accept, a presentation, which passed in 1719.

² *Tod's birds*, an evil brood; sometimes *Tod's bairns*.—*Jamieson*.

LETTER LXXXVII.

THE UNION.—A FRAGMENT.

To the Laird of Pardovan, [Walter Steuart.]

DEAR SIR,—I have yours of the 20th of June, with the paper which comes with a short account of the proceedings of the last Session of the Scots Parliament. This paper contains a great many matters of fact I can attest, and do well remember, and others which are new to me.

Had I any hopes of this paper being published, though there be very little of the phrase and style to be helped, yet I would have gone through it more narrowly. But I fear our present circumstances will not bear the honest freedom used in a great many things here noticed, and it may be the keenness of some expressions as to some particular persons yet alive would not please them, or their relations if dead.

In case, however, the worthy author of it have any thoughts to look it over again, and any way enlarge it, to lie at least as a testimony in some closets of the unaccountableness of this injury done this poor nation, I shall give you to be communicate with him a few remarks that offered to me, when in a hurry of other work I read the paper with much pleasure.

P. 3. It's said that the reason why nothing was done by the Commissioners, 1702, for the Union betwixt the two nations, was, because they durst not for their lives treat about the reintroduction of Prelacy into Scotland. I wish this fact be well vouched. I mind at that time, and since, I heard one of the Commissioners say, that the thing that broke off that meeting was, when the sinking our sovereignty and parliament was spoke of, one of their number said, that the treating and consulting about anything that

must diminish the power and privileges of parliament was treason by our Scots law in his opinion.

P. 9.—See the following part of this letter, *postea*, p. * * *
(No more was written over.)

LETTER LXXXVIII.

MARRIAGE OF COLONEL ERSKINE'S SON.

*Cotton Mather, D.D. to Wodrow.*¹

Boston, N. England, 29 d. 2d m. 1717.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,—It is with the utmost pleasure that I embrace the too rarely recurring opportunities of cultivating that correspondence with you, which I reckon among the special enjoyments of my life, and which I enjoy with the more of relish, because of the agreeable opportunities it gives me, not only of conversing with a servant of God, and a brother in Christ, whom I love and honour, but also of addressing, by his mediation, my inexpressible respects unto one of the best of men, my Lord of Pollock, to whom I entreat you to communicate, with my most humble service, the poor American entertainments which are in the packet that now waits upon you.

The present condition of the churches in the city of Boston you will, with some satisfaction, understand from one [of] these treatises, which is entitled *ZELOTES*. And what has been lately done for our country, especially on the appointment of an excellent governor for us, may be gathered from the conclusion of another, which is entitled *MENACHEM*.²

The communication between Glasgow and Boston is, indeed, so seldom, (and it has been the more interrupted by the miscarriage of a vessel bound from Glasgow hither, above half a year ago, which is not yet arrived,) that we are kept in too much ignorance of the

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xx. No. 10.

² The Comforter. *Heb.*

circumstances attending the dear Church of Scotland, in these days of shaking dispensations; a people of God whose condition the churches of New England bear more at heart than any upon earth. But we have this to comfort us, that the glorious Head of his Church will doubtless appear for a dear people, who make so considerable a part of his kingdom in the world, and who have among them so large a portion of, and warm a concern for, the things that cannot be shaken.

The last letter, wherein I received your favours, was by the hand of young Mr Erskine,¹ whom, for your sake, as well as that of his excellent father, of whom you gave me so great a character, I treated with all the affection and civility that was possible. I invited and entreated him to let me see him as often as he could; and made as handsome a treat at my table as I could for him, that I might express my regards for his honourable family, and for his patron, Mr Wodrow, and that I might also drop upon him, with as much art and love as I could, such admonitions as might be his preservatives. Indeed, he then obliged me with his company; but he was ever after unaccountably shy of giving me the visits which I desired of him. Anon, to my surprise, I was informed that the lad was married. But the plot was carried on with such privacy, that, though he lives in the same city with me, and not half a mile from me, I never heard one word of the matter until some time after it was accomplished. Here my story must end!

The lad has never seen me since. The minister who was betrayed and surprised into the doing of his part about the matrimony is a worthy and a faithful man. And the child having chosen to sit under his ministry, I sent unto him your letter about him, that I might engage his particular care for the future welfare of a youth whose friends are so deeply concerned for his doing well, and so worthy of our doing our best for them. That valuable brother of mine sent me a short note on that occasion, which has in it those emollient passages that may be of some service to the youth with his displeased parent; and for that cause I have here enclosed it.

Valeat quantum valere potest.

¹ Patrick, son of Colonel Erskine of Carnock. See p. 65.

I think I have nothing at this time to add, but must now conclude with my hearty prayers that our glorious Lord would continue and multiply your precious opportunities to do that good which your heart is from above graciously and earnestly disposed for.—I am, Sir, your most affectionate brother and servant,

COTTON MATHER.

LETTER LXXXIX.

REPLY TO FOREGOING.—NEWS FROM SCOTLAND AND FRANCE.

To the Rev. Cotton Mather, D.D., and Minister of the Gospel at Boston.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—Yours by Mr Melville, of the 29th day of the 2d month, was singularly refreshing to me, after near two years' interruption of the benefit of your correspondence. By it I am sorry to find that some of mine have not reached you, which I sent since Mr Erskine's arrival at Boston.

It's with the greatest thankfulness to our common Lord, that I receive the accounts in your *Zelotes*, of the growing circumstances of the Church of Christ at Boston. May the city be flourishing, and her citizens abound! May the Houses of God be filled with his glory! May the stone cut out of the mountain fill the whole earth! It would be as waters to a thirsty soul to hear of the prosperity of our Redeemer's kingdom through New England, and the flocking of many of the natives to Christ.

Your valuable performances, of which you send me a large packet, are most acceptable to me, as what I hope the Lord will bless, both in the delivery from the pulpit and the press, for the promoting the great ends of the Gospel; and they have my hearty supplications for a rich blessing upon them. They shall be communicate to my Lord Pollock, who at this time is serving God

and his generation at Edinburgh, but still hath a savoury remembrance of you, and the venerable servant of Christ your father; and it's generally one of his first questions when he returns home, if I have heard from New England since parting. He still lays upon me, when I write, to give you his kindest respects.

In the beginning of this year, he and I were threatened with a parting. The town of Stirling intented a process of transportation of me from this place to [that] town, first before our Presbytery, and from them by an appeal to the Commission of the late General Assembly. But my aversion to so public a post, my just regard to my Lord Pollock, and affection for this people and private post, where Providence hath placed me, determined my brethren to continue me at Eastwood.

Your account of Mr Erskine hath very much stunned me, and I am deeply concerned he should so soon have disposed of himself, and that without his worthy parents' advice. The account I gave you of the Colonel, his father, I can say was very short of what he deserved, and thousands here will attest, though few have had more occasion to know than I, who have had the honour of his friendship now for a good many years. He is now at London, and I wrote to him immediately upon the receipt of yours, but could not yet have an answer by post, there being but eight or ten days since yours came to hand.

Dear Sir, I return you my most humble thanks for your kind care about that young gentleman. How acceptable would an opportunity be, wherein I might show my sense of this, and multitudes of other favours you have done! I must still recommend him to your prayers and best advice, if he be not so unhappy as to deprive himself of it, which I hope he will not, when he comes to himself.

You'll accept of my kindest returns for the Rev. Mr Colman's letter you send me. It is one of the greatest alleviations to me, and will be so, I am persuaded, to the Colonel, when he hath the accounts of it, that could have been given. The character he hath given of Mrs Erskine makes me believe Mr Erskine hath made a

happy choice, though a little too early ; and I have presumed to return my acknowledgments to your worthy brother under your cover.

Little offers from this country to take up any more of your precious time. We enjoy much outward peace and plenty, which is the sweeter, after the black cloud of the late horrid Rebellion. Alas ! we have not improven that signal deliverance, and our provocations, after so great a mercy, are like to make the clouds return after the rain. The lenity of the Government hath not softened our wicked and restless enemies, who are not without their meetings and cabals to raise new disturbances. "God lives, blessed be our Rock !"

The turning of our spiritual bondage is what we long for, that our God would stretch forth his hand a second time for our deliverance, and remove the sensible restraint upon his Spirit in ordinances, and revive real practical religion and Christian love among us, among you, and all the Churches of Christ.

We are waiting to see the issue of the great things now upon the wheel, and particularly what Providence is about to bring forth out of the present shakings in France. You, no doubt, have better account of the division of tongues there among the builders of Babylon than I can give you. But there is one particular comes in my mind, which may not be unacceptable to one who is waiting for the coming of his Lord. I had the account from a person of distinction of this country, who was invited some months ago, toward the end of last year, by the Earl of Stairs, to be present at an entertainment his Lordship was giving to the Doctors of the Sorbonne.

The fathers were very hearty and open, and assured my informer and the company, that there were nine in ten of the clergy of France who were against the Constitution and for a reformation ; that multitudes in France were already come further than the clergy in Henry the Eighth's days, and many were ready to go far greater lengths than he went. It was asked by my informer, (if I remember,) at one of the most leading of the fathers, what his ingenuous thoughts were of the Duke Regent ; and the answer he gave was, I believe,

very candid, and it is to be feared too well grounded—"It is impossible," says he, "but there must be a general reformation very speedily in France, if the Regent turn not the affair of the Constitution to a politick."

"I hear and understand not; O Lord my God, what shall the end of all these things be!" It would be instructing, confirming, and refreshing, to hear your thoughts of the providences of [the] day, and the present state of religion all the world over, and those of your Rev. father, with whom the secret of the Lord's covenant is, to whom let this give my most humble duty.

Our last Assembly was only taken up with Professor Simson's Process, upon the head of doctrine, which is now brought to an issue. No doubt, you have accounts of this from your worthy correspondents in the University of Glasgow. There are at present unhappy and unnatural heats in that city betwixt Magistrates and Ministers, anent the call of a Minister, which I pray may be brought to a good issue.

It's time now to put an end to your trouble by this line. I have presumed to write to the Rev. Mr Colman, and to put it in your cover. I pray for much of the Divine presence to you in all the parts of your work; and am, with the utmost sincerity, Rev. dear Sir, yours most affectionately.

Eastwood, July 8, 1717.

LETTER XC.

THANKS FOR HIS ATTENTION TO MR PATRICK ERSKINE.

To the Rev. Mr Benjamin Colman, Minister of the Gospel at Boston.

[Dr COLMAN was an American divine of considerable eminence, belonging to the Independent persuasion. He was minister of Brattle Street

Church in Boston, and had for his colleague the Rev. William Cooper. His views of church government came near to those of the Presbyterians; and, in common with his brethren, his sentiments on liberty of conscience were more liberal and charitable than those of the Independents of New England in former times, whose memory has suffered from the intolerance they exercised towards those who differed from them in matters of religion. In a sermon preached on a fast day, March 22, 1716, he says, "If there ever was a custom among us whereby communion in our churches was made a test for the enjoyment of civil privileges in the State, we have done well long since to abolish such corrupt and persecuting maxims, which are a mischief to any free people, and a scandal to any communion to retain. If there were of old among our fathers any laws enacted, or judgments given; and executions done, according to these laws, which have carried too much the face of cruelty and persecution, we ought to be humbled greatly for such errors of our fathers, and confess them to have been sinful; and blessed be God for the more catholic spirit of charity which now distinguishes us."—(*Neal's History of New England*, vol. ii. pp. 249, 250.) Towards the latter part of Dr Colman's life, the subject of the religious revivals which took place in America, under the ministry of President Edwards, in 1734, and to a larger extent in 1740–1742, occupied much of his attention. Dr Colman was chosen President of Harvard College in 1724, after the death of President Leverett; but in consequence of the infirm state of his health, he declined accepting the office, notwithstanding the urgent entreaties of the corporation. Having heard of his election, Wodrow more than once styles him President. He corresponded with Dr Watts, Dr Guise, and other eminent divines in England; and with Mr Willison, Dr Erskine, and others in Scotland. From the date of the present letter, he maintained a regular correspondence with Wodrow till our historian's death, and was in the habit of sending him the various works which he published. Mr Willison of Dundee, in a letter to President Edwards, dated March 17, 1749, speaking of Dr Colman's death, says, "We must also lay our hands on our mouths with respect to the loss of our great and eminent men, such as Dr Watts, Dr Colman, Mr Cooper, and others. But O, it is no loss to be absent from the body to them who are present with the Lord! Great need have we to cry to the Lord of the vineyard to send forth others in their room."—(*Dwight's Memoirs of Jonathan Edwards*, prefixed to his Works, vol. i. p. 145, imp. 8vo.—ED.)

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—My last letter from my dear friend, Dr Mather, contained one from you to him anent a young gentleman I am very deeply concerned in; and when I have an opportunity of thanking him for his care about Mr Erskine, I could not but presume upon your goodness in giving you the trouble of this.

The sudden and early marriage of Mr Erskine was what did not a little surprise me, but the character you give to that deserving person, now his spouse, hath extremely obliged me, and is no small comfort to his relations. The Colonel, his father, is now at London, and I have not yet had time to hear from him since I wrote last. But I have a letter from that excellent lady, his mother, wherein she lays her commands upon me to return her most hearty thanks to Dr Mather and you for your concern in her son Patrick, and adores the kind providence of God who put it in your heart to look after a stranger come among you. The accounts she had of her son's settlement before my letter came to her hand were and are uneasy to her, and she was vexed that he had not waited for the consent of such a parent as he is blessed with. She did not believe the many good things he said in his letter to his father anent the young woman, imagining they came from fondness; but now blesses the Lord for the sweet ingredients he puts in her bitterest cups, and hopes his being settled may be a mean, through God's grace, to keep him from extravagancy, when so far from his friends here.

Thus, dear Sir, you have very much comforted one who, I am persuaded, is dear to Christ. I wish all grace and happiness to Mr Erskine and his wife, and pray they may have the blessings of their parents' covenant, and live together as the heirs of eternal life. It is a great comfort to me that they are fallen under your pastoral care, and I hope you will still allow them a particular share in your interest at the throne of grace, and of your best advice in all cases.

I said somewhat of worthy Colonel Erskine in one of mine to Dr Mather, but very far below what I might and ought to have said of that excellent gentleman. You are pleased to make so much

of the little I dropt, that there is no room left for me to add any thing. I shall only do him the justice to say, that the care of all the churches of Christ is upon him, if upon any since the Apostles' days; and long before his son came to Boston, I have many times heard him express himself with a peculiar warmth for the dear churches of New England. And this I know, for he was pleased to advise with me about it, that it was the savoury report of the flourishing of religion, and the sincere preaching of Christ at Boston, that determined him to send his son thither.

And now that he is settled among you, it shall be my earnest prayer that your labours may be singularly blessed to him and many others; that the pleasure of the Lord may prosper in your hand; and you may have a very large crown of souls. And since Providence has opened this opportunity of writing to you, I earnestly beg a special room in your concern. The communion of saints and brethren at distance, who are probably never to meet but in sympathy, prayers, and concern, while on this earth, hath been many times sweet to me.

Any thing that offered from this country I have given the trouble of to Dr Mather; and indeed there is little among us worth repeating. We are yet lying under the heavy impositions of Toleration and Patronages in this Church, brought upon us, by a wicked ministry under the late reign, for our sins and misimproven privileges. Endeavours have been used to deliver us from these impositions, but nothing effectually is like to be done this session of Parliament. The time to build the Lord's house is not yet come: Lord hasten it!

The accounts I have from my worthy friend with you of the goodness of God to you in New England, fill me with thankfulness to our common Master; and I long much to hear as much as may be of the state and circumstances of our Lord's vineyard among you, and the thriving of his work among your hands; and it will be a new obligation upon me to know any opportunity I may have of making any return in my power to your kindness to Mr Erskine, and to serve you in this country.

I pray the Lord eminently may prosper his work in your hand,

and countenance you in every part of it, and continue you long an useful and remarkable blessing to his Church ; and am, R. D. B., your very much obliged and most affectionate brother and servant,
R. W.

July 8, 1717.

LETTER XCI.

ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.—ANTIQUITIES.

*Wodrow to James Anderson, Esq., General Postmaster for
Scotland, at Edinburgh.*

[JAMES ANDERSON was the son of the Rev. Patrick Anderson of Edinburgh, who had been ejected for nonconformity at the Restoration, and afterwards imprisoned in the Bass for alleged preaching at conventicles, and corresponding with intercommuned persons. James was born at Edinburgh, August 5, 1662, and, upon completing his education at the university of that city, engaged in the profession of law. The examination of old writings, to which he was led by his profession, formed in him a taste for the study of antiquities, which he afterwards prosecuted with much success. His first work, which acquired him celebrity for antiquarian research, was "An Essay, showing that the Crown of Scotland is Imperial and Independent," published in 1705. This work was in refutation of a pamphlet published in 1704, by a lawyer named Attwood. Mr Anderson's Essay was very popular in Scotland, and besides a reward, thanks were voted to him by Parliament. The success of this volume induced Mr Anderson to engage in engraving a series of fac-similes of the royal charters previous to the reign of James the First, and of seals, medals, and coins, from the earliest to his own time—an undertaking which put him to expenses which were never fully defrayed by Government ; but as a compensation, he was appointed, in 1715, Postmaster-General for Scotland—a situation which he retained, however, not much above two years. He published, in 1727, "Collections relating to the History of Mary Queen of Scotland," in 4 volumes quarto,—a work containing numerous documents, the result of his

researches respecting the character and conduct of Mary ; but in which he takes no side. His death, by apoplexy, in March 3, 1728, prevented the completion of his great work ; but the plates were sold by auction in 1729, at L.530, and the work was published in 1737, under the title of "*Selectus Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiæ Thesaurus.*"—Ed.]

DEAR SIR,—When I am got home, it is with the utmost pleasure I reflect upon the happiness of your conversation you favoured me with Wednesday last. Never was a journey so short and pleasant ; and perhaps it may not be unacceptable to you in your hurry of other business to know what success I had after parting in the project I communicated to you.

Mr Douglas at Logie was so kind as to communicate to me all he hath of his worthy father's papers relative to our History. That great man, Mr Robert Douglas, hath done nothing himself save five or six sheets upon the introduction of Episcopacy, 1661, which is almost illegible. However, I have brought it with me, to see if possibly I can make any thing of it.

I have further got from him an imperfect History of the Church of Scotland, from the Reformation to the 1619, of about sixty or eighty sheets, which I have not yet examined ; but, upon an overly view, I take it to be Calderwood's. As likewise a History of the Church and State of Scotland, of about 100 sheets, from the 1625 to the 1647, which seems to be well writ, and contains a good many original papers.

But that which I value most is two volumes in folio, about 200 sheets each, containing original letters, and nothing but letters, which passed 'twixt Cromwell, Monk, and other managers in England, and our Scots nobility, Loudon, Lauderdale, Cassillis, and the most noted ministers, Messrs Douglas, Blair, Guthrie, Sharp, &c., called Register of Correspondence from the 1654 to 1661, which, indeed, is a valuable collection ; and I rejoice it remains.¹

¹ The correspondence here referred to is evidently that of which Wodrow has given an abridgment in the Introduction to his History. It is preserved among the Wodrow MSS. in the Library of the University of Glasgow.

Nothing in these papers, except one year of the Letters, concerns the period I am engaged in, as to the account of the Sufferings; but, in all my rambles, I make it my business to pick up any thing that relates to any part of our history; and I long to be at Edinburgh again, to have access to your inestimable collections.

Meanwhile, I presume to beg that, at some spare hour or other, you may dash down any thing you can recollect of the trial of that extraordinary person Jerviswood; what you told me affected me very much, and I long for it, and shall make all the use I can of it, to do justice to that great man.

I know your hurry of business, and I own it's presumption in me to ask this of you; but I have got a kind of impudence with my friends, in begging every thing that may help me on in the toilsome work I am now engaged in.

You are like to have a very troublesome friend of me, and I am persuaded a very useless one, now that I have taken upon me to write to you. What we were talking of about the Culdees brings me in mind of an inscription upon a brass plate, taken off the Cathedral of Glasgow, which I have somewhere the copy of, and shall send you a double of afterwards, if you have not heard of it. At present, I want to have your opinion of the two coepiscopi mentioned in it. The year I have forgot exactly, but I think it was about 1160. "*Ecclesia hæc dedicata fuit Id. per Jocelinum cum duobus ejus coepiscopis;*" their names are not insert.

I send you a copy of Sir George M'Kenzie's letter to the Duke of Lauderdale, which I promised, and shall send you Jerviswood's speech at his execution, or any other thing which lies in my power. I'll be very fond of that paper of Mr Whiston's, his Christian Politics, or any other new thing which you can send me. I have no apology for all this trouble but my Athenian temper. You'll please to lay your commands upon me; and believe me to be yours, most sincerely and affectionately.

Sept. 2, 1717.

VOL. II.

T

LETTER XCII.

SUGGESTED IMPROVEMENTS ON WODROW'S HISTORY.

*George Ridpath to Wodrow.*¹

London, August 3, 1717.

REV. AND WORTHY SIR,—I have perused your manuscript, sent by Colonel Erskine, with very great satisfaction, and am heartily glad a person of your ability and industry has undertaken that necessary part of our history which has been so long wanting, and nothing yet done in it that can be thought complete or sufficiently vouched.

As I am very ready to give you what assistance is in my power, I presume that you will not take it amiss if I give my advice freely, as I should be willing in the like case another should use freedom with me.

I need not inform you, that the style of our country is not what is acceptable here, nor, indeed, grateful to those of rank at home, which is not our crime, but our misfortune, since our present language is derived from our neighbours in England, who alter theirs every day. And it is not to be supposed that our countrymen who live at home should be sufficiently versed in it. Therefore, though I am of opinion that our own way of expression is more emphatical, yet as it is the interest of our Church and country that the thing should be writ in a style which will give it a greater currency here, and may be equally well understood at home, I shall be very ready to contribute my endeavours for that end; and though I never studied what they call a polite style, yet I doubt not to make it intelligible; for a plain and natural way of writing is what is fittest for a historian. What is called flowers and em-

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xxi. No. .

bellishments must be left to poets ; which humour prevails so much here, that the language is become too periphrastical, and has already lost a great deal of what was masculine.

As to the matter, my opinion is this, that it is like to swell too much upon our hands, because the subject is copious. As this will make the History too bulky and chargeable, it must be avoided as much as possible. To this end I would humbly propose,

First, That what is merely circumstantial might be left out, except where it is necessary for illustrating the matter, or aggravating the crimes of our enemies.

Secondly, That the names of meaner persons may be omitted in the course of the History, except where the case is very flagrant, or of special note ; and yet, that none of our sufferers may want having justice done them, I think it would be a good expedient, either at the end of the work, or of any remarkable period when sufferers abounded most, to draw up their names and abodes in one column, and the causes and time of their sufferings in another, so as the same may be seen at one view in the chronological [table.]

Thirdly, That Acts of Parliament being matters of record, and already in print, a short abridgment of those acts, so far as they relate to the case in hand, may be inserted in the body of the History, and not at large in the Appendix, unless such acts be not already in print.

Fourthly, That the same method be taken as to Proclamations, except such as are extraordinary, and the like as to Acts of Council.

Fifthly, I'm of opinion, that though many of the speeches of our martyrs be printed in Naphtali, &c., the most remarkable of them should be inserted in the Appendix, because these books may come to wear out of print, and 'tis pity that any of those noble speeches should be lost. But for others that are less material, I conceive it will be enough to give a short hint of them in the catalogue of the sufferers, or in the course of the History, viz., that such and such persons gave their testimony so and so, when the subject of their testimony agrees.

Sixthly, That where matters of fact are not well attested, they should be entirely left out, or but slightly touched as common reports, and even not so, but where the case is extraordinary.

Seventhly, I think it necessary that the state or cause of the sufferings in every period should be distinctly though briefly set down. I need not hint that there are very great helps to be had in the *Apologetical Relations*, *Naphtali*, the *True Non-conformist*, supposed to be the late Sir James Stewart's, *Jus Populi*, the *Hind Let Loose*, and other accounts of those named Cameronians, though the latter should be touched with great caution, as I find you have done the unhappy controversy about the indulgence, wherein I applaud your moderation and judgment. These things I conceive will be necessary, both for the information of posterity, and our neighbours in England, who are very great strangers to the state and causes of our sufferings.

Eighthly, I judge it highly necessary that a brief account of what has been done against religion and liberty in this country, and likewise in Ireland, should be intermixed, in their proper periods, with our sufferings, for that will not only make the book more acceptable to the Dissenters and State Whigs here, and in Ireland, but give more credit to the History, when the reader sees that the designs of Popery and slavery were uniformly carried on in all the three nations, though with variety of circumstances. To that same end some brief hints of the persecution in France and elsewhere, and particularly of the war of our Court and Lewis XIV. against Holland, will be necessary. As to these I shall make use of the best pieces that are to be found here, but with the greatest brevity.

I have made some progress in forming a part of your manuscript according to this model, toward which I have the assistance of manuscripts writ by the late Rev. Mr David Hume, from 1658 till after Bothwell-Bridge. If you don't know his character, 'tis proper to inform you that he was minister at Coldingham in the Merse, a person of known zeal, piety, courage, and ability. His manuscripts are by way of journal, and contain many remarkable things; but

as that way of writing obliges a man to take in many current reports which are not sufficiently vouched, I have put a query in the margin upon such things as I doubt, that you may either continue or cancel them, as you shall think fit upon farther inquiry. He was himself at Bothwell-Bridge, and is very particular in his account of that fatal affair, and of the reasons of its miscarriage.

I shall transmit the specimen of what I have done to you with the first opportunity, and submit to what alterations or amendments you and others of your brethren shall think fit to make.

There are some of the records of our Council here, with letters to and from our Princes, which perhaps may not be found with you. I doubt not of an opportunity to consult them at our Secretary's Office, and therefore should be glad to know what you want upon that head.

As the work is like to be long and chargeable, I question not but our friends in Scotland will, upon proper application, contribute towards it. 'Twill likewise be necessary for you to consult whether it will be cheaper to print it with you or here, and in either case the press must be carefully corrected. If you agree upon the letter and volume 'tis to be printed in, and learn how much your printers will expect per sheet for paper and print, I shall get an estimate also made here, and then you may resolve upon what you think best. But however it be, 'tis necessary that as cheap a method of correspondence be laid down as possible by merchants and gentlemen that come and go, and in Parliament here we may have franks from our own members.

Mr Crawford wrote to me some years ago about helping him in the style of his father's manuscripts; I agreed to it, but never had any return; therefore, should be glad to know what is become of these manuscripts, and whether you have the use of them. Mr Semple of Libberton was likewise about a History, and had encouragement from the Treasury here to go on with it; but I have heard nothing of that matter since, and should be glad to know whether he goes on. You are best able to judge whether either of

these interfere with your design, and I doubt not that you will take your measures accordingly. I am, Rev. and Worthy Sir, your most humble and much obliged servant,

GEO. RIDPATH.

LETTER XCIII.

REPLY TO THE FOREGOING.

To Mr George Ridpath, at his Lodgings, London.

Sept. 3, 1717.

DEAR SIR,—I had yours of the 3d of the last month, about three weeks ago, just before the dispensing of the sacrament of the Supper in this place, which obliged me to delay writing till now, and I know you will pardon me. This now comes, though I scarce know how it shall reach you, to return my most hearty acknowledgments for the pains you have been at, and the freedom you use with your friend.

You have a better opinion of the papers you have read than they deserve; and I am afraid both you and others of my friends are but too ready to overlook mistakes in what I do, out of their fondness to have somewhat done to account for the sufferings of this Church.

In particular, you'll accept of my thanks for the offer you make of your assistance in this work, and the advices you give, which bring me very much in your debt; and you shall have my opinion upon every part of them with the utmost sincerity.

I question much if any of my friends are more sensible of the Scotticisms, yea, solecisms, in my style than I am; and it was the view of this made me most averse from engaging in this toilsome work. And, as the sense of this, and many other things, made me

stand out the importunity of several of my brethren for some years, so I was at first prevailed with only to give a beginning to so good a work, expecting others would [have] taken the burden off my hand; and when I have given a beginning, I was left to go on the best way I could. After all the obliging and soft way of expressing yourself on this head, I am sensible my expression will scarce be current at home, and far less in England. And, though I had studied expression more than ever I did, I would never be able to have given this History in any tolerable dress. But the truth is, I write just as words offer. My ordinary conversation with country people, and that adapted to their uptaking in preaching, together with the peculiar Scots phrases in the papers which I make use of, which must not be altered, would have spoiled a good style, though I once had had it, which I own I never had. My friend Mr Anderson of Dumbarton hath gone through twenty years of the History, and helped some things in the expression; but I am fully sensible that no corrections will make anything I write answerable to the English taste. Could I get it good grammar, and free of obvious Scotticisms, so as people might fully understand it, I should be easy as to its politeness.

You remark, very justly, in the next room, [place,] that the matter is swelling very much, and the bulkiness and charges of the book must be avoided. I must own that the further I come down, and the longer I continue at this work, it swells the more, and it may probably come to bury in its own bulk; for, as far as I can guess, (though I can scarce yet make even conjectures,) it will, with the principal papers in the Appendix to each volume, make five or six sizable octavos, like those of King George's Annals, or the like.

All along I have essayed to be as short as I could be with any clearness; but I have, indeed, taken in many incidental things which relate rather to the history of Presbyterians and the Church of Scotland during the reign of the two brothers, than precisely that of their sufferings. Yet I have taken in little or nothing of these foreign matters but what was new, at least to me, and what I had not met with in any prints and pamphlets relative to that

period; for histories we have none. And it was the want of any history of that period, and the small prospect I have of seeing anything done to any purpose shortly, which made me take in many things I would have otherwise chosen to have omitted. However, these incidental things I do entirely submit to the judgment of persons who are better judges than ever I shall be.

It was necessary some things should be intermixed, more than the bare accounts of sufferings, to make the History a little more palatable and pleasant in reading; and the inserting so much as I have done in the very words of the public registers, which, upon many accounts, I thought it better to keep than to give an abstract of them in my own words, hath made the History more bulky than I could have wished.

And another thing which hath made my first draught swell much is the unavoidable necessity I was under at first, as it were, to take in all my materials, which lie scattered in a thousand different accounts, before I could well know what to make of them. I had no line and thread of a history before me, but had all my matter to parcel out under its years, and then to cast these into chapters and sections, as it would best knit together, and answer the ends of this History. Whether I shall be in case to shorten it much when I go through it again, I don't know till I try, which I have no thoughts of doing till I once get through it, as I hope, if the Lord will give health, to do this winter and spring.

When I first began I had no prospect of access to the public registers, and after I had brought my first draught to the 1684, I fell upon a method to get at them, which obliged to write over all, and cast all in a new mould, and hath led me out to a far greater length than at first I thought on.

Under all these disadvantages, your proposals for shortening the work are most acceptable, and as I have endeavoured to put some of them in practice, so I shall carefully notice others of them as much as I can. But, by the way, you'll give me leave to observe, some of them, in my opinion, will tend to swell the work very much, as I shall just now observe.

Your first, that all that is merely circumstantial be left out, except in the cases you mention, I entirely agree to.

I shall consider how far your second, of casting the meaner sufferers at the end of each volume, with the time and cause of their sufferings, in distinct columns, [will answer ;] but as far as I can guess now, till I look over my papers, I fancy this will not much shorten the work ; since, as far as I remember, there are not many besides gentlemen and ministers who are insisted much upon in the body of the History, except it be some particular instances of barbarities and cruelty, and such who were publicly execute, and now and then an instance or two, to exemplify the execution of the severe laws and acts of council, as I gave account of them. The exactions, depredations, and finings, in every parish of which I have accounts, would have been as bulky, had I insert them, as almost all that I have ; and, therefore, I have it in view to essay a general calcule of these, and place it either at the end of each volume or in the Appendix. Yet it appears needful, in my opinion, that some sketches of them now and then be insert, as instances of the execution of the laws and the effects of the oppressive courts so frequently appointed.

I differ a little from you upon the third and fourth, though still under correction, and imagine it would considerably lessen the usefulness of the work, if the whole of the acts of Parliament and Council relative to Presbyterians were not insert in the Appendix. It's these that give the blackest view of these extraordinary times. It is true they are matters of record ; but it is not one in ten who may come to read this History who have the acts of Parliament to consult, and far fewer have the acts of Council ; many of which, though at the time of their making [they were] printed, I could not have unless I had got the records themselves. Indeed, the method I have taken, as to these, very much increases the bulk of the History ; for I have given a short abstract of them in the body of the History to be vouched by the acts themselves in the Appendix, and added remarks and observations upon them, which, indeed, would have come better from a lawyer than from me ; but some gentlemen of that

study have promised to look over, and help any remarks of that kind I have made.

The large abstracts that I have made of the reasonings and debates, *pro* and *con.*, in several of the noted processes before the Justiciary, as in the case of torture, that of reset and converse, Cessnock's trial, and several others, do likewise considerably swell the work; but I shall be entirely determined by my friends as to the expediency of inserting them. I thought, indeed, they would give very much light to the accounts of the times.

As to the speeches of our martyrs, I have indeed inserted none that are in Naphtali; that book is so common in this country, and hath been so oft printed, that I still referred to it; and we have another set of speeches printed lately by Mr M'Millan's people, all upon one side, in the Cloud of Witnesses; which, if you have seen, I doubt not you'll think does neither that party nor us any service. Several excellent speeches, such as that of Mr Alexander Hume of Hume and others, not published, I have insert. But to put in all in Naphtali, the Apologetical Relation, &c., would run this work to a vast bulk; though nobody is fonder of the preserving the monuments of these worthy sufferers than I am.

The sixth, of inserting nothing but what is fully attested, I entirely assent to, and have essayed.

I am entirely of your opinion in the seventh, the giving the state and cause of the sufferings under each period, and have endeavoured to give it as shortly as I could upon the different occasions that cast up, as the hearing the Conformists, the rising at Pentland, the bond of peace, the indulgence, and the nicer point of the king's authority denied by some of the sufferers. This was one of the hardest parts of my work, and yet I took it to be some way needful to venture on it merely as a historian.

Your eighth thing, anent additions of the state of the sufferings upon religion and liberty in England and Ireland, deserves very ripely to be considered. I am fully apprised this would be much for the advantage of the general aim of this History, as well as that it will increase its bulk. It is but very little of this I have taken in

except as to some Scotsmen and ministers who were harassed after they fled to England and Ireland. Our own country was a field very large, and which I wish I get well through; but I'll be most glad to have what additions you find proper to be made that way, and if they can be brought in, in their proper places, without overgrowing the History, I am sensible they will be much for its advantage.

I long much to have what you have formed out of the incorrect copy of some years of the History I sent you, by our worthy friend, Colonel Erskine. I am at a loss that I have not your direction, and know not where your lodgings are, otherwise I would have ere this time caused some of our Glasgow merchants, who come up every month, [to have] called at you. You'll oblige me if, after the receipt of this by post, you'll let me know how to direct for you, and let your letters by post be direct to Mr Robert Wodrow, Minister at Eastwood, near Glasgow, to the care of Mr James Wemyss, at the Post Office, Edinburgh, and they will come to me three times a week. And what you send me by private hands, if it come by any Glasgow merchant, he will have no difficulty to send it me; or anybody coming to Glasgow, let it be direct, to be left at Mrs Wodrow's, in the head of the Saltmarket, at Glasgow. You may believe it I will not grudge the postage of a letter from you once a month or oftener, if you had time for it, and you [will] extremely oblige me to let me hear from you by post now and then. And if once I had your address, I shall take care to miss no private hand coming from Glasgow, and if there be anything wherein I can be useful to you in this country, pray let me know.

I am extremely glad that the worthy Mr David Hume's papers are in your hand. I know somewhat of his character and of his share at Bothwell-Bridge, and if a copy of the whole could be had, I would willingly be at the charges of it.

No doubt, you have many papers in the Secretary's Office, which we have not at Edinburgh. For I find by the perusal of the Council Records, that many things were sent up to the King, and no copies insert in the Council Books. But I know not well how to

condescend on particulars. You'll find one paper spoke of in that volume of the History you have, p. 199, for the pages in the copies I transcribe agree to my own copy, which the Archbishop and Synod of Glasgow drew up, called a Remonstrance, which I wish were insert, could it be had. Besides, there is a volume of the Council Registers, from August 1678 to August 1682, which is awaiting; and after King Charles' death there is no more in the records till the Revolution. The clerks tell me, the warrants or vouchers out of which the Registers are made up are *in retentis*, but perfectly in confusion. The Registers of the Criminal Court are entire and complete.

As to the method of printing, I have never entertained any settled thoughts upon that till once I be got through the draught of the History; and till once the whole be cast in some shape, one can scarce think or speak of any proposals, or any thing of that nature. And as soon as I can come to any issue this way, I shall acquaint you, and will stand in need of your direction and advice.

Neither Mr Crawford's History, which is not finished after the Restoration, nor Mr Semple's, which, for any thing I know, is not written, as to the period I am concerned in, will any way interfere with what I have in view. I have a great many other things to write of to you, if once I had your address, and till I know you receive this, I shall break off, with the most sincere assurances, that I am, dear Sir, your very much obliged and most affectionate friend and servant,

[ROBERT WODROW.]

Sept. 3, 1717.

LETTER XCIV.

QUERIES AS TO FOREIGN CHURCHES.¹

To Mr Charles Tough, &c., when going to Leyden.

Sept. 16, 1717.

DEAR SIR,—According to concert, I send you a note of such things as offer as to the subject of your conversation with learned persons abroad, and will be much in your debt if you'll please to communicate what you gather upon this memorandum, which may occasion a great many other inquiries to cast up to you.

Whether there be any oaths of allegiance imposed on the ministers in Holland to the States, and as much as you can gather with relation to the state of ministers in Germany through the Lutheran churches, and every where, as [to] oaths imposed upon them.

If there be any acts of the Synod of Holland since that of Dort printed, and what are the reasons there are no general Synods since Dort. If there be any general correspondence among their lesser Synods through the United Provinces, or any general representation of the churches in the Netherlands like our Commission, under their want of Assemblies.

I would have an account of the present state of the Universities in Holland; their most noted and learned men; their circumstances with respect to Cocceianism and Voetianism; the state of learning in all its branches; what remarkable writings are in the press, or in design, with their sentiments; if any of them discover themselves upon this head, as to the differences we had in point of doctrine lately among us.

Whether the Dutch Ministers use trine aspersion in baptism. Whether their classes or Synods do ever appoint any fasts or

¹ Our author appears to have kept a copy of these interminable queries, as a sort of circular to give to any of his friends going to the Continent. The consequence was a large mass of correspondence on this subject, which is preserved in the Advocates' Library; but which it would be impossible to insert here. A specimen will be afterwards introduced.

thanksgivings, or the Magistrate only. It comes in my mind, that Sir Richard Steele, in his Dedication to the Pope of his Translation of the Present State of the Roman Catholic Religion, talks of public thanks being given every three years by the Magistrates in Holland, for the unerring decisions of the Synod of Dort. Pray inquire what shadow of ground there is for this senseless supposition or suggestion. I would have all you can gather about their methods of procedure in Church judicatories; the processes that are ordinarily before their classes and Synods; the manner of their prosecuting scandals, licensing probationers, of their ordination, of their settlement of ministers—if it lie entirely in the Magistrates' hands without any consent of the people. Let me have a hint of the most remarkable things at present before their judicatories, especially as to matters of doctrine.

I would know the state of Cocceianism and Voetianism through the ministry and churches in Holland; they say there are three Cocceians for one Voetian. I would know the present state of Professor Roell at Utrecht, his doctrine, who is jealous of Socinianism and Arianism. I would know if Mr Whiston's opinions are taking any root in Holland, and if they be fostered by the Arminians and Socinians. Let me have all you can gather as to the Barnavelt party; the state of the Arminians; their most famous Professors at Amsterdam and elsewhere. Of the state of the Socinians and Papists there; the Jewish Synagogues and the Rabbis; if there be any learned men among them, or any converted to Christianity, or any prospect of this.

All you can send as to their worship and discipline in Holland. Let me know if any thing hath been printed lately on these subjects since the *Ordo et Ratio Disciplinæ Belgicæ*. I would have the share of the civil magistrate in their judicatories; their *commissarius politicus*; what they have in room of our parochial sessions; if their ministers visit families; their method of catechising and admission to the Supper.

I would have as much as may be as to the state of religion as to the generality, if there be societies for reformation of manners, meetings for prayer and Christian fellowship, in Holland. Have

they any charity schools for education of poor children ; their numbers and regulations. What endeavours are used for propagating Christianity in the Dutch Plantations, especially in the East Indies, where they have so great dominions.

Send me as distinct an account of the Lutheran worship as may be, and what reason they give for being covered in time of singing psalms ; their manner of baptism, dispensing the Supper, of the images in their churches, what discipline they have ; the nature of their superintendents ; by whom appointed ; if their ordinary ministers have any share of their choice ; their power in judicatories. What judicatories they have in the Lutheran churches ; if Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and General Synods ; if they have any printed liturgies or body of discipline, or rules for proceeding in their judicatories ; if there be any printed acts of their General Synods.

I would have all you can send me, with relation to the state of religion in Sweden, and Denmark, and Norway, where Lutheranism is established, and the state of the Calvinists there ; the hardships they are under, especially as to marriages ; the nature of their bishops ; their powers [of] election, and share in ordination and Church judicatories ; the difference 'twixt bishops in the northern kingdoms, and superintendents in Germany, where Lutheranism prevails. What share either of them have in civil affairs and judicatories.

If there be much real religion among the Lutherans, and any numbers of devout people. All you can send me as to the union 'twixt them and the Calvinists. What attempts have been made in Prussia or Germany for this reconciliation, and the state of that affair, either as endeavoured by princes or divines. Let me know if Arminianism be so general as some tell me among the Lutheran divines, and they so persecuting and bitter in their temper as some charge them with. I would know the state of learning likewise among them ; and what sorts of it they generally apply themselves unto.

Let me have all you can get upon the present state of the Cal-

vinists in Germany, their worship, discipline, and government ; their famed ministers and professors, with the state of learning and piety among them. What numbers of ministers there are in Hesse, Brunswick, Hanover, Prussia ; of their judicatories. I am told, in Hesse they have annual meetings of ministers as large as our Assemblies. If there be any printed account of their public acts there, or in Switzerland, or the imperial cities, where Calvinism prevails.

I would have an account of the present state of Geneva, of the famed professors and ministers there, of real piety and learning, of the attempts made to spread the English Liturgy and ceremonies there at Neuchatel and other places in Germany ; of the intercourse 'twixt their divines and the dignitaries of the Church of England ; and whether the Dissenters are any way counterworking them. I would know the state of doctrine among the professors at Geneva, and other Calvinist places in Germany. How far Arminianism is crept in among them, or the opinions of the new Methodists. I have heard suspicions that Turretine, Osterwald, and some others, are venting new schemes of doctrine, and discover themselves favourable to the hierarchy, and are quitting many of Calvin's tenets.

I know nothing almo st anent the state of the Protestant churches in Silesia ; their constitution in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, state of learning, &c. Some years ago it was said they were re-established by the King of Sweden's interest with the emperor ; they were then called 900 churches. Every thing about them will be acceptable ; as likewise on the condition of the Protestants in the Palatinate ; are they entirely ruined, or what are their circumstances ? How stand matters in Savoy and the Valleys, where we hear of new steps of persecution since their duke turned king ? Let me have their numbers that remain, with all you can learn as to their judicatories or worship, or their declining or growth in their persecuted state.

Sometimes there are Polanders at Leyden, and from them you'll have some notices of the state of matters in Poland ; what number

of Protestants remain there ; of their persecuted state ; if they have any public meetings at all in a kingdom wherein once there were three thousand Protestant churches. How Socinianism stands there, and the endeavours to propagate it through Europe ; of the state of learning and religion in Poland, under all the confusions they have undergone.

You will be likewise in case to get particular accounts from the Bohemian, Hungarian, and Transylvanian students, of the condition of the Protestant churches there. I need not be particular as to queries, for, indeed, I know nothing as to the number of Protestants, ministers, judicatories, state of religion, or learning there. What influences are the successes of the imperial arms like to have upon the churches there. Prince Eugene was looked on to have a warm side to learning and liberty, and consequently religion, and not to be priest and Jesuit-ridden. If the Pope be any way concerned in the Italian league, will the emperor no way resent it upon these bigotted Papists ?

Before I leave the reformed churches, I must beg you'll be particular in your account of our brethren in France ; what numbers may be yet in the galleys ; what shall we think of those meetings we hear of in the fields up and down France ; have the poor people who meet for singing and reading no ministers among them ? Are there such numbers of Protestants, of real Protestants, under covert in France, as some speak of, upwards of fifty thousand in Paris itself, and vast numbers in the south of France, besides multitudes among the new converts who go to mass now and then ?

Let me have the opinion of sensible persons upon the present division of the clergy in France. Will it turn to a politick ? Are there any real desires and designs after a reformation among the bishops and inferior clergy ? Have the libraries of the Protestants, seized 1685, and carried to the convents, had any real influence to open the eyes of the Popish clergy ? Let me have the state of Jansenism, and if it hath spread among the nobility or persons of influence, and as distinct accounts as you can how matters stand among the protesting bishops and the rest. Is there a general read-

ing of the Scripture in French getting in among the common people? How stands the regent affected to the Protestants and the Jansenists? What weight may be laid on Jurieu's account of singing in the air, 1685 and 1686? What are the sentiments of sensible people of the French prophets, their enduring the fire, &c., is all imposture?

Send me as particular accounts as you can of the school or University of Halle, under Dr Frankius; the number of students, manner of teaching, and the common interests of religion endeavoured to be advanced by them, printing Bibles in the Slavonic, modern Greek, &c. The opinion of your Dutch Professors of Dr Frankius, who seems to have been wonderfully owned by Providence.

Let me have the state of the French Protestants in Holland; if they exercise discipline, keep judicatories among themselves, or join with the Established churches; their state in Prussia and other countries, where they have retired. If their ministers be generally Calvinist; if they be desirous to be restored to their privileges in France; if the States and other Protestant Princes are out of a politick against the restoration of the edict of Nantz. Are there any processes in Holland for witchcraft?

I long to know the present state of the Christians in Muscovy; does their gross ignorance continue? Is learning established among them under their active Prince? Hath he received no impressions in favour of the Reformation, when so long in Holland? Does it hold he hath consented to the Pope's sending Missionaries to Muscovy? and what will be the event? Have no Protestant Divines any correspondence with Muscovy?

Let me have all you can as to the Danish Missionaries in the East Indies. What are the thoughts of your Dutch Divines as to the vast success they are said to have among the natives there? Send what you can get anent the present state of Mahometanism; the divisions of the Persians and Turks as to the religion of Mahomet; the predictions spoken of by Knolls and Ricaut of a change of that religion; of the present state of the Jews through the world.

I had some Syriac letters, two or three years ago, published by

your Professor of Oriental Tongues at Leyden, from the Bishop of Antioch. Let me hear what is become of that correspondence 'twixt these ancient Syrian Churches and Leyden.

Send all you can about Bourignianism and the Quietists, and some Protestants in Germany that seem to incline this way.

I have directed these inquiries to my brother, and Mr John Erskine and you. I hope you will write frequently. I am sure you have field enough. So, wishing you a safe voyage, comfortable stay, and useful return, I am, yours most sincerely.

LETTER XCV.

CHURCH MANUSCRIPTS.—SUGGESTIONS.

*George Ridpath to Wodrow.*¹

REV. AND WORTHY SIR,—I wrote to you some time ago my opinion about your History, which, I doubt not, Colonel Erskine has, according to promise, sent forward. I shall not repeat what was hinted there, but wish you had commenced from the Reformation, for that necessary part of our History has never been well done. Buchanan, Knox, and Calderwood, are very brief and lame on that subject. Petrie gives some good hints, but still imperfect. I have many original papers that set it in a clearer light; such as letters from Queen Mary and her Ministers, besides some things in print that are very scarce. These, with the MSS., Calderwood's, and what other helps might be had by your industry, would make the thing as complete as can be expected at this distance of time. I have a MS. of Spotswood [History] that was the Duke of Lauderdale's, and differs much from the printed; the interlineations are in the Bishop's own hand. I have also an authentic copy of the Acts of

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xxi. No. 2.

our General Assemblies from the Reformation to 1609, signed by T. Nicholson, their Clerk; Mr William Scot of Coupar's MS. History, and many other things which would be great helps. I can also have access to the Lord Warriston's MSS., in the hands of his son, formerly Secretary; so that we might carry on the thread through King James VI.'s time to the Restoration, especially through that important period from 1638 to 1660. I propose it, therefore, to your consideration, whether we had not better make the History complete than leave such a chasm behind, which it will look preposterous to fill up afterwards. I have hinted the matter to our good friend the Principal of your University, who, being a person of judgment, and a public spirit, is capable of advising us, and of giving us help from the library, &c. I have copies of many things from the Lawyers' Library at Edinburgh, and shall be glad to have the Principal's thoughts and yours upon this matter. I know it is a large field, and will require much time, and pains, and judgment, and, therefore, am willing to submit whatever I shall do in it to the judgment of whom you shall think fit; only I think it necessary, after all amendments, that the composure be by one hand, that the style may be uniform. I add no more at present, but that I am, Reverend and worthy Sir, your most humble servant,

GEO. RIDPATH.

August 10, 1717.

LETTER XCVI.

MANUSCRIPTS AND MATERIALS FOR A HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

To Mr George Ridpath, at his Lodgings, London.

DEAR SIR,—When I had answered yours of the 3d, and was waiting an opportunity to send it to you, I am favoured with

yours of the 10th August, which is a new tie laid on me ; and our common friend, the Principal of Glasgow, tells me I shall have an occasion of sending my answers to both safe to you, by some acquaintances of yours to be in this country in a few days.

I forgot in my former to desire you, when you get access to the Secretary Office, particularly to look after that letter of the King, in the time of Pentland executions, ordering a stop to be put to the executions. It is December 1666. It is generally believed here that such a letter was writt, and came to the Archbishop of Saint Andrews, as President of the Council in the Chancellor's absence, and that he kept it up till a good many more were execute.

No doubt, you may fall upon a great many important papers there, which we can have no access to here, and you are fully able to judge which of them will be proper for the design of the History of the Sufferings ; and what are not here you will know by my papers, in which I took care to insert every thing of importance I found in the Registers ; and I shall as soon as occasion offers, and I have your address, send up some more of them to you.

It is most certain our History, since the Reformation, is not writt as were to be wished. A great many very considerable discoveries have been made since the Revolution, and some before, which Buchanan, Knox, and Calderwood, had not access to know, and many helps are now in our hand these good men had not. Besides, we have a long blank from the death of James the Sixth to this day, during which interval we have nothing of a History.

But I never entertained any thoughts of beginning so high, or essaying any thing like a complete History. The account of our Sufferings from the Restoration to the Revolution was truly too much for my share, and only undertaken with a view to set matters under a just light as to the Presbyterians' Sufferings, and not to be a complete History, even of that very period. Indeed, there was little thing else but oppression, barbarity, and perfidy, in that black interval, and the account of Presbyterians' Sufferings is almost all that a Church Historian has for his subject for these twenty-eight years. Yet despairing almost to see any tolerable

History of our Church, and having my spirit a little stirred with the thoughts that posterity would not credit the one half of what was fact, and that since the Revolution we have been so much in the wrong to ourselves, the cause we own, and our children, in not giving the world some view of what this Church underwent for religion, reformation, rights, and the cause of liberty; and likewise the vile aspersions of our malignant and Jacobite enemies, who will be a dead weight on the Government, as well as this Church, if not looked after, wanted not its weight; these things made me venture to essay a work of this nature.

Sometimes I have thought the History of this Church is too vast a field for one man to enter upon, unless he could give himself wholly to it; and could it be parcelled out in its different periods among proper persons, it would certainly be the best way of doing it. You see the black part, I don't well know how, hath come among my hands.

Far be it from me to dissuade you from what you propose in your last of completing our History. Since I heard of your design of continuing Buchanan, I still reckoned you had your heart on this necessary work, and I was extremely pleased to hear it was among your hands, and grieved that other things had so long diverted you from it. We must certainly do things as we can, when they are not like to be as we would, in a time when the public interests are but too little regarded. And I beseech you go on to do all you can this way for your Mother Church and Country.

If ever my History of the Sufferings come to any bearing, so as friends think it worth the publishing, it will shorten your work from the Restoration to the Revolution. The design of it being precisely upon the Sufferings, I can scarce think it will be out of the road to publish it separately when ready for that, and I wish it may stir up others to give us the other branches of our History we need so much.

You may assure yourself of the utmost assistance in the work of our complete History I am capable to give you, and you shall want nothing I have in my small collection this way. Since I was capable of

remarking this lamentable defect, I still picked up any thing came in my way, which I thought might give light to our History, without any thoughts of ever being in case to do any thing myself, but merely from an Athenian spirit, and I hope some regard to the interests of this Church and the Reformation; and if you desire, you shall have a complete list of what I have got in my hands this way.

In your former letter you desired to know what is become of Mr Crawford's and Mr Semple's History, and I shall give you what I know anent them.

Mr Crawford was my immediate predecessor in this congregation, and a zealous, worthy, and diligent person, for whose memory I shall still have a great value. His History I read over many years ago. I hear nothing of his son, who is co-presbyter with me, his publishing it now these several years. The larger half of it, as far as our printed historians go, contains not much, which I observed, distinct from them, except a few remarks upon Spotswood here and there; neither do I remember, and I talked with its author upon his materials, that he had any papers of that time come to his hands, distinct from our printed historians, except Scot of Coupar and the MSS. of Calderwood at Glasgow; and I don't remember if his many infirmities of body suffered him to go through them all either. This made me advise his son to shorten that part of his father's work, and give us only an abstract of the history already in print, referring to the authors and principal papers in them, which would have reduced the first volume to a few sheets, and to intersperse a good many things that have not yet been published. But nothing of this is yet done, as far as I know.

After King James' death, Mr Crawford is very short till the 1637, and from thence to the lamentable divisions 1650. He gives a very distinct and large account of matters, which I heartily wish had been long since published. Indeed, his style needs to be helped very much. But he hath many valuable things, and a good many of them from Mr Robert Baillie's Letters, which I shall speak somewhat of before I end.

He overleaps from the 1650 to the Restoration, as unfit to be raked into, at the Revolution, and a little after it, when he wrote, lest these unhappy divisions should kindle again by dipping into them. From the Restoration to Bothwell, where he ends, he hath not completed; and there are but a few hints of things which he would no doubt have extended had he been spared to finish this work.

What Mr Semple hath done I cannot give you so good an account of, having never seen any part of it. He told me about a year ago that he had the first volume, if my memory fail me not, to the union of the crowns, perfected, and ready for the press, and that he designed speedily to publish it. But since I hear nothing of it. This I know he hath had very great advantages in point of materials. One night I was his guest, and he let me see a vast many papers, upwards of thirty quires, he had caused copy out of the Bodleian and Cotton Libraries, and other collections in England. I looked over an index of them he had formed, and found they related mostly to our civil affairs. Besides this, I know he hath got great assistances from Sir James Dalrymple, Sir Robert Sibbald, Mr James Anderson, and others about Edinburgh. But I imagine they relate mostly to the period before the union of the crowns. What his materials are since I cannot say, only I know he hath had the advantage of Mr Baillie's Letters.

I showed him a list of what papers I then had relative to our history, and it was but very few of them he had met with, and designed to come and stay some weeks with me and go through them; but though this be six or seven years since, I have not had the benefit of his company. He knows of my design upon the Sufferings, and has had a copy of the first part, from the Restoration to Pentland, to read, and presses me to go on. This is all I know a doing here as to our History.

And after all, I am of opinion you ought to go on in your design. If you should be prevented by another well writt history, I promise myself it will be satisfying to you, and if not, it were good to have things in a readiness, and still be going on.

It is perhaps too much for me to propose any thing upon the

method of this work to one who is so good a judge, and hath far more ripeness in this matter than I can pretend to. But according to my plain rough way with my friends, I just dash down what strikes me in the head when writing. In an introduction I would have the matter of our Culdees handled, which I own nobody yet hath done to any purpose, save the hints Sir James Dalrymple hath given us in his collections; and yet I am assured by one who has considered this matter, and understands that old part of our history as well as any in this country, that much more might be gathered about them. And I am assured Mr Anderson, our General Postmaster, whom I suppose you know, hath made some valuable advances with relation to them. I take them to have entertained a noble struggle, not only for religion and its purity against Rome, but even for liberty against the encroachments of our Princes. And I sometimes fancy that brave manly temper that appeared before and after the Reformation, and till the union of the crowns, among Scotsmen, was in part owing to them, and the seeds and principles they left before their utter extirpation; of which you have given so good evidences from our old constitution i[n the] valuable paper you published about 1703.

As to the period from the Reformation to the union of the crowns, I would not be much for reprinting much of what we have already in Calderwood, Knox, whom I should have begun with, Petrie, and Spotswood. The line and thread of matter of fact would be continued, and references for fuller accounts made to them. But I wish the unhappy turns that Spotswood gives to matters, and the facts which, as a complete party man, he suppresseth, were taken notice of, and his disingenuity exposed, which you will be in case to do from the MSS. of his you have.

Besides the large MSS. of Calderwood, you may have considerable helps in this period from several accounts writt in that time, and before King James' death. I have Mr James Melville's Memoirs of forty or fifty sheet. Another history, said to be Mr John Davidson's, about thirty sheet. Mr John Forbes' account of the Assembly at Aberdeen, and the trial of the Ministers at Lin-

lithgow, with the reasonings at full length, about twenty sheet. Mr John Row of Carnock's History, which is pretty large, and contains many valuable hints as to lives and characters of our Ministers and others, before the union of the crowns, I have not met with elsewhere. You have Mr Scot of Coupar's Apologetical Narration, and the authentic Acts of Assembly. Balfour's Annals are at Glasgow, but it's mostly as to civil matters. I have just now got copies of a good many letters 'twixt Queen Elizabeth and King James, which Sir James Balfour doubled off the originals, with some other papers relative to that time. I have likewise a large history from the Reformation to the 1610, writt at that time, I don't know by whom, of near two hundred sheet, which is only ecclesiastical, and hath the proceeding of our Assemblies embodied with it. And Arch. Simson, Minister at Dalkeith, his "*Annales Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*," writt in a noble style of Latin, about thirty sheet. It reaches from the Reformation to King James' death.

There are some hints not despicable in Mr Blair and Livingstoun's Life for the period 'twixt the 1625 to the 1637. And in the 1637, 1638, and 1639, we have great numbers of papers, narratives, and controversies about the Service Book. I have the proceedings of the Assemblies 1638 and 1639, with their reasonings at great length, twenty or thirty sheet each. From thence to the 1660, there is no want of memorials. I have the autograph Acts of Assembly, from the 1642-1646, in two folios, but wanting some leaves. The rest of them are at Edinburgh with the Registers of the Commission. I have a large account of the Assembly at Aberdeen 1640 or 1641. Bishop Guthrie's account of this period is printed, and I have Sir James Turner's Remarks upon him, which are but short. A valuable MS. is lately come to my hands, which was once in Mr Robert Douglas' possession, a History of the Church and State of Scotland, from the 1638 to 1647, upwards of one hundred sheet, in a fair hand; and two volumes in folio, entitled, "Register of Letters, Actings, and Proceedings," from 1654-1661, signed by Mr Ker, the Church Clerk. It contains nothing but copies of letters 'twixt our Scots Noblemen and Ministers and Cromwell, and the

English Managers and Ministers. It came to me only within this fortnight, and I can only say it's a rich treasure. Out of it I hope to get considerable accounts of the overturning of our religion and liberty at the Restoration. The two volumes will contain about five hundred sheet.

After the Restoration I mind nothing save Mr Kirkton's MS. History, which I have, and it was of use to me as far as he goes, which is only to Bothwell. Thus you have a hint of what is in my hands. I have forgot what I reckon the most valuable thing we have remaining, betwixt the 1638 and 1660, and that is four large folios of Mr Robert Baillie's Letters, and the most considerable public papers not in print interspersed, which I have by me from his grandchildren. He wrote almost every post when in England, and you know he was much there from the 1641-1648, and he gives the best account of the Assembly at Westminster I ever saw.

Wherein I can be helpful to you from any of these, you may freely command me, and I shall most cheerfully communicate with you copies of any of them that are my own, or copy for myself, and extracts out of others of them, in any point you desire to be satisfied in; and I'll presume you will not grudge me copies of any things you have that are communicable; and as large an account as you can give me of the MSS. and papers in your hands. My Lord Warriston's papers, if they be his Diary, which I am told is in his son's hands, were I as loose-footed as I have been, I could come to London to have the benefit of reading it, not so much for the historical hints, which no doubt are valuable, but especially for his religion and close living with his God, and his rare experiences in prayer. I have a good many of his letters and papers about the unhappy differences in MSS.

To be sure, by this time I have wearied you with two long scrawls. I very much long to hear from you, and well assure myself you cannot weary me. Principal Stirling tells me you are beginning the Atlas for Scotland; and if I can give you any assistance from a collection I made long since of fossils and formed stones, curious

enough in their kinds, I gathered hereabout, and some Roman coins and instruments in my hands, dug up here, they shall be communicate to you. I must break off, with my best wishes that you may be preserved in health long to be useful for your God and country ; and am, dear Sir, yours most sincerely and affectionately.

Sept. 23, 1717.

LETTER XCVII.

PATRONAGES.

To the Honourable Colonel Erskine, at London.

Sept. 23, 1717.

DEAR SIR,—It is very satisfying to me to think you are to be at London this winter during the session of Parliament, wherein it's probable the business of Patronages will come in, than which they can scarce have any affair before them of greater importance to this Church. I heartily wish the affair of the Toleration were set upon its true foot, and that boundless favour, granted in a period wherein a plot was carrying on against every thing valuable among us, to a set of people as much under a foreign jurisdiction and influence as Papists themselves, were stopped ; and I could undertake to evince that upon the very same grounds upon which a legal favour and toleration is refused to Papists, it ought to be refused to Scots Prelatists. And I hope our Parliament Members are all so hearty for our present happy establishment in the Royal Family, that as one man they will go in effectually to curb that party who have so shamefully abused both the toleration they got, and the gracious indemnity granted to many of them since.

And although, in my view of things, the continuance of the power of patrons, at least in a considerable part of this national Church,

will have the same evil consequences in the issue to the civil government, and was palmed upon us as a part of the same plot against our religion and liberties ; yet I am apprehensive a great many either do not or will not observe this ; notwithstanding, it will appear that greater numbers of the persons invested with this unaccountable power than many suspect, are not very favourable to the true interests of the Church of Scotland, which are twisted in with the Protestant succession ; and I wish I had not ground to add, that some of them are none of the firmest friends to our rightful civil government under King George.

But what lies most upon my spirit in this matter is the ruining consequences the continuance of the act for patrons' power will have upon the interests of real religion among us ; and it's the sense of this, as well as your repeated desires to have my thoughts upon this matter as it stands at present, which have given you the trouble of this at this juncture ; and if I can be so happy as to suggest any thing that may be useful to you in conversation with Members of Parliament, this is all I have in prospect.

That I may cast my thoughts upon this head into some kind of shape, I design to consider what hath been our circumstances, as to the settlement of congregations since the Reformation, and especially since the glorious Revolution ; and what we ought to be at in this matter, and humbly expect such a King as we enjoy by the Divine mercy, and such a Parliament as now he hath, will do for us in this Church. And, lastly, what we ourselves may and ought to do in the mean time till that happy season come. And under these I shall take the liberty to lay before you what offers to me upon this important subject, to be improv'd and ripen'd by yourself.

Once I designed to have looked over what hath been writ on patronages, both at their reimposition under prelacy, and by several good hands in 1703, (when the Jacobites here [were] under the headship of one who was formerly a promoter of the divisions of this Church, under mask, and a muddy divine, and mystical philosopher,) and given you the substance of the arguments *pro* and *con*.

upon this subject, with any thing that offered to myself. But the memorials of this Church, and their addresses and representations again and again given upon this, contain the arguments upon this subject so clearly and succinctly put together, that I looked upon this as needless, and shall only give you a few remarks that offer to me at present upon this matter as it stands in this Church.

I begin with considering the state of this matter since the Reformation, and especially since the happy Revolution, and at present. You know better than I that the burden of patrons was a perfect stranger to the Primitive Christian Church for many ages, and was brought into it in the blackest period of ignorance and usurpation; and our first reformers were so deeply sensible of this, that the liberties of the Christian people in the choice of their pastors was among the first things they struggled for, as hath been fully made out by the writers on this subject, which I need not resume. The frequent changes in our managers under King James' minority, and the bias that Prince came to be under to the Popish and French faction, with the hardships the ministers were brought under for their maintenance, by the long debates about the Thirds, and other matters, at that time hindered the removal of that grievance.

Thus matters continued until the union of the two crowns, when Episcopacy was imposed upon this Church, and the prelates having the patrons entirely at their management, the Church of Scotland couched under this burden till the turn of affairs 1638, when new efforts were made by our Second Reformers on this weighty matter; but the eyes of our ministers being mostly upon our deliverance from Prelacy, High Commission, and Liturgy, and our nobility being mostly taken up upon the recovery of our civil liberties, and the people being generally allowed a tolerable free choice of their ministers, though presentations continued, and the patrons, generally speaking, after the removal of prelates, meddling very little to the sensible overturning the people's rights, the abolition of patronages was not so pressingly called for during some years; and though it was still demanded, and several concessions made as to the King's patronages, and the same regulations, for

what I know, or larger concessions, took place as to those in the hands of our nobility, many of whom were real friends to religion and reformation; yet such were the civil confusions and intestine broils in that period, that nothing was done effectually for removing this imposition till the 1649, when even some good men in the Parliament showed themselves too much of a private spirit, and unwilling to part with the influence in the choice of ministers they so long enjoyed; though I am persuaded, had they foreseen the terrible improvement afterwards made of that power, they would not have insisted as some of them did. Yet at length the force of the ministers' reasonings, who then had full access to inform members of Parliament, and the conviction they were forced to entertain of the ruining consequences of that burden, at length prevailed with them to yield, and that iniquity was at length abolished by a law.

After the Restoration, this law, with many other excellent constitutions and fences about our religion and liberty, were rescinded, and patrons restored, as necessary to overturn Presbytery, and dispossess the greatest part of ministers then in charge, and likewise to pave the way for the oppression of the subject in other matters, and to bring in a corrupt time-serving clergy, entirely depending upon prelates, and to be tools for the arbitrary Government in civils, and persecution for matters of conscience, which was then in view.

Therefore, as soon as the nation came to its senses, and any sense of liberty prevailed at the Revolution, after some struggle made by such as had little regard to the establishment of religion, the act rescinding patronages was made, and things put into that channel, that, had we not verified the proverb of being wise behind the time, we might for ever [have] been rid of them. But the opportunity was slipped, and being under the sunshine of King William's government, and at present freed from the yoke, we looked not forward to what might come, and provided not against the evil day, which came on us with a vengeance under a Tory ministry in the close of the last reign.

That act of Parliament 1690 was framed, after long debates and

close consideration of matters on all hands; and I shall not now enter upon the views in it, to set matters as much upon an equal footing as the circumstances of things could allow. I am sorry now to find so many persons of rank and consideration take it for granted, that any regulations, now to be made in this matter, must be quite upon another bottom than that act.

A mighty outcry is made against popular calls, and the meanest of a parish being set upon a level with noblemen and gentlemen, and the insults that have been made in the settlement of parishes, since the Revolution, upon people of quality by the meaner sort. I do not here design to enter upon this debate; within a little, I'll have occasion to offer my thoughts of what ought to be in this matter, and upon the matter the foundation of these clamours will be taken off. Yet you will allow me to make some remarks upon this cry that hath been made against that act of our Scots Parliament.

And you'll perceive, when you consider it, that the foresaid act does not establish popular calls, as that expression is now invidiously sensed. The act, indeed, set the calling of ministers upon the most equal footing, that of the session and heritors at the determination of the Presbytery. No general laws can be so worded as to answer all the incidental cases; but if we form a rule that will answer most generally, it is all human foresight is capable of. There may be cases where there is one heritor in a parish, and six or eight elders; and yet more generally, there [are] more heritors than elders; and heritors, wherever they deserve it, and perhaps oftener, are elders. And the elders act in a quite different capacity from heritors, and represent the sense of the people in their proportions; and, no doubt, heritors in this matter have abundance of advantages to influence elders, and where they are friendly to religion, and the proper work of a minister, their influence is still certain. Neither shall I consider the debates that have risen upon the plurality of that meeting thus made up of both. The act itself certainly considers the meeting *in cumulo*, and it was the safest general that could be fixed on, and *multum defertur auctoritati ju-*

dicis, which was the Presbytery. And, indeed, that act to me seems more to favour the power of Presbyteries in calls than a popular power, which was very little advanced; and the subscriptions of heads of families, generally speaking, were taken for the intrant's conviction of the unanimity of the people, and not as proper callers. And I am of opinion that the clamour against that act proceeds from some people's apprehensions that ministers have too great a choice in the settlement by that law; and for my part, I shall still be against encroachments of pastors as well as patrons upon the people's rights.

But, after all, the cases which came to be matter of public contention, under this state of settling congregations according to that law, were but very few. I think in all this Church, they were within half-a-dozen which made any great noise, and that after our breaches were begun; and I could almost undertake to prove that the heat in these cases, and the trouble brought about to the Church judicatories in them all, came not at all from any ill thing in the law, but from the parties, noblemen and gentlemen, from their own views, made in the judicatories concerned, and their separate interests and divisions with relation to the respective congregations. And whenever we allow the interests of great men to have so much room, as sometimes they have had, in our ecclesiastical matters, ministers cannot fail to divide as they do. This I could make plain in the case of Cramond, Crawfordjohn, Bothwell, and others. And the very same mischief is fallen in by patrons' power, and much worse; and so the blame is not to be laid upon that act 1690.

Since the repeal of that act by the British Parliament, you know our state better than I can put it in words. The re-imposition of that burden hath been the greatest crush could have been given to the ministry of this Church; and yet, hitherto, they have borne this, with all deference to the government, as was duty, and sent up commissioners, again and again, to crave redress, yet nothing hitherto is done. Meanwhile, patrons have been in many places mocking God and man with sham presentations, and keeping vacancies

empty, unless it happened that some one or other got into their good graces, who was acceptable to the people and Presbytery. In Church judicatories there have been protestations entered against, and declarations made against, presentations ; and the influence of patrons and their defendants is in a little time like to create such disputes and heart-burnings in judicatories and parishes, as will have direful effects in this poor Church. And though the flame is not yet broke out so violently, yet, unless some methods be fallen upon, at least to keep ministers joint among themselves, in their opposition to these encroachments, I see nothing can prevent an open breach among ourselves ; there being considerable numbers of ministers in this Church, who will state their sufferings upon this point, either from the government, which they hope are willing to ease them here, or from their brethren. The Lord hath indeed wonderfully kept us from open splitting these years bygone, from our unhappy differences upon civil tests of loyalty, and prevented a breach upon the tender point of doctrine ; and it's from his way towards us that I would fain hope he will extricate us from our difficulties from patrons, if we had the courage and wisdom fairly to stand our ground, and not mix in ourselves with those who would make tools of us, to promote their own secular interests.

Before I come to consider what, in right and justice to religion, and this Church, ought to be done in this matter, you will bear with me a little in giving a melancholy observation or two, as to our present temper, under this and other burdens in this Church. I shall say nothing of the importance of this matter of the settling particular congregations with Gospel ministers. Little were needful to be said upon it, if the sense of real religion, and value for a Gospel ministry, and New Testament ordinances and institutions, were not sensibly sunk at this day. Certainly, nothing is of greater importance to particular souls, the success of the in-trant's labours among a people, yea, the interest of the Church and religion, as well as the peace, usefulness, and harmony of pastors among themselves ; in a word, nothing can more nearly affect the present and the after generation, this National Church, and even

his Majesty's government, than a right, regular, and scriptural establishment, as to the settling of ministers.

But, alas ! when there is so little real concern about the ends of a Gospel ministry in the Christian Church, and so much real despising of their persons and office, we would not be surprised that this matter is looked upon by many under quite other views than it ought. The foundation of all of the wrong reasonings upon this head, almost, is a notion got into the head of too many persons of rank and figure, that Gospel ministers are a set of men whom custom hath brought in to talk a while, once a-week, to them upon serious subjects ; and, therefore, are to have a maintenance and subsistence allowed them as law accords, and such who are bound by law to give them their small stipends, (though it's only the common people, when things are considered at bottom, out of whose pockets the stipend comes, as I may afterwards observe,) who are to call and choose them. Meanwhile, they have no notion of a pastoral charge, or the mutual duties and relation betwixt a minister and those for whom he must account, as well as his hearers must give account of this great gift to them.

Besides this gross notion of a Gospel ministry and their maintenance, it's lamentably evident that statesmen, and persons of rank and quality, have, of a long time, been essaying to involve this Church and the judicatories thereof in their parties and designs, and make tools of ministers to carry on their secular purposes. Any body who has made any observations upon our Assemblies, Commissions, and Synods of late years, cannot but see what efforts have been made this way in multitudes of cases, what gatherings there have been, and sidings of great men mixing themselves in every case almost, which necessarily comes before those larger judicatories. And you'll scarce now meet with a case, but in the opening of the debate upon it, in ten minutes' time, you'll see a partying of ministers and great men, which I own hath many a time been matter of sorrow to me, as what is, and will every day more and more turn, to our reproach, and, in the issue, to our ruin.

Some party or other in the State are still endeavouring to re-

commend themselves to the government, by their influence on Church judicatories, and being able to carry the ministry to their side, and to manage the Church as they speak. This is too much at bottom of the sensible cooling of love and confidence among ministers, and their parties, and divisions, and sub-divisions, and till the Lord give them another spirit and courage to cast off their shackles, and prefer Christ and his matters to men, I cannot but expect they will sink in their reputation, and Christ, whose servants, and not of men, they ought to be, will undoubtedly pursue a controversy with them. *Hinc ille lachrymæ.*

This is the bait that our great men leap at ; and stoop so low as to mix themselves in some of the smallest matters that come before Church judicatories. This makes them raise such a cry upon popular calls, and be as one man, almost, for continuing the oppressive power of patrons, except as far as it sometimes interferes with some of their interests ; or at least for changing that imposition to some other shape, as eversive of the rights of the Christian people, and in the issue as ruining almost to the interests of religion.

And a sad proof of the truth of all this, and the terrible length we are already driven, in time-serving, and couching under our burdens, is the strange indolence and negligence fallen in among us in judicatories these several years, as to this matter. I could give too many instances of this, but forbear. In a word, we all complain of our hazard, and yet will not effectually set ourselves to the proper measures for relieving ourselves and this Church and posterity. Patronages are complained of once a-year in our Assemblies ; and patrons, and those who favour them, begin to be easy, and let us complain on. We see ourselves sinking, and are every day more and more involving ourselves in a servitude to parties and secular interests ; and if matters go on a little longer at this rate, the reputation of this National Church, and, which ought to be dearer to us, the Kingdom of Christ and real religion, will sink, and Presbyterian ministers and judicatories fall unlamented.

You'll bear with my freedom in representing these sad truths, which I know affect you very nearly, as well as many other ; and I

took such considerations as these to be necessary to premise before I came to the remedy of them, which I now come to propose, both as to what ought to be sought by us, and done by the Government; and till that come, as to what, in the meantime, should be done by us in our sphere.

What ought to be done, and I humbly expect would be done, by our gracious Sovereign, with the advice of so good a Parliament, if we were not wanting to ourselves in a vigorous application, and if our own countrymen, and professed sons of the Church of Scotland, stand not in the way of it, and our parties among ourselves, and miserable involvement in secular dependence, do not mar it, lies in these two—that patronages be abolished; that the proper callers be determined by law.

Were the first heartily gone into, I fancy there would not be so many hankerings after it or an equivalent, which discover themselves in the great dust that is industriously raised against the putting this power where it ought to be, and the many questions we are dunned with, where shall the power of calling be lodged? You shall have my sentiments with all frankness as to both; and the one will clear the way to the other.

The first of them, that patrons ought to be abolished, I do not much enter upon; because abundance hath been written and represented against them, never once pretended to be answered; and this is not so much insisted upon by the abettors of patronages as the difficulty and impossibility to settle the power of settling parishes so well elsewhere, which comes in upon the other branch. However, to refresh your memory, and give you a sum of the reasonings against the unhappy imposition, I shall suggest a few considerations, to enforce the necessity of the abolishing them.

In the first room, [place,] I am of opinion that the power patrons assume to themselves, as they say by virtue of the late act of Parliament, is sinful in itself. It hath so many terrible consequences, that one might guess it to be very evil in itself, since a tree is known by its fruit, and these may be just now pointed at. The attempt in the 1703 to restore patronages and toleration was termed by the

Commission, and justly, the establishing iniquity by a law. The very nature and design of that act restoring patrons, is ruining to the liberties of people in the Christian Church, which both their nature, and the use [which] hath been all along made of them, hath verified. Many things might be suggested to evince the sinfulness of the power of patrons. It's contrary to express Scripture pattern, which is a virtual precept, of the primitive Christians' choice of the Gospel officers, as well as contrary to the precepts directed to Church officers, to commit the power they have to faithful men, and to do many other things for perpetuating a Gospel ministry in the Christian Church.

Further, the sinfulness of this power appears from the ordinary and necessary consequences of it, where it takes place. And if all these took not place before the 1649, it was owing to the singular care taken by judicatories to prevent the ill consequences of what naturally tended this way, and the constant struggle that was made to this imposition, and the considerable lessening of patrons' power by concessions, and some other things formerly pointed at. But we, at this day, find too many of the ruinous consequents of the re-establishment of this power among [us,] notwithstanding of any struggle we have with it; and in other Protestant Churches where this power is acclaimed, we see them yet more plainly.

It would lead me very far out should I dip upon these consequents; and the case is so lamentably plain, that had we persons to deal with in our reasoning, who gave themselves leave to observe the natural tendencies of things, and had our holy religion and the success of the Gospel really at heart, and were not under some heavy biasses, there were no need to insist upon them. Only to help you a little in dealing with the defenders of this power, I offer these consequences in short.

As to the ministry brought into a Church by the power of patrons, they will be dependent and servile, and consequently corrupt and despised, than which a Church cannot have a greater plague. What is more natural than to suppose an entire depend-

once upon the patron and his friends, in a man that comes in upon an office of the nature of [the] Gospel by a patron, and his servile couching to every thing his patron happens to be for; especially when the coming in by this door, over the inclinations of a people, or without their consent, at least by a forced assent, is, without breach of charity, such a proof of corruption and insincerity, as well [as] of sinistrous designs in entering upon the holy office of the ministry, as I don't know how it can be denied, and, by the canons of many judicatories in the Christian Church, would mar a man's admission in a regular way. Upon both the former accounts I added that this did bring in a despicable ministry. Such are the servants of men, must still be so [even] with good men, and corruption and self-seek[ing] in this matter, cannot but land here. It's needless to add, that persons who come in this way cannot have that interest with those they take the charge of, that a Gospel minister wants and ought to have, in order to doing good among them.

Another miserable consequence of such an entrance to the ministry is, lamentable rents and schisms in congregations thus imposed upon. This is but too evident, in fact, almost every where in our present settlements. What strife, division, and parties do these forces, put upon people in so tender a point, raise; and too many are tempted to leave ordinances altogether, and irreligion and atheism sensibly grows, and the ministry comes to be blamed for all.

Which brings me to add the sad consequences of this imposition among ministers already planted, and in judicatories. The broils presentations have made, and are like further to make, among us, are too plain to be concealed, otherwise I should draw a veil over them. It's evident that in Presbyteries, where generally before the influence of great men was not before so sensible, nor their efforts so open as in our more numerous judicatories, parties are forming, and the seeds of heart-burnings laid, which I know not when or how they shall end. And the whole of our Church judicatory will be soon involved this way, and in a little time, one way

and another, we shall be as servile and dependent on gentlemen, and made to mix in with secular parties, as [if] we had no other thing to meet for.

I scarce mention the unaccountable dilatours [delays] of settling vacancies, and the continued desolation of congregations, till some tool for the patron's purpose offer; and the base methods persons and their friends are tempted to fall in with to curry favour with such as have power of presenting, which are a reproach when known to themselves and this Church. These, and a great number of other unhappy consequences, might be added; but these may suffice.

Besides the sinful nature and consequences of the present power of patrons, it is a most unreasonable and unaccountable power. Which of the patrons are capable to pitch on a minister for themselves, far less for some hundreds of souls? It hath been an uncontroverted maxim till now, *quod ad omnes pertinet ab omnibus tractari debet*; but the very constitution of patrons clashes with this. And, as far as ever I read or heard, such a power was never acclaimed in trivial and civil matters, and would be hissed out of society. Would the law grant a power to any man to choose all the lawyers [and] physicians that shall be used in a shire? Will any pretend to choose for me who shall be my merchant, my tailzour, [tailor,] or the like? and yet that were more accountable than the power of choosing a minister for hundreds. In politics, indeed, the doctrine of hereditary right, and tying down a nation to absolute subjection to idiots, fools, or tyrants, comes near[est] of any thing I know of to this ecclesiastical hereditary sort of tyranny in matters of conscience, and eternal concern and consequence.

This power of patrons is directly contrary to the rights of Christians, as well as men, calculated, indeed, very much for the scheme of Popery, where ignorance was the mother of their devotion; but it's every way contrary to the privileges of Protestants and Christians, who must judge for them[selves,] and see with their own eyes, and hold by the Scripture rule of looking out for themselves [such] as are fit, and to whom in faith and knowledge they can

cheerfully commit themselves. This hath been fully made out by such as have handled this subject.

Yea, which perhaps may have more weight, as matters go in this degenerate time, the acclaimed power of patrons is contrary to the heritors' interest, if I may reason a little upon the false grounds the defenders of patronages go on in this matter. It's but a very few places patrons reside [in,] and, generally speaking, there are a great many gentlemen and noblemen, who have far more interest, and, according to their way of arguing, pay more to the subsisting the minister than the patron, who, I believe, in most places, or many, pays not a farthing. And although I am of opinion neither patron nor heritors can be said to subsist the ministers, yet, under the view of the thing, which takes with so many, what an invasion is it upon the rights of many, that a broken gentleman or nobleman, whose predecessors had a share of the Popish religious houses, and probably has no other claim to his right of presentation, should be empowered to impose upon the nobility and gentry of a parish one of his creatures?

And if the persons now vested with the power of presenting were capable to be dealt with, under the bias of a selfish, secular, pretended interest, I would add that their power of presenting is hazardous to patrons themselves. I wish they would all weigh what that credit to our country, the late Bishop of Sarum, has said upon this subject, in his address to patrons.¹ It's certainly a prodigious trust and frightful wish for them to take on them to make a choice of a pastor for so many hundreds or thousands of souls,—a thing of far deeper consequence than they at first are aware of. I heartily wish they would allow themselves to think upon the importance of such a matter, if they believe the first principles of the oracles of God, and look not on religion as a jest, and the Gospel as a well

¹ This refers probably to Bishop Burnet's Admonitions, addressed to Patrons, in the Conclusion of the History of His Own Time. "Patrons," he says, "ought to take this on their conscience, to manage it with great caution, and in the fear of God, and not to enter into that filthy merchandise of the souls of men, which is too common; it is like to be a moth on their estates, and may bring a curse on their families, as well as on their persons."—Vol. vi. p. 194.

contrived fable. But it's time to end these remarks, to discover the justice and reasonableness of removing patrons.

In short, this is a most groundless re-imposition ; and I'll be bold to say, there was not a more suitable and comfortable settlement of Gospel ministers, generally speaking, in the Reformed Churches, or in this Church, since the Reformation, than betwixt the 1649 and 1661, and from the Revolution till Queen Anne's Tory ministry. The clamour of disobligations of people of figure has been already considered, and it can be evinced that the dust raised in settling of parishes proceeded, in that period, from parties among heritors, in which I wish ministers had less embarked ; but it was certainly one of the most groundless encroachments ever made on this Church, unless we go in to consider the real grounds of it, though not avowed ; and then I cannot but own it was well enough formed to promote a Popish interest, and hindering King George's accession to the throne.

Which brings me to add, what every one knows, but few seem to remember, that this encroachment was made by the enemies of the Church of Scotland, as well as of our gracious King, and made as a part of the poor revenge upon Presbyterian ministers for their adherence and owning the Hanover succession, in the teeth of a set of men who were essaying to overturn it ; and with a particular view of strengthening the Jacobite and disaffected party, who afterwards rose in rebellion against our King. And if those who have the honour to advise his Majesty be for the continuance of a burden we have come under for our regard to his Majesty, I'll think it very hard, as well as unkind, to this Church.

In a word, this power of patrons hath been a grievance since the Reformation, is complained of by the more knowing of the Papists, and a burden upon the best part of the Churches of England and Ireland, and defended by none I know of in all the Protestant Churches. These things may suffice to evince the first thing I said ought to be done. But still the difficulty remains, where shall the power be lodged, in case of the repealing and rescinding patrons' power by a British Parliament ? which brings—

To the second thing I said ought to be done:—The callers or persons to be concerned in the settlement of a parish are to be determined. Now, this is yet a nicer point, and requires a fitter hand than mine to handle it; and yet the freedom you still have allowed me encourages me to lay before you my indigested and unripened thoughts upon this matter. I design to consider what hath been done already for determination of the persons who are to be concerned in the settlement of a pastor in a parish; which will lead us to consider what ought to be done in this matter.

I begin, then, with considering what hath been done in this matter; and waiving the act [16]49, I shall consider a little the act 1690, and presume to make some remarks upon the statutory part of that act; because I am apprehensive it is not so much considered as it ought. And it was an act framed by some of the greatest lawyers and men of that time, and not in a haste and hurry, but after long deliberation; and when the fresh sense, both of the evil of patronages and the merits of Presbyterian ministers, and their attachment to the interests of liberty as well as religion, was upon the spirits of the Parliament. Therefore, I cannot help thinking that it yet deserves the most serious consideration of such who have the regulations of this matter on their hand. And so I shall make some observes on it. 1st, Then, it is plain that the Scots Parliament, and particularly the committee, to whom this important matter was committed, were so sensible of the evil of patronages, that nothing less was found necessary than a total casting and making void the patrons' power in all time coming. And it's most certain, that no limitations and regulations of the power of patrons, providing their presentations be allowed, will be of use to this Church. If their power be sinful, and have such lamentable consequences, it's what will never be helped by boundaries and regulations. These will but continue heats and broils, and will never answer the peace of this Church, and the Gospel method of settling ministers. Besides, it is more than probable that patrons will find ways perfectly to elude all the restrictions they can be laid under.

2^{dly}, The reasons given in the narrative of this act for the total

removal of patrons' power do still hold, and their force may be fully seen by the lamentable proofs from matter of fact, since the restoring of that power. The Parliament complains *that patrons' power hath been greatly abused*. And what would they have said had they had before them the excesses, run to, since their last restoration, in sham presentations, and force put upon people to come into their measures, and their violent forcing of judicatories to comply with their presentees? They, therefore, find *that it's inconvenient this power be continued in this realm*. No regulations of their power would be to any purpose; and, therefore, their power was to be entirely removed; and, indeed, nothing less will yet answer the state of this Church.

3dly, The Parliament seem to continue the management of the vacant stipend in the hands of Protestant patrons. But this act seems lame a little, as to the persons who shall judge of the application of the vacant stipend by Protestant patrons, though it would seem the Presbytery are to canvass this, if he employ the vacant stipend to pious uses in the parish, since upon not doing this the right of administration falls to them; but this would need to be cleared; and some of the most important uses to which vacant stipends are to be applied, at sight of the Presbytery, or other judges, might be specified.

4thly, In room of this way of presentation by patrons, another method of calling and entering ministers is laid down; and, instead of the patron, the heritors of the parish, being Protestants, and elders, or church-session, are empowered, as it were, to come in the patron's room for nomination, though not for presentation. Hence, it's plain all Popish heritors are excluded, and ought to be, whether by themselves or their proxies. And a little below the heritors and kirk-session are made callers, conform to this act, which to me signifies, that by their calling is only to be meant their nominating the intrant, to be disapproved or approved by the whole congregation. And the heritors and elders are certainly the most fit persons to make this proposal and nomination to the whole congregation.

5thly, When matters stood on this foot, and parties came in among heritors, and these endeavoured to form divisions in Presbyteries, a great many quibbling debates fell in, whether it was the plurality of the meeting conjunctly or separately, present or absent, but there by their proxies ? The wisdom of the Parliament, in a general rule, could not provide against every singular case and incident that might fall in ; but they lay it down in safe generals, and seem to leave the nomination upon the plurality of heritors and elders there present, after lawful summoning to the meeting. And in case differences fell in among that meeting, I am humbly of opinion these, as well as the reasons of the dissentient congregation, are left to the Presbytery, at whose judgment the whole of this affair was to be determined.

6thly, The power lodged in this meeting of elders and heritors is to name and propose the intrant to the whole congregation. There the liberties of the Christian people are carefully preserved, and all who are to be hearers of the minister and under his charge are allowed to approve or disapprove. It was not practicable for the Parliament to give farther regulations as to all the incidents that might fall in ; but they appoint reasons to be given by the disapprovers, and heat, and party, and humour, without reasons, was not to be regarded. There is no particular condescension of heads of families, and tenants, and cottars, and feuars, and a thousand cases, that afterwards cast up. But in the general the congregation and minister's charge are named, which was sufficient. And really when a regular nomination was made by heritors and elders, it is scarce to be supposed that there could any considerable difficulties arise, if not fomented by some of the nominators, upon differences among themselves, which ought to have been compromised by the Presbytery before the proposal was made to the congregation. For it's plain the elders downwards in the act, termed the kirk-session, had only a room in the meeting for agreeing on the person to be nominated to the congregation, as representatives of the people ; and it's to be supposed that they had the minds of their proportions or quarters of which they had the inspection, and would

act agreeably thereunto; and this was certainly the most habile way of transacting this matter in peace and harmony. And contentious persons were bound to give in their reasons of disapproving the sense of the meeting. And, further,

7thly, The Presbytery of the bounds are made sole judges of the calling and entry of a minister, and determiners of that matter; and had they kept themselves free from mixing in with parties among heritors, I cannot conceive any more proper judges in this case. And it appears to me to have been a wrong step, except in very extraordinary cases, to involve superior judicatories with the debates which might fall in. And to be a bridle upon contentious heritors and elders, the Parliament,

8thly, Provides a check upon them, by empowering Presbyteries, after the elapsing of six months without application in a regular way, to plant *jure devoluto*; which power was indeed never acclaimed, except in the extraordinary cases of disaffected parishes in the North. And, lastly, a premium is ordered for patrons of 600 merks; they are empowered in law to pursue for it; and in case of neglect, the solicitor is empowered to pursue; which, if put in execution, had effectually delivered us from this burden; and I am humbly of opinion this or an equivalent provision ought yet to be made, and the execution of it effectually seen to.

Thus, we see what was determined as to such as ought to call a minister, which ought certainly to have a great weight with those before whom this affair now comes; and though I am of opinion some further regulations may be made to answer some difficulties which have risen since this law was made, yet the substance and matter of this act ought to be inviolably adhered to, since, after it was made in a separate state, and came in among the reserved rights of this Church, in the solemn Treaty of Union, it may be questioned how far a British Parliament could cast and annul it; though they may enlarge and explain it, for its better answering incidents, since it was made.

Which brings me forward to consider what further rules and determinations, as to such as are concerned in the settlement of a mi-

nister, are necessary. I am of opinion, indeed, those rules should be laid down rather by a national ecclesiastical judicatory, with the consent of the King ; but since this matter is to be before a British Parliament, which knows no limitations, where they will [go] through a matter ; and, therefore, I shall first premise what weighs with me as to the former of these rules, and what may give some general light in this matter, and then come to the regulations themselves. I lay down these considerations in this matter under its general view :—
1st, That as the Scripture hath determined the particular kinds of church officers in the New Testament Church, so it hath likewise left a right to the Christian people to choose to themselves fit persons ; and the work, especially of pastors, depends much upon the knowledge and satisfaction of their flock with them ; so that I cannot but think both the general Gospel precepts, as well as the nature of the thing, have determined the choosers already.

2dly, Wherefore, even under our present state of parochial worshipping societies, which are local and voluntary assemblies of people, from which people may, when they please, remove themselves, there needs no further determination than these general rules, except for the orderly and more comely procedure in a work of that importance as to the proper choosers of a pastor.

3dly, If any thing further be meant by callers, or intended by the subscribers of that choice and invitation of a minister, than this, I wish it were declared by such who are competent judges in this matter. I know,

4thly, We have got a distinction among us of a legal and evangelical, which, in my opinion, needs to be explained and cleared. By an evangelical call, as I take it, is understood such a signification of the inclinations of a people, as may be a sufficient ground for an intrant to enter upon his work of a minister among them ; and I take it to be hard enough to fix what may be needful to this, in all circumstances, and it may allow of different regulations, both as to the state of a people, and the temper and qualifications of an intrant ; and, certainly, an ecclesiastical judicatory are most habile judges of what is necessary to this. A legal call is said to be such

a signification of the consent of all concerned, as may give the in-trant a title, by the laws of the land, to pursue for his maintenance and stipend. And thus, before the rescinding of the act 1690, it was said that the plurality of the heritors and elders signing a call, as was in use and wont then, was needful to this; and now the presentation of the patron is made the title upon which a minister hath a civil right to his stipend, and there is no other thing in the presentation; and the power of settling what ought to give a minister this civil title is acclaimed by the Parliament. But how far things ought to be upon this foot, I am yet at some loss to satisfy myself. This appears,

5thly, Plain to me, that the benefice ought to follow the office, by virtue of the divine law for maintenance of ministers. And if a man be fixed in a congregation according to the Gospel rules, and regularly ordained, and follow his pastoral work among that people, I am of opinion such take a great burden upon themselves, who refuse that person a suitable maintenance. How far I am right in my observation I must leave to lawyers; but in processes before the late restoration of patrons, I do not remember that a minister's call from heritors and session was to be produced to make good his right; but only the act of Presbytery ordaining him. And if a presentation be made necessary now, it may be questioned whether there is any good reason for so doing, and whether civil powers ought to clog a Gospel minister's title to his maintenance with such restrictions, when fixed there by a competent authority, and according to Christ's rules. I know well it may be said here that the stipend being a civil matter, mortified or legally allocate for this, comes properly under the cognizance of civil courts. But a stipend or maintenance of a minister to me appears to be as little a civil thing in its general nature than [as] the institution of the ministry is, or than the hearing of the Gospel is, since it's equally required with the institution and subjection to it by the divine law. And I heartily wish the civil powers may consider well before they lay clogs and put restrictions upon either of them. Therefore,

6thly, Whatever regulation be made by civil powers as to the

manner of giving this maintenance, they ought, in my opinion, not to be destructive of the thing itself, but only for the more commodious fixing of it, and not privative either to a minister or church judicatories. And such clogs ought not to be laid on, even as to the civil way of lifting the stipend, as may mar the Christian people's choice, or void the power of judicatories for settling a congregation; but things ought to run in their natural channel, and that of the Word. Where a minister is regularly ordained according to Christian rules, he ought to have his maintenance. Therefore, upon the whole, I wish any regulations to be made as to persons concerned in the settling a minister in a particular congregation, (unless it were some things of another nature for his comfortable subsistence,) ought to be by a General Assembly, with the King's concurrence.

But as matters now go, there being little prospect of this, it remains only that I wish and do all I can, that what regulations are made, as to the persons concerned in calling, be as reasonable and equitable as may be. And, therefore, I presume to offer you my thoughts upon them on both sides. 1st, In the general, the reasonable rule ought to hold, *quod ad omnes pertinet ab omnibus tractari debet*. But then this ought to be applied according to the different interests that all have. Thus, in a parish there are some hundreds of people come to age, and capable of instruction by the in-trant. It appears to me very reasonable, that the whole congregation, as the act 1690 expresses it, should have the person named and proposed to them, and the liberty of hearing him, and propounding their reasons why they are dissatisfied with him. But then, 2dly, A great regard must be had to the different circumstances, and capacities, and interests, that the members of a congregation are to have. Upon this head a great deal might be said. It were unreasonable to compare the interest of a servant, who, generally speaking, may remove in a year or thereby to another place, or of a moveable tenant, who may be turned out at the term, to that of a fixed residenter or heritor in the parish. And yet I am of opinion, except as to the matter of the stipend, which shall be considered

afterwards, there is not ground for so much noise as hath been made upon this point. Servants are much out of debate ; but as to cottars or moveable tenants, it is certain that, generally speaking, masters are as willing to keep them, when thriving and diligent, as they are to continue ; and when fixed in a way of living by a trade which depends on their acquaintance, or day's work, they are as much fixed to their habitations as many others ; and if an ill-natured master will remove them, they probably will take up again under some better master in the neighbourhood, and continue often as long in a parish as such as have five, twelve, or nineteen years' tack, and may be presumed to be as fixed residents as a minister's continuance in a parish, ordinarily speaking, may be. And heritors themselves and feuars are liable to as many alterations, take as many of them with as many. But I am of opinion that a great regard in this matter is to be had not only to people's residence in a place ; but further, 3dly, To the proper relation and work of a minister among his people. And here I think a great difference ought to be made betwixt such as are properly and fully of a minister's charge, and admitted to full communion as complete Christians, in sealing ordinances. It is much to be regretted that indeed so few in parishes are so disposed as to be admitted to full communion. And the bulk of people in most congregations, bating their overly attendance on diets of examination and visiting, or when in sickness, are scarce any further under a minister's charge than in hearing him on the Sabbath, which in some places is but in common with many strangers or stragglers, of whom he has no proper charge. And from their bare residence in the parish, it's hard they should be on the same foot as to an intrant's settlement, that such should be who are to be admitted to full communion. I would not dispute that they ought to be satisfied ; but [without] prejudice of his proper charge, as to what [which] they are only to have the benefit of hearing him. But then the sentiments of such ought not to be fully balanced with those of such as are full members of a congregation. And I think further, 4thly, I am of opinion, such as are notoriously profane, and whose conversation is openly disagreeable to

gospel rules, whether residenters or others, ought to be but very little regarded in the settlement of a minister ; though they ought to be dealt with all discretion, that, if it may be, such whom he is like to have little work with, except as to censures and the exercise of discipline, may be as little uneasy and discouraging to him as possible, and may [be] subject to ordinances and censures for their bettering and reformation. 5thly, It deserves likewise to be considered how far non-residenting heritors, who, in all probability, are never to reside in a parish, can sign our ordinary calls of subjecting to the intransigent, in ordinances dispensed by him, and that a distinction is to be justly made betwixt them and others who are to be under his charge. Lastly, I would not think it out of the road, as a temporary regulation, when such heats and shameful debates are so common in this grave matter among us, that such, whether heritors or others, who make parties by bribes or threatenings, and in any undue methods are guilty of raising flames, when all concerned ought to be otherwise taken up, should for that time forfault their part in the settlement of a parish. These are what offer to me as deserving the consideration of such who may frame regulations in this matter. Upon the one hand, servants, profane persons, fomenters of divisions, and such as are not admittable to full communion, ought to have very little share in this matter. But those who are complete members of a congregation, residenting heritors, and the elders, in a special manner, are to be regarded.

I know well that the present cry runs flatly against this ; and it's now in every body's mouth that heritors are by this method, and the act 1690, deprived of their right, and put on a level with tradesmen, and tenants, and cottars, when made elders, and that those who pay the stipend should have the greatest interest in settling a minister. I have not time to consider all the parts of this objection, nor to state this matter at the length I incline, since I am already run out far beyond my desigu, and therefore shall only give you a few reflections upon this head. 1st, The stipend is neither the main nor the only thing that ought to be of weight in this matter ; and for my share, I can see very little real weight it should

have, if considered duly. And the law of the land takes care that be uplifted even in vacancies; and I take it to be a public fund and a dedicated thing, which ought not to be pocketed, but still applied to public uses; a debt and part of our substance set apart for divine honour, by a divine law, which founds no right to such as are trustees, as it were, to pick and carve in this matter, to the prejudice of the Christian people; which is perfectly eversive of the divine law. And, 2dly, As the stipend to Gospel ministers is undoubtedly of divine institution, and ought to be paid by God's law, so I still think it is not the heritors, when we go to the bottom of things, but the common people, who pay stipends, generally speaking. As far as I can guess, there is no stipend which is allocate that comes out of heritors' pockets. There is no family I know of so old in Scotland, but who bought or got their lands with the burden of the tithes; and allowances have been made, and they bought or sold their lands so much the cheaper that this lies upon them; and, generally speaking, heritors have rolled over the most part of this burden upon their tenants; and what is paid properly comes out of the pockets of country people. So that this is a most groundless claim, even though the heritors never had had an equivalent for their lands thus burdened. 3dly, I remark that all souls are God's, and all are under an equality and level as to spiritual things. A mean cottar hath as much of a privilege, by the Christian constitution and right reason, to have a spiritual guide in matters of salvation, and to be satisfied with relation to him, as those who now make much greater figure. All are levelled at death, and all will be equally dealt with as to their eternal concerns. And it was what our Lord desired to be remarked to John, as peculiar to the Gospel dispensation, that the poor were to be evangelized. There is no doubt all civil regard and respect is owing to such, whom God, by his Providence, hath distinguished, and all due deference is to be shown to their superior character in knowledge and other abilities; and no needless opposition is to be made to them because they are distinguished by Providence, as the manner of some ignorant country people is. But, 4thly, It's not [at] all an evidence of

disrespect to such, that elders, as members of sessions, and representatives of the Christian people, are, by the act 1690, set upon a level with persons of greater rank, since they act there not as their cottars and tenants, but as church officers, speaking the sense of many whom they represent; and certainly heritors have as much in this matter as comes to their share, when in the meeting of nominators and proposers, they have each of them a vote in their own persons, whereas one elder, may be, votes only in the name of a hundred persons in his proportion. And, according to this way of despising of elders, some of the best quality in the kingdom are disparaged, who think it below them to act as elders in our Supreme Judicatories, Assemblies, and Commissions, where I know no other foot upon which they are members but their representation of the people. In short, this matter of elders being set upon a level with, and making encroachments upon persons of rank, is entirely removed by the determination of the whole debates being left by the act 1690 to Presbyteries, unless the complainers reckon these will be rude and unjust to them likewise, and would wrest this matter entirely out of the hand of the people and church officers, and altogether engross it to themselves.

It's high time now I come to the last head I proposed to consider, and that was, what ought to be done by us in the meantime till these regulations be made? This I sum up in three heads, which need not be much enlarged upon, since we who are concerned this way want not light and direction so much in this matter, as courage and resolution to act in an agreeableness to what we almost all of us own. Heritors, as well as judicatories, ought to stand their ground against the illegal practices of patrons, and the steps they take beyond law. Judicatories ought to exert their power over their own members; and a vigorous application ought to be made to the Government for easing us of the burden of patrons.¹

¹ These three points Wodrow probably enlarged upon in this letter, as there are three pages in the MS. left blank, for the apparent purpose of containing the remainder of the letter, but which he never filled up.

LETTER XCVIII.

AFFAIR OF THE COLLEGE OF GLASGOW.—SYNOD OF GLASGOW AND
AYR.—MR ANDERSON'S CALL TO GLASGOW.

To the Rev. Mr James Hart, Minister at Edinburgh.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I was much pleased to have another from you of the 4th of October, though it contains a reproof. You have written so seldom these ten or twelve months, that I fancied you had some other from whom you expected accounts of matters here ; and when I am for some time out of the road of writing, I find myself ready to forget my friends, even when matter offers, which makes me earnestly wish to have my correspondence with you more stated and customary. I know well you can never want matter, though many times I may.

The visitors of the college in September declared the election of a new Rector irregular and unwarrantable, admonished Mr Dick, one of the Regents, to be more diligent in his work, and received and read a paper of grievances against the Principal, but went through only two articles of them. The first, about a bond of 2500 merks, which was paid in the time of the confusions at Glasgow, in the framing of the Union, and no distinct account can be given of the money. It lands on Mr Law and Principal. All the masters who signed the accounts that year are found liable to the college, and to have their relief, as law accords. The other article was an act of faculty excluding Mr Loudon from meddling with the college accounts, because of some things he insisted upon before he would engage in approving or disapproving them, in which the rest would not yield. This act is rescinded. The management of affairs, till a new Rector be chosen at the ordinary time next year, as to their tacks, accounts, &c., is committed to the Principal, Professors, and Dean of Faculty, and Mr Carmichael, and Mr Lou-

don. The rest of the grievances are referred to the meeting of visitors at Edinburgh, October 28. None of the sides, they say, are entirely pleased at what is done, and, therefore, such who pretend to be indifferent say the determination is the juster ; but the main points are yet to come, and what is done is preliminary.

Our Synod, last week, had the Presbytery of Glasgow's reference of Mr Anderson's call before them. The ministers' reasons of dissent, and the town's answers, were read, and the ministers' answers to them heard *viva voce*. The advice given at the close of the last Synod, when the house was thin, to fall from Mr Anderson, was disliked by the Synod now when full, and it was agreed not to record it. It appeared plain that both particular and general Session were for Mr Anderson ; but the debate ran upon the form of the call. The ministers are not named in it, because they had dissented ; the magistrates call in name of the whole town, and some other singularity not used in former calls. The ministers disclaimed a negative, and yet insisted on a share in calling as colleagues. We had long debates upon the nature of particular and general Sessions, and the ministers (except Mr Clerk) insisted mostly on this reason, that the general Session, not the particular Session, were the proper callers, whereas, in this case, they are but consenters, because, when particular Sessions were set up 1649, the power of calling was reserved to the general Session, till altered by the Assembly ; and allege they have still been callers since. They insisted further, that the particular Session being but nine or ten, and the council thirty-two, if the power of calling were lodged in the council as heritors and the Session, the last would still be overruled, and the magistrates might bring in whom they pleased. The magistrates declared they never had (nor would) overruled the particular Session, that they still allowed them to meet and agree on the person to be called, whom they had still agreed to ; and alleged, in the present case, both the council, general and particular Session, were agreed, and the ministers, by their standing out, were essaying to overrule them 1. The vote came to be stated, Concur with the call, and transmit it to the Presbytery of Dumbarton, or Re-

fer to the Assembly; and it carried Concur, sixty-three; Refer, forty-one. Whereon the ministers, and four or five of the Presbytery, appealed to the Assembly, and gave in a complaint, verbally, against Mr Anderson, which the Synod obliged them to bring in, in write, signed, to-morrow. To prevent this, a committee for peace was proposed to-morrow, [next day,] who heard the ministers and Mr Anderson upon the heads of complaint, but in vain. Then their complaint was given in in Synod, and referred to the next Synod to be considered. It runs all on Mr Anderson's printed letter' to Pardovan, which, no doubt, you have; the ministers deny all the marginal notes, and Mr Anderson offers to prove them.

Thus you have an answer to both queries. I have written to our brethren as you desire. Pray send me an account of that soldier in Flanders, who had occasion to see King William at his private devotion. My service to Messrs Flint, Millar, Maclaren. Write frequently to me. I hope to see you in November.—I am, yours, most affectionately.

Eastwood, October 8, 1717.

LETTER XCIX.

ANTIQUITIES.

To Mr James Anderson, General Postmaster for Scotland.

DEAR SIR,—It is with the utmost pleasure that I send you the coins we were talking about, Prince Charles' baptism piece, one of James the First, very rare, and another of James the Second, with odd hair and crown.

The old seal of ivory seems to have been the buckle of a belt. It was found in a grave in the Isle of Tyrie. I read *sigillum ducis*, but can make no more.

If any of these can be any way useful to you in your noble design, *De Re Diplomatica*, I'll be mightily pleased. I'll have a copy of Mr Martine's History of Saint Andrews for you as soon as may be. Any other MSS. I have, you may freely command as if they were your own.

When you get Whiston's paper, and have done with Bradbury's Sermon, I'll be fond of them, and of any other pamphlets you get from London, when you and your friends have perused them. I own this is too much to propose, but my Athenian spirit makes me impudent.

Above all, allow me to put you in mind of sending me all you can recollect about that great man Jerviswood. I am just now essaying some account of him.

Accept of my humble thanks for all your favours. I give my humble duty to your L[ady,] and am impatient to hear from you. I am, yours, &c.

Eastwood, Nov. 19, 1717.

I enclose Sir Robert Pollock's letter, the better to preserve the coins. Forward it.

LETTER C.

ACT OF THE SYNOD OF ANGUS AND MEARNES, RESPECTING MR
SIMSON'S CASE.

*Rev. James Trail to Wodrow.*¹

Montrose, December 25, 1717.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I am desired, by several brethren of our Synod, to send you a double of our act of Synod about the *ipsis-*

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xii. No. 124.

sima verba, which the Assembly, by their vote, seemed to make necessary in all processes against ministers concerning doctrine. The tenor of the act follows from the minutes sent to our Presbytery:—

“ *At Montrose, October 18, 1717,
ante meridiem, Sess. Sexta.*

“The Committee for Overtures, in the affair concerning the Instructions given by the respective Presbyteries of the bounds to their commissioners (to the Assembly,) which the Synod referred to the said Committee’s consideration, made their report and overture, the tenor whereof follows:—‘Anent the affair concerning the Instructions given at the direction of the Synod by Presbyteries, it was interrogated by the Committee, if any commissioner from the respective Presbyteries in the bounds had not conformed themselves thereto. There was no special information given in by any, and after long reasoning on the affair, the Committee overtures, that the Synod declare that members, commissioners to the General Assemblies of this Church, from the respective Presbyteries in the bounds, ought, and that they be peremptorily appointed to conform themselves to the Instructions given them by their constituents. And, WHEREAS it is recommended by the last General Assembly to all faculties in Universities, and to all Presbyteries within this Church, to see that their act for maintaining the Purity of the Doctrine of this Church, and determining the process, Mr James Webster against Mr John Simson, be duly observed, and to censure the contraveners as they shall see cause; and it being represented by some brethren, that by a vote of the late General Assembly, witnesses are bound up to the *ipsissima verba*, in matters of doctrine, the Committee further overtures, that it be recommended to the several Presbyteries to instruct their commissioners to the next General Assembly, to represent the affair there, to the end the General Assembly may explain the said vote, or take order that any ill consequences that may follow thereupon, or happen under colour thereof, may be hereafter prevented. The Synod having heard the said Report and Overtures, put the same to the

vote, Approve the same, or Not. The rolls being called, and votes marked, it carried, Approve. Likeas the Synod DID, and hereby DO, APPROVE thereof, and declares, appoints, and recommends, according thereto.'"

I shall not trouble you any further in giving accounts of the reasons why we made the act to run in these terms ; for your penetration will easily discern at the first, seeing it's the duty of inferior judicatories to speak as smoothly as possible of the superior. There are no news worth noticing in this country, except that our Jacobites are as big in their hopes as before the Rebellion, and they yet expect the King of Sweden. We meet with as much trouble almost (at least in some things) as before the Rebellion. And, in one word, if we be not taken more care of by the Government, several ministers must leave their charges. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you ! I am, Rev. Dear Brother, yours in the Lord Jesus,

JAMES TRAIL.

LETTER CI.

REPLY TO FOREGOING.

To Mr James Trail, Minister at Montrose.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—Yours of the 25th of December came to hand in due time. I am ashamed I have been so long in answering so kind a letter. You'll believe I have taken the first opportunity I had to acknowledge yours.

The act of your Synod was most acceptable, and you'll receive my hearty thanks to you, and my dear brethren with you, who were so kind as to put you on this trouble. I easily perceive the scope of your Reverend Synod, and the testimony they have found needful to give in this important matter.

It was really a surprise to me that the last Assembly went into the act we have now passed; and I know well it was a force put upon some members, which brought them in to the terms in which it stands. Perhaps exceptions will be made at the very modest terms of your Synod's act.

I have heard it reasoned many times, that commissioners from Presbyteries cannot be bound up by their constituents from following the light they receive in reasonings in a superior judicatory; and if they find new light and reasonings advanced so strong as to make them alter their opinion they had taken up before they heard them, they must in conscience act as they find cause. And it is said this is the very foundation upon which delegate judicatories must stand; and without this there can be no room for them. How far this reasoning holds, I must leave to your riper consideration.

That there was a vote upon the *ipsissima verba*, in this circumstance case, I well remember. But how far a vote in a circumstance case will go to fix a general rule in all doctrinal processes, or in any after case that comes before succeeding General Assemblies, I cannot well say. I don't mind there is any express canon laid down to bind to the *ipsissima verba*, which is binding to this Church, neither can any Assembly fix a rule in this kind without first transmitting it to Presbyteries.

These are some of the things that offer themselves to me, as to what may cast up when the Instructions of your Reverend Synod come in; and I only suggest them, that you may be in a readiness, if there be any weight in them, to remove them.

Believe me, that I very fondly desire an established correspondence with you, and the more frequent it be, it will be the more acceptable. I heartily sympathise with your brethren with you under your pressures, and heartily wish the Government, for its own sake, as well as the Church's, may give some effectual redress. I beseech you send me a copy of that letter Mr Archer tells me you have, as to the present state of things with you. I am near an end of the History of our Sufferings, but have nothing

almost beyond Tay. I wish any thing that can be got were hastened to Mr Spence or me. Oblige me by frequent writing to, Rev. Dear Brother, yours most affectionately.

Feb. 5, 1718.

LETTER CII.

To Mr John Erskine, at Edinburgh.

[JOHN ERSKINE of Carnock was the eldest son of Lieutenant-Colonel Erskine, by his second marriage to Anne, eldest daughter of William Dundas of Kincavel. He made choice of the profession of law, and became a member of the Faculty of Advocates in 1719. He seldom pleaded at the Bar, which is said to have been owing to the feebleness of his voice, and constitutional modesty; but was much respected for the extent of his legal knowledge, and the judiciousness of his opinions in matters connected with his profession. Upon the death of Mr Alexander Bain, Professor of Scots Law in the University of Edinburgh, about the beginning of 1737, Mr Erskine was appointed to the vacant chair. The duties of this office Mr Erskine discharged with much ability, and, from the interest excited by his lectures, the number who attended the class for Scots Law was greater than at any former period. He used as his text-book, for several years, Sir George M'Kenzie's *Institutions*; but, in 1754, he published his own "Principles of the Law of Scotland," 8vo, which, from that time, was his text-book. This work has reached the eleventh edition, and is much esteemed by the legal profession. After having taught the Scots Law class, with great reputation, for twenty-eight years, he resigned his professorship in 1765, and employed himself during the remainder of his life in preparing for the press "The Institutes of the Law of Scotland," a work which was not, however, completed during his life, nor published till 1773. It contains the substance of his lectures in the University, and is still considered a book of high authority in the law of Scotland.—(*Bower's History of the University of Edinburgh*, vol. ii. p. 317.) Mr Erskine died at Cardross, on the 1st of March

1768, in the 73d year of his age. "He had none of his father's peculiarities," says Sir Henry Moncreiff, "and the general character of his mind appears to have been extremely different from his. With greater mildness and equality of temper, and much more acquired knowledge, he had less inclination for the bustle of public life, and seems to have taken scarcely any interest in party contentions, either in the Church or in the State. His activity was in a great measure confined within the sphere of his literary or professional occupations, and of his private and domestic pursuits. His public reputation, as well as his personal virtues, entitle his descendants to place his name in the list of their most respected ancestors."—(*Life of Dr Erskine*, p. 10.) Mr Erskine was the father of the celebrated John Erskine, D.D., one of the ministers of Edinburgh, by his first wife, Anne Melville, of the noble family of Leven and Melville.—Ed.]

Feb. 7, 1718.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 4th was more than satisfying.¹ Without any compliment, I never had any account that satisfied me so much as this; and I now understand more of the constitution of the Church of Holland than ever. Their Synods are delegate meetings like our General Assembly, and they have delegates of delegates like our Commission, which I own is the branch of our constitution most liable to exception. Let me know how many Presbyteries or classes may be in every Synod. Are there ruling elders from every congregation in their classes? Do their Parochial Sessions agree with ours? Do their appeals lie from the *Deputati Synodi* to the next Synod? Let me have the minister's name and subject of the book at Rotterdam that hath made such a noise. Give all you can further recover as to Fagel's Testament, and the foundations alleged for patrons. It seems being so very late, they cannot found on the old claim:—

"Patronum faciunt dos, ædificatio, domus."²

I would likewise know their method of calls; if heads of families consent, and the Session call; if they have written and signed

¹ This letter is not extant among Letters to Wodrow.

² A mistake for *fundus*.

calls; if there be presentations by the magistrates or the Ambachtsheers in write.

Give me the state of the universities—the balance'twixt Cocceians and Voetians—the state of real religion in the Provinces—the success of the East India Company in propagating Christianity—the method in dispensing the sacrament of the Supper, if at tables, if the minister speaks in time of communicating, if the words of the institution are pronounced at the distribution—the accounts of their care of their poor—their correction-houses—if any societies for reformation of manners or charity schools—and whatever you remarked singular in their civil policy or economy—their present divisions, and the strength of the Barnavelt and Arminian party.

You'll have heard of Mr Anderson's affair at Dumbarton, and that he was continued. I am, yours most affectionately.

LETTER CIII.

ACCOUNTS OF FOREIGN CHURCHES, IN ANSWER TO QUERIES.¹

*Rev. William Wright to Wodrow.*²

Kilmarnock, Feb. 13, 1718.

DEAR BROTHER,—I communicated the contents of your last to our brethren of this Presbytery. They seemed not unwilling to go in to pay their guineas for the Commissioner, but they want first to know his errand and instructions, of which they have no knowledge; and, therefore, in this point, you'll be pleased to satisfy them. Of the last year's Commission, they say, that as they were not subscribers, so nobody ever so much as dreamed of anything from them, which I believe to be true. Mr Robison tells me you will expect

¹ In Letter to Mr C. Tough, *supra*, p. 301.

² Letters to Wodrow, vol. xx. No. 45.

nothing from the Presbytery, though they complain of being unacquainted with and neglected in your affairs.

I had last week a letter from my cousin, Mr Charles Tough, the contents of which he desires me to communicate to you, as the researches of a conversation with Dr de la Fay their minister at Utrecht, and is as follows :—"There are no general Synods in Holland, for reasons best known to the magistrate ; but the provincial Synods correspond with one another as ours do at home. The Dutch Churches are grievously under the influence of the magistrate ; fasts and thanksgivings are only appointed by the magistrate. The Church discipline is strict enough for prosecution of scandal, but its exercise is wholly invalidated by the magistrate ; for if any scandalous person is refused the communion, he goes to another congregation, and enlists himself a member there, and though, by the rules of discipline, no Church should receive one that has belonged to another without testimonials, yet, by the laws of the land, there's nothing required to qualify a man for church membership and communion but a competence of knowledge, and so they dare refuse no man except for ignorance of the common principles, by which means, people that live in adultery, especially if they are people of condition, can and do oblige a church to give them communion. The exercise of discipline, however, (as well as the rules of it,) is strict enough for prosecuting their brethren in cases of heterodoxy, who are cited to their judicatories, and in case of non-compearance are suspended, and after contumacy excommunicated. But this is not owing to any authority in the Church, but to the connivance of the magistrate, who encourages and foment divisions among the clergy for his own interest, according to the common maxim, *Divide et impera*, and confirms and disannuls their sentences as they subserve his interest ; as is evident in the case of this city Utrecht, where the ministers were once all Voetians. Their unanimity made them an eye-sore to the magistrates ; who, jealous of their growing power, brought in some of the ablest Cocceians. It was lucky for these that the Voetians were but weak men, and mean preachers ; whereupon, they became popular,

and the other weakened by degrees, until they became wholly outed. But though the magistrates gained their end, yet they were in as great danger as ever, for now the Cocceians begin to top ; to prevent this, they bring in and support Mr Roel, who formed a sect of his own, and was the occasion of the present subdivision of the town into Cocceians and Roelites. The last differ from the first,

1. In the article *De Generatione Filii*, which they deny to be proper and eternal, and contend that the name, *Son of God*, is applied to Christ only as Mediator, and signifies his being installed by God in that office.
2. That the decrees are not founded in the nature, but in the will of God, otherwise they were not free ; and being so, are not necessarily eternal.
3. That the guilt of Adam's sin is not imputed to his posterity, which they support on the authority of Mr De la Place.
4. That the just may have some respect to works as well as faith, in the hour of death.
5. That the afflictions and death of the godly are proper punishments.

Professor Roel, in his theses upon the first head, contends that the Second and Third Persons did partake from eternity of the same divine nature with the First, but not the Second generated from the First, because this would infer a superior excellency in the First, and undeify ; and alleges that the terms of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are merely relative to the economy of redemption. The Synod and classes, or both, took him to task for this, and condemned him of heterodoxy, and marked the sentence in their books. He applied to the magistrates, who sent one of their public body, who commanded them to raze the sentence out of their books, or he would do it for them, which they accordingly were obliged to do. I told the Doctor I wondered they did not rather suffer him to do it than do it themselves. He answered, it would possibly have been reckoned rebellion ; that the magistrates exercise such an absolute authority that the ministers are entirely dispirited, and dare not flinch from their orders. These Roelists and Cocceians hate one another as much as they do the Voetians ; and it is come to such a pass, that indeed the magistrates need not fear them. The Roelists pretend to a stricter morality than the other, and I hear have some private societies for

prayer. The Cocceians are far more numerous through the Provinces than the Voetians. In all the Dutch Churches they use trine aspersion in baptism. The Walloon Synod is composed of all the French ministers in the Provinces, and so resembles our Assembly. I may possibly have given you an indistinct and unjust account of Mr Roel's articles; but hope to give you a fuller and better after I have conversed himself, and read his theses. He has a good number of proselytes among his scholars."

This, Sir, is the melancholy account, *verbatim*, of the Dutch Churches, which I had of Mr Tough. May God give another spirit to the churches abroad, and our own at home; else a few revolutions of years shall find them as much synagogues of Satan, as those from whom they so justly separated. God preserve the discipline of our Churches; for when that is slackened, apostacy quickly follows it. But, alas! with us, also, it sinks apace. O that we may pray more fervently for them and ourselves, "Wilt thou not revive us again, that thy people may rejoice in thee?" I have nothing to send you worth while on the head of patronages; for I dropt all thoughts of that subject when I saw there was no design to ease us of that plagued grievance, in a controversy wherein men's peculiar interest is concerned, in which case, arguments as clear as the sun are of no weight; though I speak not this to discourage the performance. As to the paper anent toleration, I wish the Colonel or you should send me your mind about it, and the rather that though the principles advanced in it were my thoughts when I wrote it, yet I cannot dissemble, but I have some hesitation about some of them since, though I own my arguments for them are much stronger to me than my objections against them. Pray write to me as frequently as you can. I design to write to Mr Tough next week. If you have any thing in answer in which I can serve you, communicate it to, yours,

WILLIAM WRIGHT.

LETTER CIV.

THE JACOBITES.—FEARFUL PROGNOSTICATIONS.

To Mr James Trail, Minister at Montrose.

Feb. 27, 1718.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—Our common friend comes out to me this day with yours of the 19th, which he had by post yesternight at Glasgow ; and since yours coming under his cover, I am willing my short return come under his to you again ; and after this I'll be glad you direct immediately for me, to the care of the postmaster at Glasgow ; not that I am unwilling he see any thing you send, yea, I'll communicate with him whatever you order me ; but it will come the sooner to hand than when it goes about by Hamilton.

You'll just do as to the letter concerning the state of your bounds as you find fittest. If the original copy be sent by post, if it be not too bulky to come that way, I shall very soon return it ; and if you can get a copy it will be very welcome. I long to have the full account of the Jacobites' projects you give me some ground to hope for shortly.

I return you my kindest thanks for your communicating what you know of a new projected rebellion ;¹ and had it been with fewer

¹ " I found, not above four months ago, that there is a new rebellion designed to be supported by a power from Sweden and Spain, with the secret allowance or connivance of France. I wrote of it then both to ministers and others both at Edinburgh and London ; but nothing of it was believed till of late, that they find some intelligence from abroad agreeing with what I told them, and the Court is fully apprised of it, as you may see by the armament and late proclamation ; for again, about a month ago, I sent up to a Member of Parliament a large account of what the Jacobites are projecting, and of the assurances they have from abroad, and other things which I find answered by the actions of the government. I wish the Lord may prepare us for a new and more severe trial, and prevent the fatal consequences of it ; nay, and prolong our peace yet a while ; for I can assure you, that without some remarkable interposition of heaven, all Britain and Ireland will be swimming with blood before the

apologies it had been so much the more kind. I have accounts from several other places of the extraordinary stirrings of the Jacobites, and their elevation, especially since our wrath-like divisions at Court.

It was a little after harvest that I was both fretted, vexed, and alarmed, with an account I had, when the bird was flown, and no reaching him, of a Highlandman who came into a country house in a neighbour parish, in habit mean enough, and got lodging. There happened to be a Highland servant in the house, and according to their clannish way, in some few hours they turned very big; and next day when he went off he took out a pock, as she says, which would have held a peck of meal, full of letters, and told her he was come from their King, and he would be here, against May or summer next; and was going to their friends in the Highlands, that they might make ready for him. This the servant discovered that day to a sister of hers in great concern, but too late; for some days passed before it came to my hand.

When our unhappy divisions broke out in a flame, (which, by a line from your brother William, I find some in that country take for a politick, but if so, it is from hell and Rome,) my fears increased; and now your distinct account of matters heightens all to me. I have not yet much time to reflect on things, sending my answer with our friend. We have been supporting one another with things of which we are not good judges:—The good terms Spain and King George are in, and how much it will be against the Regent's interest, who appears no great bigot to any religion, to connive at such a design, with the late accounts we have of Sweden's being off his former projects and on a new lay.

These are all guesses, and scarce so much, and moral prognostics in our case, for dreadful judgments, I own, do more than outbalance them; and to these, indeed, I have no answer, but what for my share I tremble to misapply, and I fear we have too little observed

latter end of May. The project is laid; the executioners, both officers and soldiers, listed and ready, upon the signal, to cut off the friends of the government in the three kingdoms all in one night, at least, so many of them as they can."—*Rev. James Trail to Wodrow.*)

it, and I am sure far less improved it, Hosea viii. 2,¹ "I will not pour out the fierceness of my wrath; for I am God and not man."

I am ready enough to hope that our Jacobites do magnify matters, and all they can to support one another in their wickedness; especially now that they have so promising a game from our own divisions. And I cannot but wonder that the government, whom you seem to apprehend are apprised of our danger, do not think fit to take other measures, that they are disbanding the guards, and none of our Parliament men come down, when some of them have posts where their presence is necessary.

But if the Lord be to send us to the furnace, our sins are great enough to provoke him to infatuate us, and leave us to our own counsels. However, dear brother, let us be still at our proper work, that when he comes we may be found so doing, and essay to keep up our trembling confidence in Scotland's God, who, I hope, will not make an utter end, but correct in measure.

All the improvement I can make of your accounts is to stir up myself, and any of God's praying remnant I have access to, to stand in the gap, and earnestly to beg you may not despond, nor faint under your many damps. I know your soul is among fierce lions, and I assure you, you want not some here who allow themselves to bear burden with you, and get leave to do it. I fear the Lord has a peculiar controversy with the West of Scotland, and we may come as soon to feel the fruit of sin as you. However, we are in God's hands, and let us still venture our all upon him.

I have some letters lately from New England and Holland, which I must defer till my next. Only let me beseech you, by our friendship, to write as soon as possible again with all freedom; and to write as frequently as may be. Let us, at least while we may, have the satisfaction of unbosoming ourselves one to another. Great grace be with you! I am, yours most affectionately.

¹ It should have been Hosea xi. 9.

LETTER CV.

PROGNOSTICATIONS.

*Dr Cotton Mather to Wodrow.*¹

Boston, N. England, 4 d. 10 m. 1717.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,—It is impossible for me to express how much you oblige me by your large and sweet communications ; or how much I am ashamed that I make such mean returns. But your goodness will be still communicative, and you will accept of my weak endeavours.

I now tender to your acceptance a few more of our little treatises, which are what have been published since my last writing to you about half a year ago.

I promise myself that our incomparable friend, my Lord of Pollock, will honour some of them so far as to look into them ; at least into our MALACHI, when you will see what my poor thoughts are about the Kingdom of God which is coming on ; the nature of it, and the true method of serving it.

My brethren in the Frederician University² are not the only great

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xx. No. 12.

² This was a famous University, founded by Frederic I., King of Prussia, and opened in 1694 ; hence the name it bears. "The University," says Dr Cotton Mather, "is under the government of five Professors, Dr Franckius, Dr Breithaupt, Dr Antonius, Dr Michaelis, Dr Langius ; and is one of the most flourishing in the world, having in it more than three thousand students, resorting from all parts of Europe unto it. Here still piety is the main concern, and the students are not sent forth with testimonials, until it appear, by lively symptoms upon them, that they know what it is to live to God, and by the faith of the Son of God, and to hate all sin, and alight this world, and are diligent redeemers of time, and have a soul reconciled unto low and mean circumstances here, and an heart set upon the doing of good, and willing to be at any pains for it ; and have nothing so much at heart as to serve the kingdom of God in the world." (Wodrow MSS. 8vo, vol. xi. No. 8.) This University was united to that of Wittemberg, in 1815, and the institution thus formed is called *The United Frederic University of Halle-Wittemberg*. The Theology taught at this

men whom God stirs up to labour in the design of our MALACHI; but great will be the army of them; and anon you will see Joel's prophecy accomplished.

The strong tendencies which there are in several nations to hang millstones about the neck of Popery, by the principles of the Reformation appearing more and more evident, and reasonable and necessary to them, and to unite good men upon the basis of true, real, vital piety, give me hopes that 1716 will yet be found a term of ruin unto the Romish Babylon.

Our little country affords little matter of intelligence and entertainment for you. 'Tis possible something or other may pass for such that you may find in the packet now before you.

My aged parent, who, at the age of 79, edifies the people of God with wonderful performances, would be remembered with you.

May our glorious Lord continue you a rich blessing to his people, and bless the work of your hands; his work in your hands; and at last bestow a crown of life upon you.—I am, Sir, your most affectionate brother and servant,

CO. MATHER.

LETTER CVI.

TENDENCIES.—NATURAL HISTORY.—SAD STATE OF MATTERS IN SCOTLAND.

*To the Very Rev. and learned Cotton Mather, Doctor of Divinity,
and Minister of the Gospel at Boston.*

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—Your most obliging letter of the 4th day of the 10th month came to my hand some weeks ago, with the

University for a long time was in strict accordance with the views of the first Reformers, although the religious sentiments of some of the Professors inclined to Mysticism; but now Neology, which has long been, and still is, the curse of Germany, has here its chief seat.

valuable packet of what you published since the last time I had the favour of hearing from you.

I have still reckoned it one of my greatest happinesses of this kind, that you admitted me to the honour and advantage of corresponding with you ; and it's under a very deep blush that I compare the valuable presents, and edifying letters you are so kind as to send me, with the insignificant returns I am in case to make. Certainly nothing but your extreme condescension and goodness prevails with you to continue to take notice of any thing I can send you. And upon this I must still presume, and plead the continuance of so very great a favour.

Your "Malachi," with its companions, were most acceptable to my Lord Pollock, who returned to his country-seat here some weeks ago, entered into his 70th year, and is very much refreshed with yours to me, and gives his kindest respects to your venerable parent and yourself. He is much weakened through his close and conscientious application to the business of the nation, and I fear we shall in some little time, may it be late ! be deprived of this excellent person.

It rejoices my spirit to find your hope still continuing that anon we shall see Joel's prophecy accomplished. I remember about the 1713, or thereby, you assured me Obadiah his prophecy was near to its execution upon the Highfliers ; and in part we have seen it verified. And the great thing we want after such wonderful deliverances, you have so graphically described in your *Token for Good*, is the down-pouring of the Spirit from high. May it be hastened ! O ! why do the chariot wheels of our Lord tarry ?

The tendencies in Popish countries to shake off the yoke of Popery are indeed very remarkable ; and we have strange accounts from France, which I persuade myself you have from better hands than mine. Sometimes it's damping to me, that [though] at the appearance of Jansenius there was no small stir, and the appearances of a break of the day there, yet all was stopped by politics, which I wish may not be the event of the present commotions there.

I have presumed once more to pay my duty to your reverend and excellent parent, and inclosed it in yours.

Some years ago I had the pleasure of reading, in the Transactions of the Royal Society, some extracts of your letters, 1712 and 13, to Dr Woodward, in whom I presume to have some interest, and Mr Waller; which, indeed, raised my appetite rather than satisfied it; and I don't know how, but till this time it still escaped me to write to you anent some of them, of which larger accounts would be extremely satisfying. Some things pointed at there I think I met with in your excellent *Magnalia*, and your father's *Essay on Remarkable Providences*. But such is my Athenian temper, that I covet much to have many of the things, of which we have but scanty accounts, from yourself, when leisure allows. It is my loss and that of many others, that we have not the full copies of your valuable letters, referred to in that short abstract.

Next to the things accompanying salvation, I have been for some time wishing earnestly for some account of remarkable providences, and, next to these, the wonders of God in his works, as we call them, of nature; the hints at the *macula maternæ*; the particular discoveries made in dreams, which the publisher of the abstract of your letters very much overlooks; the Indians' knowledge of some constellations by the names we use, before the accession of any European knowledge; your peculiar method of finding out the Julian period; and your ingenious hypothesis of adventitious fowls removing to some undiscovered satellites of our earth, are subjects I would be most fond to have larger hints of, but am ashamed to ask them.

And especially the inscription on a rock at Taunton, in unknown characters, that seem hieroglyphical, and of a kin to the Chinese, with your later remarkables of Nature and Providence. I have for some time been much endeared to natural history, and the wonders of our God in his works of creation and providence, and take both to be a noble ~~subject~~ and accessory to our more important studies.

It is high time I should come to give you some hint of matters

with us ; and it is but a very melancholy account I can offer in many respects. We have mismanaged our wonderful deliverances, and forgotten God's wonders at the sea, even the Red Sea. Iniquity abounds, and the love of many waxeth cold ; unheard of provocations abound in this country, these five or six months past ; a flood of impurity and whoredoms prevails in city and country ; and since I wrote last, there have fallen out, in and about our neighbouring city, eight or ten murders and attempts that way, and blood toucheth blood in a frequency we have known nothing of since the Reformation. Satan is come down in great wrath. O, may his time be short !

All societies among us almost are miserably torn ; and the anger of the Lord hath divided us. We are biting and devouring one another, and like to be consumed one of another. In our neighbouring city of Glasgow, where, since the Revolution, unity and harmony, and consequently vital religion, flourished, now heat and strife, and every evil work, abound. The University is split and broken ; the magistrates and ministers are at present in no good terms ; and in other societies through this nation we are but too much in the same circumstances ; and what of this sin and shame is in our most elevated societies no doubt you have the melancholy accounts.

These open a door for new attempts of our enemies, and the Jacobites have taken new life from these favourable symptoms as to them. Multitudes of them are returned from abroad, and they are meditating new disturbances ; and the clemency of the government is so far from moving them, that the rebels are more uppish than before their last attempt.

Such things among us call aloud for your sympathy and prayers ; and it's for this end I lay before you what otherwise I would choose to draw a veil over. I know we have had your deep concern when formerly brought low for our iniquity, and now we need it as much as ever.

Dear Sir, I rejoice matters are in better bearing among you. May the kingdom of our Lord be upon the growing hand, and may the accounts you shall be in case to send support me and others

under our sorrows here ! May the Lord preserve you long for eminent services, and strengthen you more and more for them !

I'll presume to hope you'll take all occasions which offer to this country, and oblige me with as large notices of matters with you, and communications from your learned and extensive correspondence, and favour me with the productions of Boston, from time to time. Meanwhile, believe that I am, Rev. and very Dear Sir, your very much obliged, and most affectionate brother and servant,

R. W. .

April 8, 1718.

LETTER CVII.

APPLICATION FOR ADVICE AND SYMPATHY.

To the Very Reverend and Venerable Mr Increase Mather, Minister of the Gospel, Boston.

[Dr INCREASE MATHER was born at Dorchester, New England, in 1637 or 1638. Richard Mather, his father, was a native of Lancashire, England, and after completing his education at Brazen Nose College, in Oxford, he became minister and schoolmaster at Toxteth Park in Lancashire. But in the year 1634, after having preached there for fifteen years, he was suspended for non-conformity. This determined him, like many others of his countrymen, to remove with his family to New England. He arrived there August 17, 1635, and next year was chosen minister of an Independent congregation at Dorchester, in which he laboured with eminent success until his death, which took place, April 23, 1689. "He was a man of exemplary life and conversation, a good scholar, and a plain, solid, practical preacher." (*Neal's History of New England*, vol. i. pp. 163, 385.) Increase was educated at Harvard College, and took his degree of B.A. in 1656. He then sailed for England, and thence went to Ireland, and having entered himself a student in Trinity College, he there acquired much reputation as a scholar, and took his degree of A.M. in 1658. Returning to England, he officiated for some time as minister at Torrington in Devonshire ; but, upon the passing of the

Act of Uniformity in 1662, as he was of non-conforming principles, he embarked for New England, and was chosen to the pastoral charge of the North Church in Boston. He was soon after united in marriage to a daughter of the Rev. John Cotton of Boston, whose non-conformity brought him to America. In 1684, he was appointed President of Harvard College. The duties of this important office he discharged for many years with credit to himself, and advantage to the institution. When King James' declaration for liberty of conscience in 1687 was published, some of the ministers of New England and their congregations agreed upon addresses of thanks to his Majesty, and appointed Dr Mather to present them. For this purpose he embarked for England, April 7, 1688. He was there at the time of the Revolution, and was consulted by the new government on the political affairs of New England. On his return, the General Court of the Provinces expressed their approbation of his industry and zeal in behalf of their country, and appointed a day of solemn thanksgiving for his safe arrival. In November the same year, the College of Harvard conferred on him the degree of D.D.—(*Neal's History of New England*, vol. ii. pp. 114, 421.)—Dr Mather died in 1723, at the age of 85. He was a man eminent for his goodness as well as his extensive learning, and was much esteemed by his countrymen for his valuable services, both to the church and commonwealth. Having lived to an advanced age, he had witnessed in New England a great change to the worse, in respect of religion and morality. "I am now," [1721,] says he, "in the 83d year of my age; and having had an opportunity to converse with the first planters of this country, and having been for sixty-five years a preacher of the Gospel, I cannot but be in the disposition of those ancient men who had seen the foundation of the first house, and wept with a loud voice to see what a change the work of the temple had upon it. I wish it were no other than the weakness of Horace's old man, the *Laudator temporis acti*, when I complain there is a grievous decay of piety in the land, and a leaving the first love, and that the beauties of holiness are not to be seen as once they were; and the very interest of New England seems to be changed from a religious to a worldly one. Oh! that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears."—(*Gillies's Historical Collections*, vol. ii. p. 19.) Dr Increase Mather was the author of many theological works; of which his son, Dr Cotton Mather, who wrote his life, gives a list of above 80.—ED.]

VERY REV. SIR,—It was with a great deal of pleasure, that by your son, the Doctor's last kind letter, I find you are yet labouring

in our Lord's vineyard, and bringing forth much fruit in your old age; and I could not but once more presume to acquaint you how much I take myself to be indebted to our common Lord, for his preserving in his Churches such old disciples and faithful ministers, who have seen the glory of the former house, as you, through grace, are.

And besides the valuable blessing which is in this providence to the dear Churches of New England, I have now for several years, since I had the honour of writing to you and your son, promised myself a share in your prayers, and sympathy for me and mine.

I should take it as a peculiar favour to have another line from you, with your directions and advices, and your ripe and mature thought upon the present appearances of Providence as to the Reformation, and the state of things through all the Protestant Churches, and your hopes of the coming kingdom of our Lord, before you get to heaven.

We have many melancholy appearances among us in this country; and as to these I have in part unbosomed myself in mine to your son, I could add much to you. In short, serious piety among us is under a sensible cloud; and our God is in a great measure removed from us. O! importune him to return, with healing under his wings! The controversy betwixt the Bishop of Bangor and his adversaries is what hath made much noise, and is like to make more in our neighbouring nation. And as the Bishop's opposers are sensibly inclining to some of the worst parts of Popery; so, amidst many excellent advances in favours of liberty, and against persecution, I am mightily apprehensive the Bishop's tenets flow from, or incline to, libertinism, and smell rank, to me, of the author of the Rights of the Christian Church. No doubt, you have the papers *pro* and *con.*, and I would most willingly have your sentiments upon it. I hear likewise Whiston's abominable heresy spreads mightily in England.

But I fear I may be consuming your valuable time, which you employ so well; and must break off, with my earnest requests that your comfort and usefulness may be as the path of the just, still

growing more and more, until the perfect day ; that you may be long a burning and shining light. It will be a great comfort to me to hear from you while you are able. Any thing you have published since your last valuable present, of which you have doubles by you, will be most acceptable ; and if you'll lay your commands upon me, as to any thing in the country wherein I can serve you, you'll extremely oblige me. I am, Rev. and very Dear Sir, your most humble, and very much obliged,

R. W.

April 8, 1718.

LETTER CVIII.

PRIVATE BAPTISMS.—POPULAR ELECTION.

The Rev. Benjamin Colman to Wodrow.¹

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—It was a great pleasure to me to receive lately the kind letter to me, which you sent under cover to Dr Mather, wherein you are pleased to take notice of the note which I sent to the Doctor, in answer to what he wrote to me upon Mr Erskine's marriage ; but you take no notice, Sir, of the letter which I wrote to you myself upon that matter, which I hope is since come to your hands. There is this happiness, however, to me, under the infelicity of having a hand in that sudden action, that it has brought me into this correspondence with yourself, and the knowledge of Colonel Erskine's character, whose name is endeared to me exceedingly, and I esteem him as a common father to us in you. Such is the communion of saints and Churches in each other's interests, and such I account the interest of all the reformed Churches, to be in

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xx. No. 13.

the welfare of the Church of Scotland, who are the bulwark of pure reformed religion, in my poor judgment, and, therefore, having my first and highest reverence, and my prayers to God for his gracious defence and protection; as the Church of England claims, and by their power may have the honour to be the bulwark of the name of the Reformation. It is with great satisfaction that I receive the notice you give me of the comfort which that excellent lady, the mother of Mr Erskine, has received by my letter; and the improvement I shall here make of it is, to charge Mrs Erskine here to seek the grace and help of God, whereby she may answer and excel the character I have given of her, lest it turn to my reproach in her failing of it; which God forbid. I have lately baptized Mr Erskine's son, whom he has named John; he presented himself in public, with a solemn recognition of his baptismal covenant, and covenant dedication of himself unto the Lord for ever; which we did not do until both I and my dear colleague, Mr Cooper, had been with him more than once each of us, and received his professions, after our best exhortations and charges, of his being serious and solemn with the heart-searching God therein.

A brother-in-law of his, who is gone over to the Church of England here, had infused into Mr Erskine some prejudices against us, that he must come into a particular and congregational Church covenant in order to the baptism of his child; but I easily satisfied Mr Erskine that it was never practised in our Assem[bly,] for we are entirely upon the Presbyterian foot, so far as our lot among congregational churches will admit of it; with whom we live in entire communion and fellowship, and they with us. At the same time it grieves me, Sir, to hear that public baptisms are so rare in North Britain, as I hear they be, from Messrs Kilmure and Holmes, gentlemen lately arrived here. When I passed four years at London and Bath, about 18 years ago, it was a great trouble to me that their baptisms were generally in private. But I little thought that the Church of Scotland would suffer so great an irregularity in her members. Surely baptism was ever intended by our glorious Lord, except in cases of necessity and mercy, to be in the public

congregation, for the greater glory to his name, the more open and explicit confession of him, the edification of others, remembering them of their baptismal bonds, &c.; and I am heartily thankful to God that we have no such custom as private baptism prevailing here. Certainly where I have seen it, 'tis from the dominion of the gentlewomen, to whom we allow no share in the government of the Church. I trust, Sir, you will pardon me this freedom, and set me right if I am misinformed or misjudge. It is another happiness in our Churches that we know nothing of patronage; but our good people choose their own pastors. Yet in this, too, there is a different practice among us. In most of the Churches those only are admitted to the first choice who are in full communion, members admitted to the Lord's Table. But as these are usually the most accomplished, in respect of knowledge and piety, they choose well ordinarily for their neighbours. After the Church has chosen, the congregation meet and join with them, and the person is not chosen at last, if the majority of the whole do not carry it for him. But Boston is exempted from this act; and in Boston we are the only Church, where the congregation, that is, all that are of virtuous conversation and fame, assemble for the first choice.

I can add nothing to the accounts you have had from Dr Mather of the state of religion among us. The College has been and is the singular blessing of God unto the land. The happy token of the divine favour is the worthy young ministers that rise thence; who come forth wonderfully gifted and spirited for the service of Christ and souls. We have five such now in Boston, Mr Sewell, Mr Webb, Mr Prince, Mr Cooper, Mr Foxcroft. They promise, under the continued presence and influence of the Divine Spirit, to equal their predecessors in holiness, and to outshine them in the brightness of ministerial gifts. For any further account of our country, I enclose a printed one, which was first in manuscript presented to the King in the German language, and to the Prince and Princess; to my Lord Chancellor, Lord Chief-Justice and others, as they have it but in manuscript, and has been well accepted.

I thank you, Sir, for the sermon you sent me, and have presumed

to put up a few for you in a small packet I commit to Mr Erskine's care, which, [as they] should have received [them] before, please then to present from me to some of our beloved and reverend brethren in Glasgow.

Sir, I pray the Lord to own you much, and continue you long in his work ; and am, your much obliged and most affectionate brother,

BENJAMIN COLMAN.

Boston, N. E. Dec. 9, 1717.

LETTER CIX.

PRIVATE BAPTISM.—PATRONAGE.

To the Rev. Mr Benjamin Colman, Minister of the Gospel at Boston.

REV. DEAR SIR,—With great satisfaction I receive yours of the 9th of December, transmitted by Mr Erskine to me, and it's with grief I perceive your former to me hath lost its way ; for nothing ever came to my hand but the note Dr Mather sent me, else I had not failed to have acknowledged it.

Mr Erskine's marriage is, through the blessing of God, and your kind care of and advice to him and his wife, like to prove a real blessing to him, however hasty he was in the choice ; so in the event it hath been the occasion of what I hope shall be of great benefit to me, your acquaintance and kind correspondence, which with the utmost pleasure I embrace, and shall ever value.

There is too much reason, in one place or two, for the accounts [which] have been given you of the infrequency of public baptism among us. In Edinburgh, I mean, there is a scandalous compliance with a custom, I don't know how, come down to us from the South, of baptizing the infants of most people of fashion in their houses. And this method is crept in too much at Glasgow, our neigh-

banning city. In the first named place our brethren go entirely into the habit, and have brought themselves to no small toil, under which I sympathize very little with them. In Glasgow, our brethren stand firmly out against this innovation, and baptize no children but in the Church, or at public teaching; however, some ministers come in from the country, and do it in private houses.

Except in these two cities, we know nothing of private baptism through this National Church, we have witnessed against since the Reformation; and since the Revolution we have a standing Act of Assembly against it, which I am sorry is in any measure disregarded. The great pretext some make use of for complying is, that if we refuse to baptize in families, people will go to the tolerated party, and the excommunicate Episcopal clergy, and leave our communion. But really, by our compliance with their humours, we have brought this yoke upon ourselves, and had we all stood our ground, there had been no hazard this way; but many times we raise difficulties, and then turn them over into arguments against plain duty.

I am sorry to add, that we have yet a greater irregularity among us than even these private baptisms, and that is, especially in cities, parents are not dealt with in private, and admonished and exhorted, before they be admitted to present their children; and ministers in our principal towns know not who are to be admitted to that solemn ordinance, till their name be given up after sermon is over. This is quite wrong, and what I have been regretting for several years. Our sponsors are what I cannot away with, when parents, mediate or immediate, can be had. But enough of this. I hope it will raise your sympathy with us, and accent your prayers for us.

You have reason to be very thankful to God for the free choice the Christian people among you yet enjoy, with respect to their pastors. When we had this before the miserable turn of affairs 1710, I cannot say we improved it as we should. There were parties and combinations, sometimes of the heritors and people of rank upon the meaner people in a parish; and sometimes the last would

oppose a worthy intrant, because people of sense were pleased with him: Yet I must say these were but rare; but now, if the Lord open not a door of relief, we are in the utmost hazard of a corrupt ministry; and our noblemen and gentlemen, members of the British Parliament, being all patrons, we are in the worst case possible when our judges are parties. For several years I have had very little, save general accounts, of the state of religion in the dear Churches in New England from my worthy friend Dr Mather. His correspondence is very extensive, and I reckon myself extremely in his debt for the short hints he favours me with, and the notices he refers me to in some of his printed sermons. But I earnestly beg you'll favour me with every thing you'll please to think, were you here, and I at Boston, you would wish to know—the success of the Gospel, the state of real vital religion, the number of your Churches, the progress of Christianity among the Indians, the order and method of teaching in the College, the number of students, remarkable Providences, conversions, and answers of prayer, and multitudes of other things I need not name. And let me know wherein I can satisfy you in any thing relative to this Church, and I shall not be wanting, as far as my information goes, to give you the state of matters with us.

I bless the Lord with all my heart, for the new set of worthy young ministers God is sending to his vineyard among you. It's certain[ly] one of the greatest tokens for good you can possibly have. I thank you for the printed account you sent me, a copy of which, in manuscript, I had sent me from London about a year and a half ago, with a letter which came along with it, to your friends at London; whereat, with pleasure, I observe my dear brother Colman's hand.

Please to accept of my most hearty thanks for the valuable sermons you send me. I have read them with delight, and, should I speak my sentiments of them, perhaps you would suspect me of flattery; and I shall only pray that there may be a blessing upon them, and upon your further labours in the pulpit and press. I had none of them before; but I take care to communicate what of

this kind I receive to my dear brethren in the neighbourhood. And you'll favour me very much, if you send me any other thing which the dear author of them has published, whereof you have doubles; and any other remarkable things published at Boston, save what my dear friend Dr Mather publishes, which he favours me with, and what comes from his venerable parent. Any thing, either practical, polemical, or historical, will be most welcome here.

Since my last, I mind very little published in this country, unless it be the three letters I, with this, send you, designed against a set of people which withdraw from our communion, because of the ministers their taking and holding communion with such as have taken the Oath of Abjuration. I beg you'll let me know wherein I can serve you in this country, and you'll please to accept of my kindest returns for your kindness to Mr Erskine and his family. I doubt not you'll continue your kind offices to them.

I have very lamentable accounts of the prevalency of Cocceianism and Roel's opinions in Holland, and from France of the affair of the Constitution, its being turned to a politick. But I doubt not you have better accounts of these matters than I can pretend to. I beg you'll miss no occasion you have coming to Scotland without giving me the pleasure of hearing from you; and you may expect the like from, Reverend and very Dear Brother, your very much obliged, and most affectionate brother and servant,

R. W.

April 8, 1718.

LETTER CX.

THE PRINTING OF WODROW'S HISTORY.

To the Rev. Mr John Brown, Minister at Abercorn.¹

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I thank you for yours of the 5th instant. Your remark upon the bettering of my style in my History, I fear, flows only from your being a little more used to the solecisms of it than you were when you read the first book. I am fully sensible my style will never answer the taste of this age.

Your overture as to a meeting in the time of the Assembly I heartily go into, and what you suggest are matters which will need consideration, and many other things beside these. I'll be fond to see you and Mr Kid, and any others you think proper to advise with at the Assembly, as to this matter. If the Lord will, I design to be at the Assembly. I have little prospect of any meeting at Glasgow 'twixt and then; but I'll speak with such as I think are in case to give advice.

I am very far from being fond to publish this work; and when I have made all the corrections and amendments sent me by my friends, perhaps I am more sensible of the deficiencies of it than

¹ Mr John Brown was settled at Abercorn in 1700, and died in 1743. Mr Brown was "a clear and faithful preacher of the Gospel;" and, along with other evangelical ministers of his day, did what he could to resist the legal strain of preaching, then beginning to prevail in the Church of Scotland, and to maintain the purity of Gospel truth. "His Church, at sacramental solemnities, was the resort of the most serious Christians around. He published a sermon on Christian Fear, and another on the Song of the Redeemed."—(*Brown's Gospel Truth*, p. 5.) He has had a regular succession of descendants in the ministry to the present day. His son, James, was first settled minister of Melrose, and afterwards translated to Haddo's Hole Church, Edinburgh. His grandson, James, was first settled minister of Newburn, was translated to Newbattle, and died in 1812. His great-grandsons are the Rev. Robert Brown, presently minister of Largo, and the Rev. John Tod Brown, minister of Dunfermline.

any of them. I have some peace, after all my toil and labour, that so much is now put together upon the head of our sufferings, and that I have not been wanting, according to my small ability, to give a beginning to this work, and bring it to some shape, in which I very much yet doubt if it be proper it appear in public.

It will be very bulky, and yet I know not well how to shorten it. The charges of printing will be great, and even subscriptions are but uncertain; and though they will do well enough for the first volume that is printed, yet, when the imperfections and defects appear to the world, little can be promised upon the following volumes. I have not been sparing in some charges already, before it's brought this length, and I do not grudge them, neither will I grudge more, providing my family come not in the issue to be wronged, which I don't see I am called to.

It will be necessary we have our thoughts upon proposals, that printers be talked with, and the charges brought to some bearing; and in all these I shall be under the conduct of such who know them best. I have delayed the transcribing of the first book, which will swell to a volume as large as the last, till I come in in May, and a few months after that will do it, if the Lord give me health; and were it fit for printing, I could easily, I think, finish the rest as fast as they can be called for. But, indeed, there are many difficulties in the way.

However, as I have dip't into this work not from my own choice, but at the desire of others, and, when I have gone through it, see more faults than my friends have been pleased to see, I shall not allow myself to be my sole determiner, but take the best advice I can have, and after balancing all, look after what appears to be the call of Providence, and follow what I can discover to be most for the glory of God and the public interest; to which I humbly desire to dedicate myself and my poor all; and am, with my respects to Philipstown and Mr. Kid, to whom you'll please to communicate this, Reverend dear Brother, yours most affectionately,

Eastwood, April 8, 1718.

LETTER CXI.

LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1718.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 1.

May 15, 1718.

MY DEAREST PEGGY,—I come to give you some account of what is fallen out since my last, which, indeed, is not very remarkable. Yesterday we had an excellent sermon by Mr Mitchell, from Acts xx. 24, "If so be I may finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of Christ, to testify the Gospel of the grace of God;" a most seasonable sermon for ministers. When the Assembly met, the Moderator, Mr Mitchell, made a proposal to save some time to the Assembly, that the commissions being however to be referred to a committee, the Assembly's time needed not be spent in reading them, but only the names read in the Assembly of the persons in commission. It was gone into, and the clerks read the names. I find many are not satisfied with this; and I am not of opinion it will be done again, because it may have ill consequences that persons vote before their commissions be read. Then Mr Wishart was chosen Moderator, Mr Chambers, Mr Clark, and Mr Rodgers, were on the list. Mr Clark² made a speech which set the House a laughing;—that he did not expect the *chair*, and would lose his *seat*; and, since they were not to make him Moderator, they might allow him to be *Clerk*, and that he was staged for

¹ Letter to Wodrow, vol. xiii. Nos. 28, 30.

² Mr James Clark was one of the ministers of Glasgow, and author of "Just and Sober Remarks on some Parts and Passages of the Overtures concerning Kirk-Sessions," 1720. "My colleague, the Rev. Mr James Clark," says Mr Anderson of Glasgow, formerly of Dumbarton, "suffers very heavily on this head. He is an old-world man, that is, one who prefers the dictates of his conscience to worldly considerations. Mr Clark is among the eldest ministers of the Church of Scotland; and has made the discipline one great part of his study."—(*Letters upon the Overtures*, p. 9, 10.)

error, and therefore was not to be on the leet.¹ Then the King's Letter, just in the ordinary style, was read, and the Commissioner's speech and the Moderator's, which were in common course. Then the committees were appointed as ordinary.

I do not find so many commissioners for burghs as we expected. There are only five or six more than formerly, which are mostly from the west country. I mind little news; but Spain is not yet like to enter into the measures proposed.

LETTER CXII.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 2.

May 17, 1718.

MY DEAREST,—Yesterday the Answer to the King's Letter passed the Assembly without any alteration. All runs in common form. Synod books were given to revise, as in ordinary. Our litigious processes are long in coming in to the Bills, who have sat twice, and nothing is tabled before them, each one inclining to be last, that the pulse of the Assembly may be known before their business come. A recommendation was made by the Assembly yesterday, that the business be tabled, that is, to come in in a day or two, otherwise the committee is to receive none. Every body seems uncertain what turn Glasgow business is to take. Strong solicitations are made on all sides, and open tables, it's said, kept, seven in number. Whether it be so, I know not; but these methods are very unsavoury. I mind little more done by the Assembly.

This day I have yours by post. I am in a perfect hurry, and know not what to say. I am divided 'twixt natural affection and business. I bless the Lord you have your father and mother with you, and I would fain be with you, and my heart is with you,

¹ Mr Clark seems to have been in the humour for punning; but it is difficult to make out exactly the point of the jests.

and I would fain haste home. If you find it proper to send an express, send in the horses. But I jealousy, [suspect,] if the Lord take him away, it will be so sudden, as I can scarce come home in time to see him.¹ However, he and you want not my most earnest supplications here. But whatever may be easiest to you, that do. I shall write next post, or after that, when the horses come in.

William is very well, and bids tell my father that he has been inquiring for Sir Walter Pringle, and he is not in town. Sir David Dalrymple is out of the kingdom. My dearest, the Lord support you and preserve the child, if it be his will; if not, I hope he will receive him to himself. Let your mother write, if your eyes be the worse; but pray one of you write every post. I am in a hurry in the midst of a committee.

LETTER CXIII.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 3.

MY DEAREST,—Yesterday Principal Stirling lectured on Psalm lxxxv., and preached upon Col. i. 18, *Christ's headship over the Church*. He touched the supremacy of the civil magistrate, and refuted it, and signified, that though the magistrate had a very great power *about* ecclesiastical matters, according to our Confession of Faith, (upon which he enlarged, and gave some compliments to the King and Commissioner in common style,) yet the magistrate's supremacy was found to be so near Popery, and only the change of the Pope, that when at the happy Revolution we cast out that, it was found necessary likewise to rescind the iniquitous laws made in the late times about the magistrate's supremacy. Mr Wilkie of Uphall preached in the afternoon upon 1 John iv. 8, and handled our *loving one another, because God is love*, very sweetly. Upon Tues-

¹ One of his children had taken ill in his absence.

day, on Wednesday, Glasgow affair will be before the Assembly. Last post Sir T. Parker, now Lord Parker, is Chancellor, and Sir John Pratt in his post, both staunch Whigs, and upon the Dissenters' side. We are told that the hopes of a reconciliation are reviving; that the Princess is often at Court; that the Duke of Devonshire, and the Duke of Kingston, have been some hours with the King in private. It will be a great mercy if the Lord send it!!

(This day the Committee of Bills were upon the affair of Glasgow,³ and transmitted it in the forenoon. In the afternoon the Assembly met, and passed the overture for a fund to ministers, widows and orphans into an act; it was unanimously voted, which I am heartily glad of, but it needs further ripening before it can be put in execution. Another act was passed to shorten the work of the Assembly, that all appeals should be brought up and tabled before the Bills, within three days after the Assembly sit down, otherwise they are not to be received. Then some private petitions came in; and the affair of Glasgow was tabled. The Bills sent it in with this overture, that first the concurrence, and then the transportation, and then the complaint, should be considered. The parties were heard, wherein heat enough appeared, and they got a reprimand for crying out for a vote, before one member of the Assembly was heard upon the transmission. At length, it being agreed to that the concurrence should first come in, the debate, whether the complaint or transportation should first be heard, was delayed till the concurrence was determined. Then the reasons of appeal from the sentence about the concurrence were read, and the Synod's answers, where there were some unguarded expressions, particularly "masked friends." However, Mr Scot and Mr Gray asserted there were some facts [statements] which were untruths, advanced in the answers of the Synod, which raised heat, and after nine at night the matter was adjourned till to-morrow.

¹ Between the King and his son, the Prince of Wales.

³ This refers to the transportation of the Rev. Mr Anderson of Dumbarton to Glasgow, which was opposed by the ministers of that city, on the ground of the mode of his election, which introduced the question of General and Particular Kirk-Sessions, afterwards the subject of much discussion. — (*See Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 35.)

May 20.—This day the Assembly meets at nine, and I fear I shall not have time to write any thing almost, for I never saw such a throng and heat as was yesternight in the house, and probably they shall be little better this day. This day the Assembly sat from nine to three, and the affair of the concurrence was tabled. The papers were read, and parties heard. I was put out of the house as a party, being in the Synod; so I can give no account of the reasonings, only the Assembly came to this, to appoint a committee to inspect the registers, whether the General or Special Session were callers. Mr. Flint, Professor Haddow, and Mr. Alston. In short, this is reckoned an agreement very unfavourable for the magistrates; whether it will be so, I don't know; but the ministers seem to be easier than before, when our Synod are put out. The town, indeed, have none to speak in the Assembly, which is their great loss.

LETTER CXIV.

Wodrow to Mrs. Wodrow; No. 4.

Edinburgh, May 21, 1718.

MY DEAREST,—This day has been one of the throngest and the closest sitting I have ever seen in the Assembly. I told you in my last that a committee was appointed to search records as to what was the use of the town of Glasgow in calls. The house was full, expecting the answer of the Committee at nine; but, we were hauled; and so the Commission book came in, which was approved, with a reserve as to Mr. Ninian Hume's business, and another against which a complaint was given in to the Bills. Then Carnwath Committee made their report. The case is, one Mr. Scot, a probationer, has been presented to Carnwath. The Presbytery of Lanark went on in his trials; and, with a struggle, approved the different branches of his trials; but when they came to the disputes, they demurred,

and came to be equal in votes, and the moderator refused to cast it, because he was absent at several parts of the trials, and could not judge. They say the young man is none of the greatest abilities, and the people are not so much for him, and his call scrimp; and it's alleged this aversion comes from the Presbytery. So the Assembly pretty unanimously voted that the Assembly [Presbytery] should go on and settle him; and if any difficulty cast up, the Commission should be empowered to settle him, or see to his settlement there.

In the afternoon, the report of the Committee anent the usage of Glasgow in calls came in, which made it plain there was but one session there till the 49, [1649,] and when the model was framed, the calls till the 60 [1660] were from the great or general session; and since the Revolution, the practice was still that the general session consented and chose, as well as the particular session. The parties were heard at full length upon that head. And then we had four or five hours of close and handsome reasoning upon the power of general and particular sessions. Upon the one side it was urged, that the practice was various; that the liberties of the Christian people were concerned in preserving the power of the particular session; that in Mr Anderson's case, both the particular and general session concurred. Upon the other side it was argued, that by the stated rule and model in Glasgow, the general session had the power of election; that the passage in the records that seemed to carry another sense was to be understood of money matters, and any other explication would destroy the text; that the question was not, whether both in this case were not for Mr Anderson, but whether a call, which plainly bears the concurrence of the general session, and would be a rule now in time to come, in all calls in burghs, should be concurred with; and that when it was directly contrary to the liberties of the people, which were safer in burghs, from the votes of the general session and magistracy, than of the particular session and magistracy; that the Synod had gone on in this case before Mr Anderson's case as to the letter was considered, though desired. In short, the reasonings generally ran for

the ministers, and for one session in a collegiate life. And the Books of Discipline were cast up, and every thing which could be said on that head. And, indeed, the town of Edinburgh is as much concerned in this cause as to their elections as Glasgow. After long reasonings, the proposal was made, that a committee should be appointed to regulate elections in burghs, and assert the power of the people and eldership, and state the power of particular and general sessions, and obviate the hazard from imposition from ministers. This was reckoned a delator, and opposed, and the vote stated, Commit or Not, and it carried Not, by seven votes. This is reckoned a trying vote, and much elevates the magistrates. Then they approved of our Synod's concurrence with the call. After all, I doubt if Mr Anderson be transported; but now a little time will clear this.

May 22.—Two of the clock this forenoon the Assembly entered upon Mr Anderson's affair; and, after losing two hours in a debate, whether to enter on the complaint or transportation first, they resolved to read all papers, and then determine as they found cause. This is a turn favourable to the ministers.

I have not time to read this.

LETTER CXV.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 5.

May 23, 1718.

MY DEAREST,—Yesterday afternoon the Assembly spent from four to ten in reading the impertinently long answers and replies to them, concerning the complaint about Mr Anderson. Had the length of the papers been known, I doubt little but the Assembly had gone in to the motion for reading only what related to the doctrinal propositions. But now all is through. Pardovan's answer to

what relates to him was moved to be read, but nobody had patience to think on that. Mr S. [Stuart,] by the draught of this paper, has done no service to the cause in the opinion of some; and the lifelessness and length of the paper quite wearied the hearers, and I am of opinion gave but very ordinary impressions of the persons in whose name it came; at least it put me quite out of humour.

Upon Friday the 24th, the Assembly met at ten, and sat till near three, on the same business. The reasons for transportation were read, and Dumbarton's answers, and Mr Anderson's speech, which, when he had read, as in the Synod, he added a few words to this purpose;—that he found he would not be able to speak what he would; that he could by no means go to Glasgow; that he was too old to enter into a flame, and did not love to be found, when his Master came, beating his [fellow] servants; that his reputation was endeavoured to be ruined; and that all he desired was to let him continue at Dumbarton a few weeks, till he made himself ready, and he would remove from the country, and go elsewhere, and no longer be a bone of contention. After all, the Assembly appointed a committee to converse with Mr Anderson and the Ministers of Glasgow, betwixt and their next meeting; Messrs Mitchell, Hamilton, Moncrieff, Alston, and the Solicitor, and Dr Dundas.

In the afternoon, about six, the Assembly met; and, till the committee returned, they fell on the nomination of the Commission, which was drawn up by the committee named a day or two since. The brethren from the Synod of Merse complained that a certain person in their bounds, (Mr Ramsay of Kelso,) who had been 15 years on the Commission, and for that cause had been left out by the three nominators of the Commission for that Synod, was put in without their knowledge; and one whom they had nominate, Mr Douglas, struck out, after he had been read in the committee. This made a terrible name in the house as ever I saw. The committee was called in, and the one side reasoned that the committee ought to keep by the list given in by the Synod; the other side urged that the committee had the nomination, and could alter the lists. The act of Assembly was read, and it appeared the commit-

tee had power to alter by that act; yet it seemed to be agreed to strike out that member who, in the meantime, was not named. But the Commissioner interposed only in private on the throne, signifying he was one of the King's Chaplains; and it was agreed that the Assembly had power to keep in or out, and he was kept in, and Mr Douglas added, I believe to be the last of the matter.

Then the Assembly fell upon Glasgow business, and, after long reasonings, till after ten at night, wherein the ministers were blamed, and Mr Anderson too, for their papers, and some appeared for the transportation, and others against it, the complaint and transportation were complexly considered; and it was agreed to make regulations and restrictions in time to come. The vote was stated, Transport or Not, and there were 72 Continues, and 86 Transports. When Mr Anderson was called in, he said it seemed impossible to him to obey the Assembly's sentence; but what he could not do actively, he was resolved to give passive obedience to; and begged that his Church might not be declared vacant till Martinmas, because he had some necessary business to do; and begged leave to bring in a bill for this to the Bills to-morrow; and then he would remove. I wish the consequences of this be good. I was still of opinion the Assembly would not have gone this length, and I find this vote will have larger consequences than I once thought of. The great thing that, in my opinion, carried it this way, was the impressions many had of the ministers of Glasgow, their having or assuming a power of imposing in the elections; and had this been removed by the Assembly's making regulations as to after elections, and guarding against extremities upon both hands, as was proposed and agreed to before-hand, but not observed, and these regulations read and heard before the vote, I am of opinion it would not have run this way.

This day, Saturday, the Assembly has been all day till five at night upon Mr Ninian Hume's business. A senseless debate fell in upon Non-jurants, which I was very sorry for. The Assembly was very thin, when the Commission was put out, though it was

only that sederunt which voted in Mr Hume's process ; some war in things passed ; but at length the Assembly unanimously approved of Mr Hume's deposition, save Mr Forbes, who voted Not, the last in the Assembly. I was sorry so many were silent, but the generality of the Non-jurors voted Approve. This day, the letters bear that the Princess is miscarried of a child. I wish the accounts of the reconciliation we have hold.

LETTER CXVI.

WODROW'S HISTORY OF THE SUFFERINGS.

To James Fraser, Esq., Register of Chelsea College.¹

SIR,—It's with the greatest pleasure that I reflect on the benefit of your conversation yesternight, and I regret I have had so little time to wait on you.

When I look through my closet, I am heartily sorry I have so few of the volumes of the History of our Sufferings at present by me. Unluckily, I find the last volume, which you tell me you had

¹ "Another literary friend," says Dr Burns, "with whom Mr Wodrow particularly consulted regarding his History, was the learned and amiable Dr James Fraser of London, formerly of Aberdeen, and so well known as the liberal patron of King's College and University in that city."—"Few Scotsmen in London, I mean in private life, have ever had more in their power in this respect [bringing Wodrow's work into public notice] than Dr Fraser. His talents and varied accomplishments, and polite manners, united with liberality of sentiment and most correct moral deportment, combined with favourable local circumstances to introduce him to the society of some of the first men of the age, and to render him a favourite at the court of George I."—"Dr Fraser had the honour of presenting copies of the work to their Majesties and the Prince and Princess of Wales. These were most graciously received ; and the King, to whom the work was dedicated, generously ordered L.105 sterling to be given to the author in token of his cordial approbation."—(*Memoir of Wodrow*, prefixed to his History, pp. xi. xii.)

from Philipstown, and I have only the first volume, and not so exact a copy as I could wish.

This History of the first six years of the Black period I have undertaken is but my first draught of it, before I got access to the Registers and Records; and I design this winter to write it over, and cast in my additions from the Records and other papers come to my hand since my writing of it, which will swell it to double its bulk. You see what freedom I use with you in sending this rude and first draught.

To supply this defect as much as is now in my power, I have ordered my servant to call for two other volumes from two of my friends at Glasgow, who have them, and if they be at home he will deliver them to you with this. I shall be heartily sorry if they be not in town; I hope they shall, that I may have the pleasure of your looking over as much of this History as possible when you are in Scotland.

The goodness of the design, and necessity of something of this nature, I know, make my friends too much overlook my faults in the composure. But the more freedom they use in allowing me their corrections, amendments, and additions, as to matter, method, and style, the greater service they do, I say not to me, but to the design; and you'll oblige me much if you'll dash down any thing that offers, upon your running through it.

I am not yet of opinion any thing that flows from my country pen will answer the English taste, and the niceness of the palate of this age; and though I sometimes have the vanity to think there has no such collection of materials, as to the barbarities of the two brothers' reigns, come to any one person's hand as this I have scraped together, yet nobody is more sensible of the Scotticisms, defects of the style, than I am; and sometimes I am really grieved this important work has fallen among my hands.

When you come back to Edinburgh, you'll please to leave these three volumes with Dr Dundas, and if he happen to be out of town, with Nicol Spence, or Mr Webster. If you shall not have time to favour me with a line by post till you return to London,

please to desire any of them to acquaint me by post, and I'll cause some sure hand call for them. When you please to honour me with your letters, direct for Mr Robert Wodrow, Minister of the Gospel at Eastwood, to the care of the Postmaster at Glasgow; and when I have the pleasure of hearing from you upon your return, you'll please to allow me your address.

I cannot but blush to offer a correspondence with one of your merit; but your frankness and obliging kindness have tempted me; and if any thing in my small collections of papers relative to our History can be of any use to you, you must, without any ceremony, command me and them.

You'll please to consider whether it may be proper in a preface, introduction, or some such thing, to drop a word of the sixty thousand committed to gaol in England, and of the project of King James to expose our holy reformation, from the instances of Protestants worrying and butchering one another.¹ In this and other things that may be proper to be added, I shall be entirely under your direction.

If I be deprived of waiting on you this afternoon, by necessary avocations, I'll regret it exceedingly, and it can only be made up by your kind communications afterwards. By this time you'll see what a troublesome correspondent you have got. Pray give my most hearty thanks to Philipstown for bringing me into your acquaintance; and believe me to be, Dear Sir, your most affectionate and very humble servant.

July 25, 1718.

¹ This refers to the account of a conversation introduced by Wodrow into the preface of his first volume, as received from "a worthy friend of mine," (probably Dr Fraser,) relating to the offer made by King James VII. of a sum of money to Mr Jeremiah White, for his collection of all who had suffered for non-conformity by the penal laws in England, but which Mr White refused, suspecting his design to be to extenuate the Popish persecution, as stated above.

LETTER CXVII.

ABJURATION.—NEWS FROM IRELAND.—MR CRAWFORD.

To Mr William Wright, Minister of Kilmarnock.

[Mr WRIGHT was settled at Kilmarnock, second charge, in 1700, was translated to the first charge in 1711, and died in 1724.—“ In the beginning of this month, (July, 1724,) this Church, and particularly thir bounds, sustained a great loss by the death of Mr William Wright, minister of Kilmarnock, pretty suddenly. He had preached on the Monday at Dreghorn, and died on the Saturday morning. He was a man of great integrity and considerable learning; an excellent preacher; of strong passions, but of great piety and painfulness. He printed his *Heptarchus* at the Union, and a Paper against Calder, and some things upon the Overtures, where he acted and spoke as informed from his acquaintances at Glasgow.”—*Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. v. p. 36.—ED.]

DEAR BROTHER,—I had yours of the 27th, which was most acceptable. Church politics are what I never much dealt in, and the longer I see them the less I am in love with them. What I know anent the oath is, in short, it is given out that it will be imposed next session of Parliament; and after many conferences betwixt the brethren who have taken the Allegiance and Assurance, and our brethren Jurants at Edinburgh, who are extremely fond of an accommodation, as they say, there came forth, in the end of August last, an Address, which you will see the copy of at Glasgow, from the Non-jurors to the next Commission, wherein, after a long regret of our lamentable circumstances from our differences, we are to supplicate the Commission to interpose with the government, that the oath may be dropped; and if that cannot be done, that the relative clause be taken out, and the penalties be changed, the nar-

rative altered, and the logical lie, realms, dignities, and some other phrases, be helped.

This Address is proposed to be signed by all in our circumstances ; and the leading Jurants have promised to deal with their brethren against the Commission, to condescend to have it read and transmitted to the government, under a cover from the Moderator ; but I don't find any recommendation is to go along with it.

This is all I know about this matter. I don't well know what to think of this proposal. I would run into any thing that would help to cement us among ourselves. This Address, I am told, had its rise from Mr Mitchell and the Jurors, and it's all a matter to me from whom it came. Our brethren at Edinburgh, who have taken the Allegiance and Assurance, are very fond of it. It is said, the signing of this Address will promote harmony among ourselves, than which there is nothing I would be more fond of ; and if the Commission would go into it, and judicially recommend it to the government, I would think it would be of some service, especially to such as have their scruple from the relative clause. But when that is dropped, I jealousy the second article of the union, or some other choaking pill, be brought in. I am persuaded that such as signed the Address sent up to the King by Mr Guethart will have no difficulty as to this ; and if the relative clause which stumbles so many were dropt, and the other alterations made, unless some new choakings be cast in, I do not doubt but the most part of the Non-jurors may be brought into it. And if this tend to the healing our rent in the Church, though some out-of-the-way brethren, like you and me, should be cast out, and be brought to suffer, providing the Church don't suffer, I hope to be easy. Whether the Squadron will come into these alterations I don't know ; the heat is very great betwixt them, and such as they call discontented and Agatholians ; and how far the state differences may make them be the harder upon us, I don't know. The vote of the last Assembly in Mr Anderson's case, and the idle sputter that was made in that unworthy man, Mr Ninian Hume's case, are attributed to Argyle's party, and it's alleged the Non-jurors fell in

with it, which is a mistake ; for some of our sentiments, and a good many too, were not for either of them ; and the Jurants themselves carried Mr Anderson to Glasgow. For my own share, I could wish this matter were let sleep. Our safety now, if ever, is to sit still ; and I fear this proposal be to be a handle to bring on the re-imposition by the Parliament, (I pray I may be forgiven if I be wrong,) and to prevent our application to our King and Parliament by one of our own number, which had very good effects the last time we sent up ; and our principles and practice were set in a fairer light in England than ever they had been.

In short, if the signing of this Address bind me down to take the oath when the alterations craved are made in it, I am not clear to sign it, because not free to swear with these alterations. If this Address be only to put respect on the Commission and our Jurant brethren, and bring in such of the Non-jurants as stick only at the relative clause, though matters should run the harder with those that are left out, for my share, I am come in to what may be for the general benefit and peace of the Church, go with me as it will, if I mistake not.

I thank you heartily for your accounts from Ireland.¹ It's a long time since I had melancholy apprehensions of matters there. There is a general spite against creeds and confessions spreading at this day through the Reformed Churches, and we are not free altogether in this Church. There is a cunning occasional paper

¹ " I had a line this week from Ireland, from Mr Francis Hutchison, that greatly affects me. His words are : ' I find by the conversation I have had with some ministers and comrades, that there is a perfect Hoadly mania among our younger ministers in the north ; and what is really ridiculous, it does not serve them to be of his principles ; but their pulpits are ringing with them, as if their hearers were all absolute princes going to impose tests and confessions in their several territories, and not a set of people entirely excluded from the smallest hand in the government any where, and entirely incapable of bearing any other part in persecution but [as] the sufferers. I have reason, however, to apprehend that the antipathy to confessions is upon some other grounds than a new spirit of charity. Dr Clarke's book, I'm sufficiently informed, has made several unfixed in their old principles, if not entirely altered them.' "

—(Wright to Wodrow.)

printed lately upon orthodoxy, which I fear do much hurt on this subject.

As to the affair of Kilwinning, I wish you had acquainted me with the scandalous intrigue you suspect.¹ I am perfectly a stranger to it, and shall be ever against such settlements. I communicate my mind as to Mr Crawford fully when the affair of Dreghorn was in hand, and I know nothing since but what is to his advantage. It is impossible to bring his people to fall in with him, and I really think a person of his abilities and bright parts is buried there, and might be very useful elsewhere. From his nearest neighbours I hear he is every day growing in his ministerial gifts. I gave Mr Chalmers my opinion about his character very fully; and I am of opinion if he can be settled at Kil[winning] without opposition, and in a Gospel way, he may answer that place and people very well. The blunder in settling him over the belly of the people of Inshinnan was an error of the first concoction, and is at bottom of all that has since followed. I opposed that to my utmost. If there be any intrigues that I know not of, I shall be as much against this settlement as any, and you'll oblige me in letting me know them. Mr Chalmers was complaining that several Kilwinning heritors at Edinburgh were neglected in this affair, which is wrong if true, and ought to be helped. I am, Dear Brother, yours most affectionately,

R. W.

Sept. 31, 1718.

¹ "Mr M. Crawford preached at Stevenson last Sabbath. I heard this minute from a parishioner of Kilwinning, that many are dissatisfied. I'm straitned about this affair, though I was frank for his going to Dreghorn. I'm afraid some scandalous intrigue lies at the bottom of this affair; and when I suspect any thing of that kind, I can in no case be a friend to such settlements. However, I'll not oppose his if it take."—(*Wright to Wodrow*).—Mr Crawford was the son of Wodrow's predecessor in Eastwood. He afterwards became Professor of Divinity and Ecclesiastical History in the University of Glasgow.

LETTER CXVIII.

PREVALENCE OF ARIANISM IN ENGLAND.—HOME NEWS.

To the Rev. George Chalmers, Principal of the Old College of Aberdeen, for present at London.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—Yours of the 4th instant came to my hand last post, and I would lose no time in making a return. You may believe I reckon myself very much in your debt for your accounts of matters in England;¹ and, in part, I accept of this as an equivalent for your breach of former resolutions to write to me; but you must not put me off with this. You know somewhat of my Athenian temper, and I hope you'll allow me one quarter of an hour, now and then, as frequently as possible. I know you will have work enough upon your hands when at London, and you

¹ "Our brethren here, in their sermons, preach much against error, particularly those of Arius and Socinus, which are too prevalent among all ranks; but that which particularly obliged them to make this resolve, was the account lately brought them from the West of England, that some of the Dissenting ministers there were led aside by such wicked errors. On the 17th last month, the ministers in that country assembled at Exeter, where the meeting was opened by an impudent sermon against Confessions of Faith, and limiting persons in matters of conscience; but though it was moved and urged that the preacher should have the thanks of the house, it was refused; and a more just proposal made, that, seeing there was so much ground to apprehend Arianism creeping in among them, it was needful each member should give a [declaration] of his faith concerning that article of the Trinity. This was warmly opposed, yet carried by a plurality; whereupon ten or twelve of them removed, but the rest, two or three only excepted, who kept silence, did one by one declare, that they believed there is but One only, the true and living God, and that the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit, is that one God; which account was transmitted by letters from some brethren to the ministers here, which I heard read, and gave them great satisfaction to find that truth prevailed. It was proposed that ministers here should give some public testimony against Arianism and Socinianism, but this was delayed till further consideration. Only it was thought expedient that ministers should preach against such errors, and guard their people against them."—*(Chalmers to Wodrow.)*

want not abundance of persons to write to; but allow me to claim some share in you also, and forget me not. Let me have one or two more upon the score of our old friendship, and as many as you please, to gratify the eldest minister of the Church of Scotland, who is with me, and as fond to hear from you as I am. He gives his dearest respects to you, and entreats you may write as frequently as possible.

I cannot enough lament the account you send me from Exeter. Whither are we going! So many ministers refusing to declare themselves against a heresy, which denies the Lord that bought us! This brings to my mind a passage I had a good many years ago:—A friend of mine at London was conversing with Mr Cunningham of Bloak, a little after King William's death, the first year of the late queen, when she made choice of a Tory ministry, and expressed his fears of our hazard from Popery. No! says the other, England, I hope, shall never be in much danger that way; the great thing I fear, from my small views and conversation, is, that Arianism turn rampant; and there is more of it working than we are aware of. This account came fresh in my mind upon the receipt of yours; and a letter from Ireland I had last week, a passage or two of which I'll transcribe. (*Vide alibi.*) I have been told that the late Bishop of Ely, whose chaplains Whiston and Clarke were, and Sir Isaac Newton, and others of a greater figure, were of these sentiments, and had corrupted multitudes. But it grieves me that that gangrene is got in among our brethren. The delay of giving a testimony makes me begin to fear there may be somewhat in the account I had, that Mr Peine, [Payne,] and some others at London, were in hazard to lean a little to that side. Pray send all your further accounts of that matter.

What will be the consequent of the appearance at Bristol,¹ I

¹ "The brethren who lately assembled at Bristol had under their consideration what was fit to be done for getting a redress to their grievances. Mr Upton, from Ireland, being there, urged that an essay should be made this Session of Parliament for the rescinding the test, corporation, occasional conformity, and schism acts. Some thought it not expedient to seek so much at once. However, the meeting agreed to the proposal, and that letters should be written to brethren in other counties to con-

know not. I am ready to think our enemies are as much at work as possible for them; and if their stirring would have any influence on friends, I would not be so afraid of enemies. Our brethren are really hardly dealt with; and I truly think the King is ill used by such who refuse to come in to remove the shameful restraints that lie on such numbers of his friends.

You write nothing of the thing which I would most willingly hear of, and, by your silence, I fear matters stand as they have done too long. I would willingly hear what people of intelligence are hoping for from the Pope's brief of separation, and how matters stand in France towards a reformation. I know many of the Jansenists are as violent persecutors, and as bigotted to Popery, except as to their own peculiarity, as any of the Jesuits; yet I would fain hope the Lord hath somewhat to bring out of this shaking in France. I saw a letter from a minister lately in England, which contained the best news I heard these many years, that serious practical religion was mightily upon the growing hand at London, and in other places, nay, even at Oxford; that the Dissenters were altering their method of general preaching in harangues, and preached much upon soul exercise. Pray let me know if the first part holds; it will, indeed, be a bow in our cloud.

It's time I should give you some account of matters with us. Our Synod had little or nothing before them. We deposed, *ne mine contradicente*, Mr Stewart. When he came in he offered a protest, but did not appeal, and gave us abundance of ill words. Our collection for Pennsylvania came to upwards of 5000 merks. As to the affair you and I were talking about at Edinburgh, anent the addressing the commission anent the oath, &c., I hear there were letters to some ministers from brethren at Edinburgh in your circumstances, and we had the copy of the address among us; and there are meetings of both judgments. But nothing at all was

cur with them, and that a deputy should be sent from each county in time of Parliament to agent this affair."—(*Chalmers to Wodrow.*)

done. It seemed to be the judgment of brethren of both sides, that it was safest to lie still and do nothing. I am of opinion this proposal will come to little; very few, as far as I can hear, either Jurants or Non-jurants, being satisfied, save our brethren at Edinburgh.

I mind nothing else that you will desire to know any thing of, save the affair of your successor, and it is come no great length I hear of. The patron had Mr C. [Crawford] lately at Stevenson, and heard him, and a good many of Kilwinning people were there; but the country stories and reports have taken such root, that I don't hear of any forwardness yet. I am told the patron, after some more patience, will push it. I wish all may end well. You will perhaps have larger accounts from others. I don't love to meddle in matters that lie out of my road. Mr Millar is settled at Kilmaurs.

Give my kindest respects to my dear friend, Colonel Erskine, and tell him I long much to hear from him, not having had one scrape these seven or eight months. Remember me most kindly to Mr Drummond; his friend and mine, Mr R. Stewart, has been here some weeks. I mind very little more from this place. You'll have heard of Mr Alexander Muir's death at Rugland. I suspect there may be heats in planting that place. The Town-council of Edinburgh have settled L.300 sterling on the Provost, and L.100 yearly upon each Bailie, out of the twopennies they have on their ale. The town of Glasgow, perhaps, will follow their example, and this will heighten parties and heats at elections. They say they have fixed Mr John Anderson chaplain to the Town-council. Upon Thursday last, in an open court, a complaint was tabled against James Loudon's letter to Mr James Ramsay, and the letter was read publicly; and a committee was appointed to call him before them, and consider what was proper to be done. This matter is like to draw deep, if pushed. I need not write of the [proceedings of] our Commission for Oyer and Terniner, nor of the proceedings of our Commission for visiting Glasgow College. No doubt, you have distinct accounts of them before this can reach you. I have

not yet read the last volume of Echard's History. If there be any misrepresentations of Scots affairs in it, I would gladly be informed, that, if they fall under the period I have among my hands, I may consider them. I have seen Mr Withers' remarks upon Walker's History of the Persecution.¹ If there be any other, you'll please to acquaint me, and of every thing that may be of use to me in my design. I hope, in a few months now, if the Lord will, to put an end to my toil in that work; but what to do next I am undetermined.

The oftener you write, you'll oblige me and the old man the more. I wonder there are no journals of books published at London. I would gladly hear the character of that monthly paper published by one Campbell, called *Mercurius Britannicus*. I have not seen it. Let me have all your accounts from the Republic of Letters, and other affairs. You take my intelligence to be much better than it is, for I have nothing save the public prints. I am, Rev. Dear Brother, yours most affectionately.

Eastwood, Oct. 13, 1718.

¹ The work of Walker was entitled, "An Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Number and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England, Heads of Colleges, Fellows, Scholars, &c., who were sequestered, harassed, &c., in the late times of the grand Rebellion; occasioned by the Ninth Chapter (now the Second Volume) of Dr Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Mr Baxter; together with an Examination of that Chapter. By John Walker, M.A., Rector of St Mary's the More, in Exeter, and some time Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, 1714." The motto on the title-page, supported by a quotation from Bishop Bramhall against Baxter, was:—"Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye, Matt. vii. 5." From this it is easy to conceive the temper in which the work was written. It procured him, however, as a reward, the degree of D.D. Mr Withers of Exeter wrote soon after some "Remarks on Dr Walker's late Preface to his Attempt," in which he vindicated the Whigs and Dissenters from the aspersion cast upon them in that production. Dr Calamy afterwards replied in "The Church and Dissenters compared as to Persecution, in some Remarks on Dr Walker's Attempt, 1719."—(*Life of Dr Calamy*, vol. ii. pp. 307, 308.)

LETTER CXIX.

WIDOWS' FUND.

To Mr James Trail, at Montrose.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 25th of September, and yours to our friend since that time. The accounts I have from you and others of matters, and the procedure of the Grand Juries before the Courts of Oyer and Terminer, give me a sad *vidimus* of the remaining spirit of disaffection to the Government. And I expect the Parliament will fall upon vigorous steps, when they have such discoveries laid before them, either by attainting the rebels, or fall on some other way to prevent their evil designs.

As to the business of the fund for ministers' widows, we are all in that gentleman's debt you write of, for his pains in this good work.¹ I understand the hint you give me of his scheme, and it falls in with a printed account I have by me of Dr Ashton's pro-

¹ "There is one thing I would acquaint you of, that I have considered the scheme laid down by the Assembly for raising a fund for ministers' widows, and find it will dwine to nothing, for all the centesimas in Scotland will but amount to 300 lb. Scots a-year at the highest, a very small thing; and though the centesimas be laid on from year to year, yet it will never make a sufficient fund to any purpose, as is plain, seeing the whole centesimas will not in all probability amount to 8000 merks a-year. But there is a gentleman here, [Mr James Cowan,] who is a hearty well-wisher to the Government, both of Church and State, who has, by a vast deal of pains and exactness in calculation, found out a way for giving to every man's widow L.10 sterling a-year, within two years after the subscriptions are paid in; and by the right management of the business, it will amount to L.20 sterling a-year, after twenty years time, or before it; and all the subscription that is desired is only L.30 sterling, and that 500 subscribers begin the work, if so many ministers can be found who will do it; or if not so many ministers, then that laymen be allowed to subscribe, and to have the benefit for their widows; but none such be allowed afterwards, but only ministers."—(*Mr Trail to Wodrow*, dated 25th Sept. 1718.)—Mr Cowan proposed to employ the fund raised in purchasing one of the estates forfeited by the Rebellion.—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xiii. No. 61.)

posal, fallen in with and under the management of the Company of Mercers, London, for the benefit of the widows of clergymen and others. At present I would be for encouraging both that gentleman and the Assembly's method for this great design. They are not inconsistent, and may both be needed.

You are under some mistake as to what you write of the insufficiency of the centesimas in Scotland ; for the proposal is not a hundred, but a tenth part of every stipend, which, at a slump reckoning of nine hundred ministers at 1000 merks per piece, comes to a fund of 90,000 merks, which, with what may be got from the King and well-disposed persons, and otherwise, may do somewhat, if well managed.

The gentleman's proposal runs quite on another foot than the Assembly's. His is upon chance and venture, like the fund at Venice and other places, where, if a man, at such an age, gives in a hundred pounds, after seven years he and his wife have a hundred pounds a-year during life. I am very satisfied this method be tried. For my share, I shall not be averse to it, and hope to influence some others to join when the matter is opened out, and the proposals brought to bear.

But the Assembly's proposal is merely upon the foot of charity and compassion. By all means let it go on and come to an experiment. Thus you have what offers on this head. As soon as it's proper, I'll be glad to have the proposals and particulars of the gentleman's scheme at full length, because I fancy he has improv'd upon the English method, and adapted it to our circumstances.

Pray send me a full account of matters with you. I thank you for Mr Weemys' letter on the state of your bounds to Mr Haddin. Let me hear of the state of the Jacobites, the rebels, their observation on the misgiving of the courts of Oyer and Terminer, the Pretender's marring the war with Spain, their hopes from the North, and impudence at home ; with all remarkable providences and occurrences with you, and what your Synod and that of Aberdeen and Murray had before them. We had little but the deposition of a villanous fellow, Mr James Stewart, not worth writing

about, and a proposal of dividing our Synod, which was not gone into, as unseasonable at this juncture. I am, yours most affectionately.

October 20, 1718.

LETTER CXX.

THE CASE OF MR DRUMMOND OF CRIEFF.

*The Rev. William Wilson to Wodrow.*¹

Perth, October 20, 1718.

REV. DEAR SIR,—After my sincerest respects to yourself, your spouse, and children, and all our dear friends with you, receive the following account of what passed at our Synod which met here last week.

The melancholy controversy about doctrinals is again revived amongst us with very much warmth, and if the Lord do not interpose remarkably, it may come to a very great height.

The occasion of the awakening of the controversy is this:—Mr Drummond, minister of Crieff, in a sermon at the admission of Mr David Shaw to Auchterarder, where some of the brethren of the Presbytery of Perth were present, had several expressions which gave very much offence to the brethren of Perth. They made a representation of this to the Presbytery of Perth, who advised them to discourse with Mr Drummond, in order to get satisfaction from him, and, at the same time, resolved unanimously that if Mr Drummond should not give satisfaction, that the Presbytery of Perth should have a brotherly conference with the Presbytery of Auchterarder for removing the offence. The brethren discoursed with Mr Drummond, but said they had not obtained satisfaction. The brethren of the two Presbyteries met together, and the Presbytery of Auchterarder told that some of their brethren were offended at

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xiii. No. 57.

some things in that sermon, and that they were begun to inquire into it. This satisfied the Presbytery of Perth; yet at privy censures in the Synod, the matter is tabled, and the Synod ordered the brethren offended, who heard that sermon, to give account of the expressions that stumbled them. They told several, such as, that there are no gospel precepts nor threatenings, faith and repentance are only commands of the law, &c.¹ After long reasoning, the Synod appointed the Presbytery of Auchterarder to go on in their begun inquiry, and they appointed the brethren of Perth to give information to the Presbytery of Auchterarder of what had offended them, if that Presbytery should think fit to require it from them; with this proviso, that they should not be held accusers, nor rejected from being witnesses upon the head of their information.²

Our Non-jurant brethren had a meeting about the affair of the Address. We had a brother from Fife at our meeting, who told us the brethren in Fife would do nothing till once they had advised with us; and, therefore, they desired a meeting of the Nons in

¹ Mr Warden of Gargunnoch gives a fuller account of the points found fault with in Mr Drummond's sermon. "At our privy censures, some represented that some brethren were offended at some things delivered in a sermon by Mr Drummond at Crieff, at Mr David Shaw's admission at Auchterarder. So far as I can mind, the particulars were, *1mo*, That it is unsound to assert the absolute necessity of new obedience, as a necessary *condition* to eternal life. This Mr Drummond positively denies he had. *2do*, That it is abominable doctrine to clog the Gospel offer with previous qualifications in the sinner. *3tio*, That he asserted the Gospel had no precepts. *4to*, That others had a right to Gospel blessings besides believers. *5to*, They alleged several contradictions in this admission sermon. The text was 1 Cor. ix. 16."—(*Warden's Letter to Wodrow*, dated October 21, 1718.)

² Of the future proceedings in this case, Mr Wilson gives an account in a letter to Wodrow, dated December 26, 1718. "I had almost forgot Auchterarder affair. That Presbytery have only met twice since the last Synod. At their first meeting, Mr Drummond's sermon was read before them. He was heard *viva voce* upon what they themselves quarrelled in his sermon, after which they declared themselves satisfied with his orthodoxy, but dissatisfied with some ways of expressing himself which he had used; and they appointed him to give in written answers unto these things they had excepted against, at their next Presbytery. Accordingly, at their last meeting, he gave in written answers, which, as I am informed, were for the most part dissatisfying. He has made the matter by them rather worse than better. The Presbytery have written to the offended brethren in Perth to come to their next meeting, when they are to be heard upon these things that offended them."

both Synods, at Kinross, the first Wednesday of November, for concerting joint measures. This was unanimously agreed to. I understand some in Fife demur about signing the Address, and so do several in our Synod. I shall be glad to hear what resolution our brethren with you have taken.

I am appointed to correspond with your April Synod, when I hope, if the Lord will, to see you. I must yet adjourn, till another time, the accounts about the boy in Errol. This is all from, Dear Sir, yours, with much affection, [WILLIAM WILSON.]

LETTER CXXI.

ABJURATION OATH.

To Mr John Warden, at Gargunnoch.

[Mr WARDEN was one of the most respectable ministers of his day. He was close in his application to study, assiduous in the discharge of his pastoral duties, and exemplary in private life. The manner of his preaching was impressive, and followed by no small measure of success. "Mr Warden," says Alexander Archibald, in 'An account of his own experience,' which has been several times printed, "in an Action Sermon from Isaiah lv. 2, 'Eat ye that which is good, and let your soul delight itself in fatness,' with great clearness and earnestness held forth Jesus Christ and his fulness, and our warrant as sinners to take him as our own. Trickling tears and eager looks marked the inward frame of almost every hearer. My heart was almost melted with the views of redeeming grace, and filled with joy unspeakable, and full of glory."—(*Brown's Gospel Truth*, p. 440.) Like some other noted preachers of the doctrine of free grace, upon which the leading men in the Church, at that period, looked with no friendly eye, Mr Warden was summoned to attend the Committee for purity of doctrine, to meet at Edinburgh about the beginning of April, 1720, to be examined on a book he had published on the Lord's Supper. The Committee, however, only found in it some errors of the press.—(*Account of Marrow Controversy in Christian Instructor*, vol.

xxx. pp. 546, 547.)—Mr Warden was at first considered on the side of the “Marrow Men,” and was invited to some of their meetings; but at length he joined in the proceedings against them. He was fond of management, and was solicitous to act as a mediator between the contending parties. With the view of effecting a reconciliation, he requested a correspondence with the Rev. Ralph Erskine, with whom he had formerly been in terms of intimate friendship; but the letters which passed between them were, in no degree, successful in accomplishing that object.—(*Fraser's Life of Ralph Erskine*, p. 175.)—Boston says of Mr Warden that he was “a man well seen in the doctrine of free grace, but of some vanity of temper.”—(*Memoirs*, p. 372.)—He was a Non-juror, and refused to swear the Abjuration Oath, even after the change of its form in 1719, which induced the greater number of scruplers to take it. Besides his work on the Lord's Supper, he published a treatise on Baptism. The former has been republished, and recommended by the late Drs Colquhoun and Ireland of Leith.—ED.]

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours, Oct. 21. As to the Address upon the Oath, I had the first accounts of it at Edinburgh in August, and gave my opinion that I much doubted if it would take, though I was of the mind that all who signed the Address sent up to Mr Gusthart would come into this. Our brethren at Edinburgh are persons of great worth and merit, and we are much indebted to them for the pains and trouble they are at about our common concerns. But their going in separately to the Allegiance and Assurance, which I do not at all judge them for, more than I do our brethren who have gone a greater length, and their signing the Address, wherein they declared their only difficulty was upon the relative clause. Several of our Jurant brethren attacked me upon the Address, which I had not then seen, and I found them very earnest. I hear they are changed since, and was told Mr Mitchell wrote to some of our Jurant brethren at our Synod to delay this matter a little. Accordingly, we found them coldrife, and we were so likewise, and nothing is done or to be done among us. I proposed several queries to our Jurant brethren,—what assurance they had the ministry would come into the alteration; what security they had no choaking clause would be cast in. They said they

would use their interest for both. I signified to our brethren Non-jurors, that I was apprehensive this was a politick to bring on a re-imposition at our application, and to prevent our sending any to court. They answered, a re-imposition was inevitable, and if we got our alterations by the Commission, it would be more healing. I wished they might not be disappointed, and matters continue as they are. I am, yours.

Oct. 28, [1718.]

LETTER CXXII.

PRINTING OF WODROW'S HISTORY.

To Colonel Erskine, at London.

MY DEAREST COLONEL,—I had yours of the 11th instant, by Shawfield, only yesterday, with the two memorials, which I have disposed of as you order.¹ By my last, I doubt not but you'll understand by this time, that I have all the assurances I can seek from my Lord Ross that he will appear for this church and you, in the affair of the Address to the Parliament. I see nothing can be added to your memorial upon that head in point of argument, and for my share, I can perceive no answers to what is advanced there, and it's my earnest wish it may have due weight with people concerned, and if it be not our own members who decline to appear for the interests of this church, that by their negligence and divisions prevent it, I have little doubt it will prevail among the English.

¹ Colonel Erskine having occasion to apply to Parliament with respect to some of his personal affairs, had scruples in acknowledging the civil places of the Bishops in the House of Lords. He presented to Parliament a memorial, in which he stated his opinions in this matter; having printed a number of copies, he transmitted two to Wodrow, one for himself, and the other for another friend. At the same time, he requests Wodrow to use his endeavours to prevail with Lord Ross to appear for the interest of the Church in this matter, and was anxious that the Commission, at their approaching meeting, should do something for obtaining redress to Presbyterians, with respect to it.—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xiii. No. 69.)

As to the Commission, I wrote before that my business at the term in receiving some money, and disposing it, would keep me from going in; and not being a member, and so not in case to do any thing there, I was not in. I have not yet heard one word from them, though I wrote to several; and, indeed, I very much doubt if any thing has been done. I wish I may be surprised with a disappointment. I keep much at home among my people, and about my toilsome work, and secretly bemoan our dwining, sinking condition. But, no doubt, you have distinct accounts of what is passed. My father-in-law, in the house with me, remembers you kindly, and is much pleased with your memorial.

I am longing to have worthy Mr Ridpath's answer to my last, which may come by post as soon as may be, and his scheme and remarks will be most welcome as soon as they can come. You will give my humble duty to Mr Frazer, who has better thoughts of me and what I have done than I deserve. I have some thoughts to write to him at this time, under Sir Robert Pollock's cover.

No time has been lost upon my part, as far as I can observe, as to the History, and I hope now, if the Lord preserve me, to end it by Candlemas. The first book is extremely swelled, near four times or more than it was; however, I am of opinion, with the introduction, which is entirely made up of Sharp's original letters to Mr Douglas and others, during his treachery, will be of as great use as any of it.

It will, I think, run to four or five sizeable octavos. I have advised with printers at Edinburgh, and proposed to print it in the letter and paper of Clarendon's History, or Prideaux Connection, and I find it will stand about 30 shillings a sheet, and nine shillings or ten for the paper, at a thousand copies. You may acquaint Mr Ridpath with this, and let me know what the sheets will stand at London, of the letter and paper of these, or of Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life.

If I can have any probable security I shall not be a loser, and can have subscriptions, I will be ready for any thing lies in my power to begin to print very soon. I have been at some charges,

as well as toil, which I do not grudge ; but don't think I am called to risk my family upon that score. I reckon the charges may be beyond six hundred pounds ; and subscriptions being uncertain for every volume, I am advised by some to try if I can get 500 subscribers at a guinea the piece, to be advanced, and the rest to be paid at the delivery of the complete book, which it's guessed may be about 30 or 35 shillings in sheets. I am flattered with a hundred signers at Glasgow, as many at Edinburgh, but I don't believe I can promise much on ministers this way.

Others propose that I join with this an allowance to others, who perhaps will not or cannot sign for a guinea, to give a crown at subscription, another at receipt of the first volume, another at the receipt of the second, and so on, in a running way. I am not yet come to determine myself what to do. Mr Ridpath will give me his mind in it.

I have nothing from the country. The candidates for the shire of Lanark are doing their utmost ; Sir James Stewart, the Laird of Stonebyres, and Lord Archibald Hamilton. It's said the court have signified their liking to the last, and that he will carry it. Sir James wants not hopes. Our differences at Glasgow are not over. I wish a new flame break not out about a communion. Pray give my service to Mr Chalmers, and tell him I have nothing worth his while to write, but complain of him for his forgetting his promise in his last to me of writing soon, and if he send me queries, I shall not fail to give him answers ; but nothing offers to me that I mind of. Tell Mr Frazer how fond I would be of hearing from him. I gave him the trouble of some things I wished he would write to me or in mine to him at Glasgow, and he'll oblige me much if by post he'll let me [know] what offers about them ; and every thing he pleaseth to suggest to me. Pray send me all accounts of the affair of the Dissenters, and of your own affair ; and allow me a pamphlet now and then. You will easily send them now in time of Parliament ; and believe me to be, Dear Sir, yours, in many ties.

Nov. 20. [1718.]

LETTER CXXIII.

PERIODICALS.

*To Sir Robert Pollock, Member of Parliament for North Britain,
at Oldman's Coffeehouse.*

[SIR ROBERT POLLOCK belonged to the family of Pollock of that Ilk, Mearns, Renfrewshire, without question among the most ancient families in Scotland. The ancient name was Pulloc. Sir Robert succeeded to his father's property upon his death, which took place in 1676. He was a member of the Scotch Parliament for the shire of Renfrew, and after the union of Scotland with England a member of the United Parliament. He was, by her Majesty Queen Anne, created a baronet in 1703, in consideration of the antiquity and flourishing condition of his family, of his many illustrious and faithful services to her government, of his fidelity and zeal in defending the reformed religion at the Revolution, and of his having, while bearing the King's Commission, been confined in the most barbarous and uncivilized places of the Highlands, during the space of nine months, because he would not renounce his allegiance to King William. He was twice married, first to Annabella, daughter of Sir George Maxwell of Nether Pollock, and, secondly, to Annabella, daughter of Walter Steuart of Pardovan.—(*Crauford's History of Renfrewshire*, pp. 38 and 292.)—ED.]

DEAR SIR,—I have presumed to send under a cover to you a letter to my friend, Colonel Erskine, whom I doubt not your servant will find. I have another favour to beg of you, and that is, that your servant, Robert Pollock, may buy for me the Present State of Europe, or the Historical and Political Mercury, for the month of October 1718. It's printed for H. Rhodes at the Star, near the corner of Bride Lane, Fleet Street; and Mercurius Politicus, or Monthly Observations on the Affairs of Great Britain, for the same month, printed for John Moir, near St Paul's; and Mercurius

Britannicus, being a collection of public intelligence for the month of October, by Walter Campbell, sold by William Boreham, at the Angel, in Paternoster Row; and a Letter from Edinburgh to Dr Sherlock, by Gilbert Dalrymple, printed for John Roberts, in Warwick Lane, and John Fox, in Westminster Hall. They are sixpence per piece, and if they be too large for a letter, he may halve them, or send a third part in one letter, and the rest in the following, under your cover. I shall communicate them with any friends here. I am very fond of the first, because I am [informed] it contains a full account of the affairs in France about the Constitution. And when the month of November comes out, he will be pleased to get it and send it, and keep account of their price, which I shall refund him. I am, Sir, yours, &c.

Nov. 20, 1718.

LETTER CXXIV.

WODROW'S HISTORY.—THE ABJURATION.

To Colonel Erskine, at London.

MY DEAREST COLONEL,—I have yours of the 6th, not till this day, by reason the post was stopt by the storm, and we had no London letters last post. I return my kindest respects to Mr Ridpath, and when his comes it will be most acceptable. I again wish he may see if any thing can be done about Lord Warriston's Diary; it's what I would give any thing for an extract of. If Mr Ridpath think fit, and if it may be proper or acceptable, I'll cause double over what account I have insert about my Lord Warriston, and send up to you under the Earl of Buchan's cover, or Sir Robert Pollock's, to be given to Mr Ridpath to communicate to Secretary Johnston. I doubled over what I had writt concerning the Earl of Argyle, and last summer communicate it to my Lord Ilay at

Edinburgh, who had a better opinion of it than it deserved. If it be acceptable, I'll cause double over that part concerning the excellent Marquis, and send it up direct to my Lord Ilay ; you may advertise me per post if I shall do this.

Pray give my dearest respects to Mr Frazer. I heartily allow of your communicating the volume you have of the History to him. He has by far too good thoughts of what I have done, and I know the necessity of the work brings my friends to overlook my escapes in style and twenty other things.

I am now near finishing the first book, which I perhaps told you before was swelled four times the bulk of what it was at first. But if I could think any part of the History might be acceptable when coming from such a hand as mine, I would be ready to think the first book will be the most acceptable, from the vast number of curious original papers in it, which, within these two years or less, I knew nothing of. I am fully satisfied of your readiness to do every thing for the encouragement of this work, but am not willing to have any of my friends put to charges upon my account. In February or March I design, if the Lord will, to come in to Edinburgh, and bring the matter to a close calcule with the printers, so as to form proposals, and if I can have such certain encouragement, so as in the event I shall not too far hazard my family, I will venture, if some unforeseen thing fall not in.

I thank you heartily for your news, and shall communicate them to C. C. and Mr B., and dispatch their letters to them next post. You'll receive by this the Captain's letter, which came to my hand last post. There is a ship come in from New England, and I have a letter from your son Patrick ; he writes of some books for you, and a letter, which are not come to my hand. My letter came by post, and on the back it's by Captain Crawford, of whom I can have no accounts. There is a gentleman here, Mr Dinwoody, a Glasgow man, who brought me letters from Dr Mather, but none from Patrick ; [he] desires me to acquaint you he goes about six weeks after this, and if you have any commands for your son he will bear them. He commends him much.

As to the matter of the oath, you will perhaps be surprised when I tell you the first account I had of the proceedings of the Commission was from yourself. Since that time I have nothing from any of our brethren at Edinburgh. I fancy they reckon me an unreasonable scrupler at the new form of the oath, though I have never made any noise in that matter, neither resolve to do till it be brought to my door, and if then I have no clearness to take it, I shall, through grace, patiently suffer. I gave it as my opinion in August, when this matter was a-framing, that I did not think it for the interest of this Church that a re-imposition should come by any application from us. I was of opinion that if this Church were let alone, in a very little time our unhappy rupture would come to nothing; whereas, if there were a re-imposition, the flame would break out afresh, and the world might say that our trouble came from ourselves. I was of opinion that the shape of the oath proposed, and now sent up, would satisfy a great number of such who had formerly declined to qualify, and take in by far the plurality of Non-jurors; and if this might tend to healing our breach, I should rejoice, though I and some others should be brought to suffer. Undoubtedly, such as had their difficulty from the reference to the acts establishing the English hierarchy must be satisfied with this new frame of the oath. But it will not relieve such who are of opinion, that by the oath they are bound down to approve of our united contribution. Such who are of opinion that any oath to the King has a reference to his coronation oath to us, and that an allegiance bears a necessary relation to the laws according to which the Sovereign is to rule, especially laws relative to the Church, in the case relative to a minister, and imports satisfaction with the present laws, and particularly those that concern Patronages, Toleration, and the Bishops sitting in our Supreme Courts, &c., which are known, and the allegiance refers to, if they have any view of its having any sense at all; I say, such as have these views cannot be relieved by this new form of the oath. No honest man can refuse to renounce, abjure, and show the utmost detestation at a Popish Pretender, and I think no sensible, real Protestant, can

have any hesitation as to our gracious King's just right and title to the crown, and to reign over us, or as to the subjection to him in every thing men and Christians are bound to by the moral law, and the commandment. But when a person is under the apprehension that there are iniquitous laws established, and that in matters of a very important nature, and that the measure of allegiance is the present law and constitution, and swearing allegiance is just a solemn promise of assisting the King and subjection to him, when ruling according to the present laws which are known, I don't see well what salve can be proposed to ease such an one, till these laws are removed.

How many there are who may be under these difficulties, I cannot say. I know several in this country, and in other places; and others have difficulties from the oath's not answering the end of its imposition, and its being really no test of loyalty, and, consequently, an useless imposition; and, least of all, a proper test for ministers, who pray every day oftener than once for King George, and have, and will appear, to their utmost for him in every case. And the praying for him being a plain Scripture command, and no wise a homologation of sinful laws, it's sufficient test, and more, at least as much, trying to the Episcopal Clergy, because before their hearers, than swearing; and I dare assert it, there is not an Episcopalian minister in Scotland, who prays for King George, but will swear allegiance to him, and take this oath; or, if they have any difficulty, it's only from the abjuration of the Pretender, which no Presbyterian minister I know of has any strait about. Others have difficulties from their people, and giving offence to them, who are not capable of being persuaded but that the oath involves a homologation of the Union, at least of patronages or the English ceremonies. I could name many other scruples, but I only point at [these,] to let you see the removal of the reference will not satisfy all; though I wish from my heart that such a form may be fallen upon as may remove all difficulties; though I don't see it. And, therefore, I wish the matter had been suffered to sleep, since I persuade myself

the government have no jealousy of the loyalty of Presbyterian Non-jurors. This I the rather wished, because, when once an oath is cast up in the British Parliament, God only knows what shape it may come out in, and how far the alterations made may straiten and difficult some ministers who have formerly sworn the oath, in their safe sense of the reference. Thus you have what offers to me on this head.

What numbers have signed the petition to the Commission, I do not know ; some call them seventy, some ninety. You know there were about a hundred subscribers of the Address sent up by Mr Gusthart, and I think, all who had clearness to sign that Address, if they act consequentially to themselves, should join in this present motion. I suppose the bulk of the signers of this petition are from Galloway and Dumfries, and Merse, and a good many in Lothian, and some in Fife, and from Angus. Our Synod, in October, found it best for us to lie still and do nothing till we were attacked ; and though several, if not the most part of the Non-jurors, will be much satisfied if the reference be removed, yet, to several, this will give no relief. A good many in Stirling and Perth are under the same difficulties, and several in Fife, and in the North country.

This is all I know upon the affair. God has wonderfully appeared hitherto in preserving this Church, and if the proposal from the Commission tend to the healing of our rent, I shall be very easy though I and others should suffer under a King they heartily love, and support, and pray for. If this proposal widen our breaches, which I pray God prevent, I have this satisfaction, I had no hand in it. I wish some have not been imposed upon in it, and I wish there be nothing of state and party politics, not to say resentment, at bottom. I pray God forgive any who do any thing to raise new flames among us. I am sure it's no service to the King, and in the issue will fall heavy somewhere.

Thus I have written to you the thoughts of my heart upon this matter. I pray the Lord may direct it, and wonderfully appear, as he has done more than once, in turning the hearts of the fathers to

the children. I beseech you write to me as soon, and as much as possible while at London, upon this and all other things agoing.—I am, my dearest Colonel, yours, most affectionately

Eastwood, Dec. 18, 1718.

LETTER CXXV.

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE AND ASSURANCE.

To Mr George Gillespie, Minister at Strathmiglo, to the care of Mr John Richardson, Merchant in Edinburgh, at his Lodgings, second story of the Western Turnpike of Robison's Land, Cowgate.

[MR GEORGE GILLESPIE was the son of the Rev. Robert Gillespie, who "was persecute from the day he was licensed until the day of his death, and that merely for preaching the Gospel, for he was neither at Pentland nor Bothwell-Bridge," (*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xii. No. 78;) and of whose imprisonment in the Bass, Wodrow gives some account in his History, (vol. ii. p. 223.) Wodrow had written to Mr George Gillespie, requesting the favour of a perusal of "some short notes written by Gillespie's father-in-law, Mr Gabriel Semple, [minister of Kirkpatrick-Durham,] of passages in his own life and some other occurrences," which he transmitted to Wodrow along with the letter to which this is a reply; and of which Wodrow availed himself in writing his History.—ED.]

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I had yours of the 13th of December, which was most acceptable. As to the draught you send me of what was done at Kinross,¹ I have considered the Allegiance and

¹ The Non-jurants of the Synods of Fife and Perth, at a meeting held in Kinross the 5th and 6th of November 1718, unanimously agreed upon a Declaration containing a form of Allegiance and Assurance, which they wished might be adopted, in case the re-imposing of the Abjuration Oath should prove altogether unavoidable; and they appointed several of their number to represent this at the meeting of the Non-jurants at Edinburgh, that, with their concurrence, they might lay it before the Commission at Edinburgh. The Address, mentioned p. 387, was presented to the Com-

Assurance really an abjuration, and doubt not, but could they have been carried through, they would have satisfied a good many who could not come in even to the Address sent up by Mr Gusthart. And now when the draught is refused or neglected by the Commission, perhaps it may be a new scruple to some, that so softening offers were thrown out when made. The *therefore*, in the middle of the Assurance, is either new, or I have not observed it in any other schemes I have seen, and seems to limit pretty much the support and maintenance of the Succession, precisely in opposition to the Pretender, and nobody else, which perhaps may be matter of objection to some. The clause, indeed, which follows in explication of the wide word *Protestants*, and maintaining us in our religion, and just rights and privileges, is what I imagine might remove the scruple of many of swearing to a succession; but I much doubt if our managers would suffer such a clause to be added, though most agreeable to Scripture, reason, and Revolution principles.

The memorandum at the end, I fancy, hath brought in my worthy friend Mr Hog to this draught.¹ And I do own, as I think once I hinted to you in conversation, when you pressed me upon this point, though I make very little noise about my difficulties, being jealous of myself, as it becomes me, especially when things straiten me, that I find my dear brethren, who live nearer God, and have much more reach than I, have few difficulties about, I own, I say, I wanted not my difficulties about a simple allegiance, in our present state; and my view of it is yet narrower than this memorandum, though granted, which I scarce expect does answer. I take allegiance ne-

mission by the brethren at Edinburgh, and the Declaration of Kinross was presented at the same time. The former was received and agreed to by the Commission, who ordered it to be recorded in their minutes, *ad longum*. The latter was received and read, but was only marked in their minutes as read, without any expression of its import.

¹ The form of the Allegiance was, "I, A. B., do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his Majesty King George. So help me God." The memorandum at the end was, "It's earnestly moved, the Commission would interpose, that the legislators would be pleased to declare for the further satisfaction of all, that they understand the Allegiance as qualified by the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the subjects."

cessarily to refer to the present laws known, and to import subjection to the Sovereign, ruling according to them, otherwise, I know not well what it's meaning is; and I need not enlarge on the difficulties which follow from this.

In October last, the Oath was before our Synod, and the matter referred to a Committee, one out of each Presbytery. We talked freely about it, and I observed none in that meeting, save Mr Linning, and he fell from it, very fond of the draught sent from Edinburgh; then the matter was remitted to Presbyteries to talk freely among themselves, and ours were all unanimous, that it was safest for us Non-jurants to lie still till attacked. This was the [judgment,] as far as I mind, of the rest of the Presbyteries, and we heard no more about it. I heard of a letter from Mr Mitchell to one of different practice from us, wishing this affair were delayed a little; which, if true, was posterior to our dropping of it, as I heard.

Last week, I ended the toilsome work of writing the History of the Sufferings I have been on these four or five years. I wish I may be under the Lord's conduct what to do next. I am sensible nothing that flows from my pen is fit for the public view. It's turned large, and will be chargeable, and subscriptions are uncertain. I have much need of sympathy, in order to conduct in this. I design to be in Edinburgh, if the Lord will, in March, and bring it to some point. I am, yours, most affectionately.

Eastwood, Jan. 12, 1719.

LETTER CXXVI.

BILL ABOUT THE ABJURATION OATH.

*Lord Ross to Wodrow.*¹

[WILLIAM LORD ROSS was the eldest son of Charles, eleventh Lord Ross, by Lady Grizel Cochrane, only daughter of William, first Earl of Dundonald. He was born about 1656, and took an opposite side

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xiv. No. 5.

in politics from his father, who was one of the Privy Council of Charles II., and Lieutenant-Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Guards. William succeeded his father in 1682. He was a zealous friend of the Revolution, and was made a member of the Privy Council, both under King William and Queen Anne. In 1704, he was her Majesty's High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Being friendly to the union of Scotland with England, he was one of the Peers nominated by her Majesty to treat on that subject in 1706. In 1715, he was chosen one of the sixteen representatives of the Scottish Peerage in Parliament, and appointed Lieutenant of the county of Renfrew that same year. He died on the 5th of March 1738, in the 82d year of his age.—(*Crawford's History of Renfrewshire*, pp. 56, 323; *Douglas' Peerage of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 421.)—ED.]

London, Jan. 9, 1719.

REV. SIR,—I had yours of the 26th past, with full account of the election of Clydesdale; for which I thank you. Whom the Commons will determine, time will show. Though the bill about the oath be not presented, yet I find it is drawn according to the desire of the Commission; so am surprised you wish it not, for fear of new flames. Yet the Moderator of the Commission writes to me, he believes all the ministers are agreed in what they desire. So I entreat, so soon as you receive this, you will let me know the grounds of your fears. God's Providence is working miracles for us, both at home and abroad; and if nothing will satisfy our ministers, but they will run from one excess to another, afraid, perhaps, to offend their people, into whom they have imprinted these notions, or to seem more strict; if this they do, they will discourage their best and firmest friends, who cannot hold up their faces to appear for unreasonable notions. I discoursed fully Colonel Erskine; he hopes few will refuse it; but I hope for good accounts from you; and lay out yourself for unity, as you would advance the peace of our Church. I shall buy you the Bishop of Bangor's book on the Sacramental Test. It's a pretty large book. I know not yet how to get it sent down. My humble service to all at Pollock. I am, Reverend Sir, your affectionate humble servant,

Ross.

The Commons sat yesternight till ten ; then the question put, Count or Not. The first carried by 42 votes. There were long, many, and hot speeches. Much said of the year 42, which makes it remarkable the vote carried 42.

LETTER CXXVII.

ABJURATION OATH.

To the Right Honourable my Lord Ross, at London.

MY LORD,—I have the honour of yours of the 9th instant, for which I return my most hearty thanks, and I am satisfied that my last came to hand.

At the close of it, I remember I did express my fears with respect to new flames in this Church, upon any new stir about the re-imposition of the Oaths. I thought I had expressed myself with all softness in this matter, and if I have erred in running to any excess upon it, I am heartily sorry for it ; but I thought only I had let a word fall upon it only by the by.

I own, my Lord, it was my opinion, and still is, till I see ground to alter it, that if matters were let alone among us, our miserable rents would very soon dwindle to nothing ; and if we that are ministers be not such fools as to mix in with parties in the State, and political differences which lie not in our road, we shall very soon be entirely one. When I say this, I hope your Lordship will not think I in the least mean we should not appear against the Pretender, and Jacobitism in all the shapes of it. I reckon he does not deserve the name of Protestant, and ought not to be in the holy office of the ministry, who will not renounce and declare, in the strongest terms, against the Popish Pretender, and all Papists whatsoever, their claim to any rule over these Reformed nations. And I know no Presbyterian minister in this Church, (if there be any, sure

I am they ought to be thrown out,) who do not in the greatest sincerity own and acknowledge our only rightful and lawful Sovereign, King George, and pray for him in secret and public, and bear all the love and regard for him that the best of kings deserve from the most loyal subjects. But the longer I live, the more I grow in the thoughts that ministers should closely mind their great work, and keep themselves at distance from all parties, save Protestants and Papists, and the friends of King George and his enemies.

For my own share, if my heart deceive me not, I have no other views before me but the peace and unity of this poor Church, from which if we swerve, we counteract the divine law and our great trust as ministers, and extremely weaken this Church, and sink her reputation in the eyes of such who wait for our halting. And I join heartily with your Lordship in blaming any who run to excess, affect strictness beyond others, or instil notions into their people which all their interest cannot remove again, and, as far as I am conscious to myself, I have still abhorred such courses.

Yet, my Lord, when I wrote last, and still, I cannot altogether get free of my fears, though I wish I may be mistaken of them. When once a bill is brought in in relation to our Church, I cannot help being afraid that some clause or other may be cast up, that may be choaking to several, even though at first the bill may be framed in the best way that friends can propose it. When the reference is taken out which so many stuck at, I cannot but be concerned lest something may be put in its room that may be straitening, not only to such who did not formerly qualify, but even to some who did take the oaths; and I have heard some of them say very publicly, that if the reference were removed, they would have a difficulty, because it was then an illimited oath.

Besides, in conversation, I have had occasion to observe several persons of great worth, and as firm friends to the government as in the kingdom, and no enthusiasts either, who want not their difficulties as to all public oaths in this degenerate age, as being no real tests of loyalty to the King and Government, and no proper marks of distinction 'twixt the King's friends and foes; neither necessary

from such who every day attest their loyalty by their hearty prayers for King George and his family; and I need not add, their thoughts of an unnecessary oath.

These, and many other things I have observed now these six years since our breaches began upon this head, too long to trouble you with, will lessen your Lordship's surprise that I was afraid of new flames, and in my own mind wished that there were no re-imposition, but our differences suffered to die away. I know the strait with relation to the Jacobite Non-jurors in the North, of the Episcopal way; but the difference is vast, and the laws we have against such who don't pray for King George *nominatim*, or if the laws be not plain, they may be made clearer, do effectually reach them; and there is not one among that set who will pray for his Majesty, but will take the oaths too, though that is not the case of the West and South, or of any Presbyterian Non-jurors I know of. My great ground of expressing my fears, in the event of re-imposition, was, that after I have considered the matter as far as I could, I did not perceive that form of an oath, but what would divide the real and hearty friends of the King in their practices, and so endanger the peace of the Church; while at present, as far as I can judge, if mixing in with different state parties don't prevent it, we are upon the point of healing among ourselves, and all differences will be buried.

I am very sensible, my Lord, how tender a point this is that I have presumed to write upon, and should not have ventured on it if your Lordship had not signified your desires, which shall still be commands upon me, to have full accounts from me on this head.

What the reverend Moderator of the Commission writes to your Lordship, that we are all agreed on the draught sent up from the Commission, I make no doubt, is according to the information he hath; and I do not doubt but the form sent up from the Commission will satisfy the greatest part of such who did not formerly qualify. And if this tend to the healing of the rent of this poor Church, as I am persuaded it's designed, I can say I am as heartily for it as any minister of the Church of Scotland; though some few

should be brought to hardships under a government they heartily love and bless God for. But I cannot go so far as to think we are all agreed in what is desired.

And your Lordship will bear with me, when I lay before you some matters of fact which I know are true, otherwise I would not presume to write them. There are about 90 or 100 who have signified their assent to what is sent up from the Commission; and your Lordship will remember that there were upwards of 300 formerly who did not qualify. You'll further notice, that all who signify their consent to what the Commission have sent up, expressly, and in so many words, desire there may be no re-imposition; but if there be one, that it may be in the manner proposed; and further, probably by this time your Lordship will know that another form of an oath was proposed to the Commission from a considerable number of ministers in Fife and Perth, met at Kinross, with some restrictions and explications, which the reverend Commission did not think fit to go into. And, as I think, I hinted to you, when I had last the honour to converse with your Lordship in October, we had what is now sent up by the Commission before our Synod at Glasgow; and all the Presbyteries considered it. As far as I know, it was the unanimous opinion of each Presbytery, that we should lie still, and make no application that might draw down new difficulties upon us; and, in our Presbytery, all our brethren were as one man against it.

These facts I lay before you, not to counter any information sent you, which I dare not doubt was according to the views matters appeared in there, but to give you a full state of the matter as it stands. And, after all, as I said just now, and my friend Colonel Erskine has informed you, I do sincerely think that what the Commission has sent up will satisfy the most part of those who stood out; but, fearing that several may remain under their difficulties, not in renouncing the Pretender, or in owning the King's only lawful and rightful title, but from their apprehensions of homologating the laws about patronages and other burdens upon this Church, by engaging in public oaths, and their doubts of their being a proper

test of loyalty, &c., I did express my concern to your Lordship, lest new flames might arise. But I cannot help wishing there may be none.

Thus, my Lord, I have wearied you, I fear, upon this subject. What I write is only for your Lordship's information ; and it's my earnest prayer to the Lord, that you and all concerned may be under the divine conduct, and led to such an issue in this matter as may be for the union and peace of this Church, and the interest of religion ; and then I am sure the King's interest will be promoted. For my share, I resolve ever to lay out myself, to my small utmost, for these great ends. What my practice will be in case of a re-imposition, I cannot determine myself, and ought not till I see the shape it comes in.

So long a scroll needs a very long apology, which I was never good at, and must entirely rely upon your Lordship's goodness. I humbly thank your Lordship for your kind promise of the Bishop of Bangor on the Sacramental Test. I thought it had been but a pamphlet that might have come by post ; but I was never wearied with any thing that came from that masterly pen ; and when any occasion offers of transmitting it, it will be most welcome. I am sorry to hear that the clause about the Sacramental Test is out of the Bill, and it only relates to the schism and occasional acts ; which, whatever ease it give to our dissenting friends, I fear don't answer, what I earnestly wished for, and hoped would strengthen the Protestant interest and his Majesty's service, as well as do justice to the Dissenters.

I'll be glad to know this comes safe to your Lordship's hands, and presume to give my best wishes to your Lordship and your noble family. Your neighbours at Pollock are all very well. I hear my Lord keeps his health very well this winter. Permit me, my Lord, to assure you that I am, in the greatest sincerity, your Lordship's most humble and very much obliged.

January 14, 1719.

LETTER CXXVIII.

STATE OF RELIGION AT HOME AND ABROAD.

To the Rev. Benjamin Colman, Minister at Boston.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—By a letter from Mr Erskine of the 8th October last, he tells me you were diverted from giving me the pleasure of hearing from you by necessary business, and that you had sent me a book in a packet for his father. Your present is not yet come to my hand, the worthy Colonel being yet at London ; but I return you my hearty thanks for it.

I can slip no opportunity which offers from this place to Boston, without making my due acknowledgments of the debt I lie under to you, and cultivating the correspondence you are pleased to favour me with. And I promise myself you'll allow me the favour of your letter, by every ship you hear of coming to us, when your leisure permits.

Matters with us are not as you and our friends in New England could wish. Real religion is under a sensible decay, and our sun is a winter sun. Profaneness and sin are dreadfully abounding, and the love of many waxeth cold. Our breaches in Church and State are not like soon to be healed.

The comfortable turn of affairs, with relation to our dissenting brethren in England, is a bow in our cloud. May the Lord follow the repeal of the Schism and Occasional Acts with a plentiful effusion of his Spirit, that the liberty granted may tend much to the promoting of the real interests of religion, and grace be given to improve this breathing in the midst of bondage, to great and glorious purposes !

We are in great expectations from the little leaven that is in France, and the grand changes Providence is making in neighbouring kingdoms. I assure myself you have better accounts of the

divisions in France, and the present shakings, and begun earthquake upon the great City, than I can give you. Certainly we have encouragement to continue instant in prayer, for the executing the written judgments upon the Antichristian State.

The inclination of, alas! too many of whom better things might have been expected in England and Ireland, to the abominable errors of Arius, is water mixed in our wine, and matter of the deepest sorrow to all the Churches of Christ.

Very little remarkable offers from this Church since my last. Nothing is done as yet for our relief from the heavy bondage of Patronages and other impositions we are under; and I wish the applications from this Church had been more close, and had had better success. But it seems it was thought the easing of our brethren in England was work enough for one session of Parliament.

Meanwhile, worthy Colonel Erskine gave in a Memorial to the members of Parliament upon his scruple of acknowledging the civil places of Churchmen, in his application to Parliament in a civil matter, a copy of which you will be satisfied to have, and I have sent it enclosed. It is an honest and just testimony from him; but he could not get it brought in to the higher house.

I am straitened in time, the ship which brings this being to sail much sooner than I expected; yet I would not fail to write somewhat, though indeed not worth your while. Perhaps by my next you may have some account of a pretty large work a friend of yours hath been engaged in for some years—an Essay towards some Account of the Sufferings of this Church, in our late times of heavy persecution. As soon as it comes to any bearing, you shall know further about it.

You'll please to send me as full accounts of matters in New England as you can, and let me have any thing that is published by yourself, and other worthy and dear brethren with you. May the Lord plentifully bless the churches of New England, and your essays for advancing the kingdom of the Redeemer! I am, Rev. Dear Sir, your most affectionate and most humble servant.

Jan. 29, 1719.

LETTER CXXIX.

COLONEL ERSKINE'S MEMORIAL AGAINST THE CIVIL PLACES OF
CHURCHMEN.

To the Very Rev. Mr Increase Mather, D.D., &c.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I had the valuable present of a few of your excellent books by the bearer, Mr William Wilson. Two of them I had read before from the Rev. Mr Brown, now with the Lord; but they are all most welcome, and by this I return you my most humble and hearty thanks.

In a particular manner I was refreshed by your sermon upon the work of the ministry; and, as I have no doubt the message in your mouth was sweet and savoury to many of my dear brethren when preached, so, now that it's printed, it hath been a very sweet meal to me, and I bless the Lord for it. Such Scriptural sermons are what we stand much in need of that are ministers of the younger sort; and this and the other savoury discourses printed with [you] are to me like ripe mellow fruit, worthy of an old tree in the Lord's vineyard. There is somewhat in near sixty years standing in such a work, and in the communication of your excellent experiences, which very strongly moved me to bless the Lord upon your account, and earnestly to wish the Church of Christ may be favoured with as many of the fruits of one of the eldest olives in the house of the Lord, as may be.

As a small return, I send enclosed a Memorial of a dear and worthy friend of mine, Colonel Erskine, given in this winter to the British Parliament against the civil places of Churchmen, which he cannot homologate in his application to the House of Lords in his

civil affairs ; and suffers very much in his estate from his adherence to the principles of our Reformation.¹

May your kind and glorious Lord and Master preserve you long in the work of the ministry, and comfort you under the infirmities of old age, and abundantly bless your labours ! You'll allow a room in your prayers, and sympathy to, Rev. and Dear Sir, your most affectionate and humble servant.

Eastwood, Jan. 29, 1719.

LETTER CXXX.

IRISH AND SCOTTISH MINISTERS IN AMERICA.—ARIANISM.

*Cotton Mather to Wodrow.*²

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,—About three months ago I presented a number of our latest publications to your acceptance, and I do not call to mind that I have since published any thing ; our presses being upon a large work, which is yet unfinished, the name and intent whereof you will see by the enclosed proposals. But, though I can send you no new thing of my own for your entertainment, until the coming forth of our *Psalterium Americanum*, which I hope will be in two months' time, yet your appetite may be a little

¹ In this matter the gallant Colonel appears to have acted with praiseworthy perseverance, but to have met with little success or encouragement. In a letter, dated London, January 1720, he says, " My coming here as to my appeal has been to little purpose ; most of our Lords being afraid or unwilling to concur in presenting my petition, except I would do it in the ordinary style, by petitioning the Bishops as judges, which I cannot comply with. I would have got my Lord Buchan to present it, but scarce any would second him. It's little wonder our Lords do not stand up for our Church principles and rights, when our Church judicatories and ministers have not the courage to do it."—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xiv. No. 109.)

² *Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xx. No. 15.

staid by what now comes to you from a dear father of ours, whom we commonly call our Patriarch, and who now, at fourscore years of age, treats vast assemblies of people, with a vigour and brightness in his public ministrations, which every one wonders at, and whereof let our glorious Lord have the praises.

We are comforted with great numbers of our oppressed brethren coming over from the North of Ireland unto us. But that which adds very much to our comfort is, that they find so very little difference in the management of our Churches from theirs and yours, as to count it next unto none at all. They sit down with us, and we embrace them as our most united brethren, and we are likely to be very happy in one another.

Not a few ministers of the Scotch nation coming over hither have heretofore been invited unto settlements with our Churches, and the Churches have joyfully flourished under their holy ministry. One of them, an excellent man of God, has had a sermon lately printed, which I now put into your hands. While we enjoy all possible tranquillity, it afflicts us to hear that there are any who cause divisions among you, and raise disturbances in their most illustrious Church on the face of the earth. But I have observed a singular wisdom in the Church of Scotland above any living ; that, notwithstanding the animosities happening, through the device of the great adversary, to arise among you, on various occasions, yet, when a critical time comes for you to unite against the common enemy, you bury these animosities ; and your union in the cause of truth against the Babylonian prelacy and tyranny is truly admirable. It may be there is a critical time at the door, which will bring all to rights among you.

You have been inquisitive after my sentiments concerning the kingdom of God ; the characters and the approaches of it ; the time and way of its coming on. That I may answer your inquiries, or at least begin to do it, in the most compendious way that I can, I will only take leave to enclose a copy of an epistle which I sent lately unto my correspondents in the East Indies, (transcribed by one of my amanuenses,) and which, if you please, you may commu-

licate unto that sagacious and miraculous man, my most honoured Jameson.¹

It is an inexpressible sorrow, that the Arian heresy has, by means of the wretched Whiston, found proselytes even among the Dissenters in the English nation. I cannot but wish that from your University of Glasgow there might issue forth some testimony on the behalf of our most glorious Lord. My mean hand once lodged with our excellent Principal, Mr Stirling, a manuscript, whereof the title is, *Testimonium Glascuense*, the design whereof is to smite that giant who has thus defied the armies of the living God. The treatise was in the press at London, with a preface of the famous Dr Edwards unto it; but the death of the printer first, and then of the Doctor, and I suspect, a piece of monkery among some Whistonians, proved the death of the impression. If no more significant composition be prepared, methinks I might almost venture to propose it unto you, whether the publication of this may not be, by your instigation, (if you think fit,) accomplished. But I would by no means have any thing of mine supersede the better works of abler pens.

You will render the remembrance of me acceptable to my Lord of Pollock, whom I earnestly pray the Holy One to continue as a blessing to a world which has few such men to boast of.

May you, as well as he, enjoy that most comprehensive of all blessings, a soul full of a CHRIST, and be accepted and assisted by him for the doing of great services to his kingdom and the world! I am, Sir, your most affectionate brother and servant,

CO. MATHER.

Boston, New England, 6 d. 8 m. 1718.

¹ Professor William Jameson of Glasgow. See vol. i. p. 470.

LETTER CXXXI.

REFLECTIONS ON PASSING EVENTS.

To Dr Cotton Mather.

REV. AND VERY DEAR SIR,—I had the pleasure of yours of the 6 d. of the 8 m. 1718, with your present of the labours of some of your Reverend and Dear Brethren, with which you have obliged me extremely. I am much refreshed by the Rev. Mr Danforth's Building of Zion, and bless the Lord on his account. If the Lord would please to pour out on his Churches a spirit of supplication, it would be the sweetest earnest of a glorious work hastening.

We have accounts here of the constant resort of our brethren in Ireland to you in America, and are grieved for the oppression and hardships which oblige them to this. But it vexeth us to hear that the wild Irishes [Irishmen] are coming down, and taking the leases our countrymen had, and swarming out in such numbers, as very much threatens the British interest in that kingdom. This very day we have a report, I wish it may not hold, that the late Duke of Ormond is come to Ireland from Spain, to raise fresh disturbances. I hope God will break the arm of the wicked.

Our divisions and parties, alas! are not yet at an end. Our gracious God hath, indeed, hitherto helped us to unite against the common enemy. You have much comforted me with your hopes that a time may be approaching to bring matters to rights among us. The Lord grant it may be so! And I persuade myself, you, and our dear friends and brethren in New England, wrestle together with us that it may be so.

I cannot express how much you have obliged me by the valuable letter of yours to that singular person Zeigenbalg in Malabar, and have communicate it to our dear friend, Mr Jameson, who will no doubt write to you by this ship.

With much pleasure I read "The Propagation of the Gospel in the East," in three parts,¹ and the name of Zeigenbalg is savoury to me; but I have had nothing from that excellent settlement since the 1715. You'll please to let me have all your accounts of the Danish missionary since, by your next.

It is but a small return, and most unworthy of the great presents you make me, when I send you the copy of an account of the state of the Prussian Churches, sent last year from that country from a friend of mine. I did not know before so much of their constitution; but probably it may not be new to you, who have so vast a correspondence.

I extremely value the produce of dear New England; but you further exceedingly favour me, when you let me in to your correspondence with your learned friends, especially in what concerns the propagation and present state of the Redeemer's kingdom, which I desire to have lying much upon my spirit. May I presume to beg your communicable accounts from those great and good men in Halle, and other places in Germany, and every thing from the Danish missionary in the East Indies; but especially your own sentiments upon the coming kingdom of our dearest Lord?

Great things are upon the wheels, and remarkable turns since my last, in our parts of the world. The fire seems beginning in the Antichristian state; the Pope's Brief of separation, and his wider steps since, raise my expectations. I am waiting, trembling for the ark of God, or rather would be at this. The sudden cut-

¹ This work gives an account of the success of the Danish missionaries in spreading the gospel among the heathens in Malabar. The first part, translated from the Dutch, was printed at London in 1709; the second was printed in 1710; and the third in 1714. The origin of this mission was as follows:—Frederick IV., King of Denmark, in 1705, at the suggestion of one of his chaplains, resolved upon sending some missionaries to Tranquebar, situated on the coast of Coromandel, in the East Indies, to attempt the conversion of the Malabar heathens. In order to this, he applied to the Professors of Divinity in Halle, to furnish him with such individuals as might be considered qualified for such an important undertaking. Mr Bartholomew Zeigenbalg and Mr Henry Plutschow were sent out, and arrived at the scene of their future labours on the 9th of July 1706; and three other missionaries followed them in 1709.—(*Gillies' Historical Collections*, vol. ii. pp. 1, 2.)

ting off of the Swedish King hath made a vast change in the North, and hath extremely mortified our Jacobite party. May the Lord open a door for reformation among the bigoted Lutherans! These things, ordered out by holy and wise Providence, make me the more long for your farther accounts of the approaches of the kingdom of God, all true sons of God are waiting for.

The growth of Arianism among those of whom better things might be expected, makes it necessary that all hands should be at work. I am glad you have sent over any thing upon that head to my dear and much valued friend, Principal Stirling, who hath been so much fatigued by the breaches in that society, that for a good while he has been much diverted. He hath been much at Edinburgh; but I'll discourse him upon what you propose, and do what lies in my power. Dr Clarke, in my opinion, is a far more dangerous abettor of that damnable error than Whiston; but none of them ought to be neglected.

The Principal communicate to me a sweet letter of yours, dated in August last, I think, for which I heartily thank you; and heartily agree with you, that the golden reed alone is to be used in the measures of the sanctuary; and if we had less of other balances among us, the interests of religion would thrive more among us.

Nothing farther offers from us, unless it be a small Essay upon the Moral Law, designed against the Deists, by a very worthy minister of the Church, which you'll please to accept of. I have enclosed a Memorial of my dear friend, Colonel Erskine, to your venerable parent; which, no doubt, he'll communicate with you. I had not another copy of it to send you. It is an honest and seasonable testimony of that excellent and honourable person against the hierarchy.

My Lord Pollock remains in good health, at his great work in Edinburgh, and will be refreshed with yours, when the Lord returns him safe to us. He still lays his commands on me, every opportunity I have, to give his kindest respects to your reverend father and yourself.

The packet you mention you sent before this last, by Mr Wil-

son, is not come to hand; and it's my great loss and sorrow when I miss any thing you are pleased to favour me with. I have ordered a relation of mine, who comes over with Mr Wilson to Boston, whither I indeed press all my friends to send their children who follow trade, and is to be under Mr Wilson's care, to wait upon you when you have leisure, when you will give him your best advice and directions. I hope neither he nor any other of my friends shall take such a step as dear Colonel Erskine's son has done.

May the Lord preserve you long for extraordinary services to his kingdom, and the peculiar comfort of, Dear Sir, yours, under many ties.

Eastwood, Jan. 29, 1719.

I am glad to hear that the vessel is soon to return to us, and I humbly expect large accounts from you, by her and all that come to us from you.

LETTER CXXXII.

ABJURATION.—WODROW'S HISTORY.

*Colonel Erskine to Wodrow.*¹

London, Jan. 29, 1719.

REV. SIR,—I shall now only tell you, (without apology for delay in writing,) that this day, after several delays, the bill for the Abjuration in Scotland has got a first reading, but no time named for the second. I wrote several times about it to Edinburgh, of which probably you have got some account. It's much the same

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xiv. No. 10.

with the draught sent up,¹ except that the words, *crown and dignity*, are put in, and *this realm*, in place of Great Britain. Presbyteries are discharged, under penalties, to license or ordain any young man, till they produce a certificate of having taken the Oaths; and the same penalties are continued upon ministers who shall not qualify as by former act.² I have told my mind fully of the bad consequences I feared by pushing it, and that it would not be the way to heal, but make further breaches, and begged it might be dropt; but some great men would neither let it alone, nor give it as proposed at the Commission. If my Lord Argyle's coming into Court will make any alteration in it, a little time will show; but it's certain, some who are no friends to him have been the pushers of it. I do not hear there will be any great men turned out at present; but the Duke of Argyle gets the Duke of Kent's white staff, and he is to be Privy Seal, and several such changes. And, it's said, my Lord Isla will be further provided. Mr Chalmers, Principal at

¹ A draught of an Oath was sent up to London from the Commission, to which the greater number of the Non-jurant ministers about Edinburgh agreed. In their form of the Oath, they, of purpose, kept out the words, "crown and dignity," "I believe in my conscience," and, "this realm." Sir David Dalrymple, who got the Bill to prepare, put in these words. Some alterations, however, were made in the House of Commons.—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xiv. No. 18.)

² In a letter, dated London, 5th March 1719, Colonel Erskine gives an account of this Bill passing the House of Commons. "This day, the Bill about the Oath is approven, as it passed the Committee. The report has been three or four times put off, with a design in many of our countrymen to drop the Bill, but those who are for it, supported by the Court, would delay no longer. I'm much of your opinion, it will have no good effect though it had passed, as proposed by the Commission. The penalties are as by former acts, and the words, 'this realm,' stand in the Oath, and several other things are what will not please a good many, as I'm told."—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xiv. No. 17.)

In the new form of the Oath, all reference to the English Act, which provided that the sovereign should always be of the communion of the Church of England, was excluded, as the Oath was to be taken by ministers and preachers in Scotland, who were merely required to swear to "defend the succession of the crown in the heirs of the body of the late Princess Sophia, being Protestants." The consequence was, that the greater number of those who had been Non-jurors took the Oath. "The first day of June was the term appointed by the act for the taking thereof; and that act did withal bar all young men from being licensed or ordained without taking it."—(*Boston's Memoirs*, p. 352.)

Aberdeen, and Mr Drummond, Regent, were lately discoursing Dr Calamy, among other things, about your History of the Persecution, and he and many others, who have heard of it, are very fond to have it published ; and the Doctor kindly offered, if you printed it here, to look it over, with other friends ; and, without offering to alter any thing as to matter or method, would give their opinion as to such words and expressions, as would not go so well down here, if there were any such, wishing to have it as to these, so as to make it acceptable to all here. I have spoke also about it to Mr Chamberlane, who has been a justice of peace, and great promoter of the design for Propagating Christian Knowledge, and who writ the State of England. I adventured to show him the volume I brought up, and he is much pleased with it, and the design, and so is a considerable Whig Bishop, who has been informed of it. I'm hopeful there will be considerable subscriptions got here. There is demanded for printing the sheet, as Clarendon's 8vo, 27 shillings sterling, for 1000, besides paper ; but you shall hear farther. I entreat let me know what you and others think of the bill, as brought in. I had yours, I think, since I wrote, and see that to my Lord R. [Ross,] and agree with your sentiments. Dear Sir, farewell.

LETTER CXXXIII.

REPLY TO FOREGOING.

To Colonel Erskine, at London.

MY DEAREST COLONEL,—I had yours of the 29th of January. As to the Oath, you had my opinion so largely in my last, and that to my Lord Ross, that I have little to add. The matter stands here, Whether a re-imposition be for the interest of this Church. I have been of the thoughts it will not be either for the

advantage of Jurors or Non-jurors. The great motive that moves some, and would move me, if I thought it would hold, and we come to be one in practice, is, that this new shape will remove the heart-burnings among the people, which none longs more to have buried than I. But this is not the method; because, on the part of the Jurors it will be said, this is not the oath they swore, but another; and so, notwithstanding many come in, people will still pretend to have reason to make a difference. On the side of the Non-jurors, I am persuaded good numbers will not come in to the new draught, especially if there be any new clause fixing patronages in the narrative, as some say, or new hardships put upon students and preachers; and I am of opinion, the words "crown, dignity, and realm," and the continuance of the penalties, especially the deprivation of office, will stick with many who have come in to the Commission's draught.

I only add, that for any thing I can understand in this country, neither Jurors nor Non-jurors are for a re-imposition. I was talking lately with several of my brethren who have qualified, and I find all of them against a re-imposition, for three plain reasons: That so considerable alterations as are proposed may come to do hurt among the people, and make them take the fancy this is a new oath; that they have no prospect that many Non-jurors will come in to it; that they fear new clauses may cast up, in so numerous a meeting of the parliament, and nobody knows what shape it may come out in. This is all I have further to offer, unless I had a copy of the bill as it's presented to the house. So that I can't be sorry that no day is appointed for the reading of it a second time. We have too much division among us already. The Lord send a healing!

I am so much in your debt for your concern about the History of the Sufferings, that I must waive all acknowledgments. I am extremely obliged to Dr Calamy for his kind offer, and, if I send it to London, I'll presume to give him the trouble to look it over. I see many inconveniences of sending it up. I must weigh all on

. both sides the best way I can. I impatiently wait to hear further from you.

You have much obliged me by communicating the volume you have to Mr Chamberlain, the honour of whose correspondence I much desire, could I promise him any thing worth while. Return him my most humble thanks for his care and concern about it. I cannot think the Bishop you write of has seen it, though I am not afraid the moderate Bishops will be displeased with the general design ; yet, perhaps, my lodging the persecution at the door of our Scots prelates will not be so savoury ; but it's so glaring a fact, that I would not, and could not, pass it.

Dr Calamy will know what the sheet of his Abridgment stood, which is a good pattern. You'll mind what I wrote formerly as to Argyle and Warriston.

Feb. 6, 1719.

LETTER CXXXIV.

WODROW'S HISTORY.

To the Honourable Mr James Johnston, late Secretary of State.

[The Honourable JAMES JOHNSTON was the son of the distinguished Lord Warriston, who suffered martyrdom under the reign of Charles II. Upon the death of his father, he was sent into Holland, where he studied the civil law at the University of Utrecht, and surpassed in proficiency all his compeers. After the Revolution, he was sent as envoy of King William's government to Berlin, and from thence he was recalled in 1692, and made Secretary of State for Scotland. Notwithstanding, however, his zeal and fidelity in supporting the Revolution government, he was deprived of the offices which he held under it, for his share in establishing the African Company, which the English Parliament considered injurious to their trade. In 1704, he was made Lord Register for Scotland, the most lucrative situation in that kingdom ; but this office he held only for about a year. " He

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is honest," says a contemporary writer, "yet something too credulous and suspicious, endued with a great deal of learning and virtue; is above little tricks, free from ceremony, would not tell a lie for the world, very knowing in the affairs of foreign events, and the constitution of both kingdoms; a tall fair man, and towards fifty years old," [1703.]—(*Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky, Esq.*, pp. 204–209.)—To this account of him, Dean Swift adds, in his usual style, "A treacherous knave; one of the greatest knaves even in Scotland." After his retirement from public business, he frequently visited foreign countries. His humour and pleasantry rendered him a great favourite with Caroline, the Queen of George I.—(*Carstares' Life*, p. 93.)

SIR,—I presumed, by my friend, Colonel Erskine, to acquaint you with my design of printing a History of the Sufferings of this Church, wherein I have occasion to mention your excellent father, of whom I was unwilling to publish any thing till you had seen it and given your opinion.

Upon the Colonel's desire, in your name, I have sent up the two first volumes of the History to Mr Ridpath, (in case the Colonel be come down to Scotland,) to be put in your hands, with my humble thanks for your condescending to look over any thing that drops from so mean a hand as mine.

As soon as your leisure permits you to run through this first book, please to deliver it again to Mr Ridpath, with your remarks and additions. This copy is transcribed by one who uses to be pretty exact. I have not had time to collate it and correct it by my own copy, which I still keep by me, but you'll easily observe the literal escapes.

My friend, the Colonel, tells me of your design to give some light to our Scots History from the 1637, from papers in your hand, which I am extremely fond to hear of. I have been a long time of opinion our history ought to be writt by parcels, if writt to purpose, and I know none so fit as yourself to clear up that part, and no doubt you have abundance of materials. If any thing in my small collection of manuscripts can be of use to you, when I know how far you come down, I shall send you a list of what I have, and you may command them.

Forgive my presumption in giving you any trouble; and believe me to be, Sir, your very much obliged and most humble servant.

Eastwood, March 20, 1719

LETTER CXXXV.

SAME SUBJECT.

To the Very Rev. Mr Edmund Calamy,¹ D.D., and Minister of the Gospel, London.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—The small acquaintance I had the honour to have of you, when in Scotland some years ago, could not have emboldened me to give you the trouble of any papers of mine, if you had not been pleased to desire me, by my friend, Colonel Erskine, and Mr Colin Drummond, to send you them, and kindly to offer to look them over, for which I humbly thank you.

¹ Dr Edmund Calamy was a distinguished Presbyterian minister in England. His grandfather, Edmund, minister of the Church of St Mary, Aldermanbury, was one of the Authors of that famous work against Episcopacy, entitled *Smeectymnus*, and an active member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. His father, of the same name, was ejected from the living of Morton in Essex, on St Bartholomew's day, 1662. Dr Calamy was born at London, on the 5th of April 1671. Having commenced his education at a private Academy in England, he went to the University of Utrecht, where he studied philosophy and civil law. While there, he received the offer of a Professor's chair in the University of Edinburgh, from Principal Carstares, which he declined. He returned to England in 1691; and, having connected himself with the Non-conformists, and exercised the ministerial office in different situations, he was, in 1703, chosen pastor of a large congregation in Westminster. In 1709, he undertook a journey to Scotland, when he received the degree of D.D. from the Universities of Edinburgh and Aberdeen. Of his kind reception in Scotland, he gives some interesting details in his "Historical Account of my own Life," &c., which has been lately published, and enriched with notes, historical and biographical, by Mr John Rutt. He was the author of numerous works, the list amounting to 41. Dr Calamy enjoyed, during life, the highest respect of all classes, and died June 3, 1732, in the 62d year of his age.

From my friend, Mr Ridpath, you'll receive the first book of the History of our Sufferings in this Church. It is transcribed from my copy, and I have not had time to collate it. You'll easily help the faults in transcribing, which I hope are not many.

The vouchers and proofs are such as will, I hope, be found sufficient; but I am very sensible my style, and what is properly mine, will not answer the taste of this age.

Your help to make this as palatable as may be will be extremely obliging; and your remarks, amendments, and additions, in references to the pages, shall be carefully considered and insert by me, and the pages in this copy exactly answer mine; and if it be any way for ease to you, please to cause bind in clean leaves of paper with the copy, and write upon them.

When you have gone through this book, which I wish may be as soon as leisure allows, I shall send up the following books.

I have no apology to make for this trouble I give you. Your concern for every thing of a public nature relative to this Church makes me hope that you will not grudge the reading over of this. May the Lord preserve you long for his service, and continue [you] a public blessing to his Church! I am, Rev. and Dear Sir, your very much obliged and most humble servant.

Eastwood, March 20, 1719.

LETTER CXXXVI.

SAME SUBJECT.

*To Mr George Ridpath, at his house in Gravel Street, Holborn,
London.*

DEAR SIR,—I send you by this bearer two volumes of the History of the Sufferings. If Colonel Erskine be in town, he will

join with you in presenting them to Mr Secretary Johnston, to whom I have presumed to write by the enclosed; and if the Colonel be come off, you'll please to receive them and deliver them. When he is pleased to return them with his remarks, you'll acquaint me by post, and send down the remarks as soon as may be.

I have another favour to beg, having none in London I presume to use so much freedom with as yourself, and that is, that when Mr Johnston has done with them, you'll please to send them to Dr Calamy, with the enclosed letter to him. It will not be needful to send the letter to him till you send the books withal.

I long to hear from you, and to have a return to what I wrote formerly to you, and will be glad to know when this comes to hand. Forgive all this trouble from, Dear Sir, yours most affectionately,

R. W.

Eastwood, March 20, 1719.

LETTER CXXXVII.

SAME SUBJECT.

To Colonel Erskine, at London.

MY DEAREST COLONEL,—I have yours of the 14th, with Mr Chalmers' enclosed, for which I return you my hearty thanks, and to the Rev. Mr D. Anderson and my dear friend, Mr Ridpath, for their kind care and remarks on my Proposals. I was obliged to print the Proposals at Edinburgh, in the time of the Commission, that I might spread them through the Presbyteries at that time; and I took all the care I could to have them in a tolerable current Scots style, and declined too great a nicety, lest people should expect the book in a better dress than really it will be, after all the amendments it will be possible to make upon it. It will be found that not a fourth part of it, for as large as it is, will be my words;

and the words of the records and others, which make up the History, cannot be altered, except here and there upon the margin, where English words explanatory may and should be placed. But it will be impossible that any thing which comes from my pen will answer the English taste. I say not this in the least as if I were unwilling to have all the alterations to [its being] better made, as far as possible, by friends ; but all that can be hoped is to make it intelligible ; and I doubt much if it can be made smooth and easy. However, you may assure yourself, that I will be under the direction of my friends in this and every thing relative to this matter.

I am of opinion that there is some mistake as to the paper ; and perhaps the cutting of the Proposals, to lessen them as much as might be in the letters that came by post, may occasion some mistake. The paper, I assure you, is a French crown paper, and people that know these matters assure me it's better than that of Burnet's History. However, friends may be easy as to that ; and as many as are signed for at London shall be printed upon whatever paper is desired.

The difficulty as to the seventh copy is of some more consequence. I know it's pretty much used in England in Proposals ; but not so much as it has been, and I could give a good many instances where it's not used. People who understand books know that there is nothing at all at bottom in it, save to encourage booksellers to subscribe. When a seventh is given gratis, a seventh part of the price is laid on by the undertaker, and the advance money and the price is accordingly heightened. I had this in mine eye, and found, when I calculated the charges, that I behoved to have made it a seventh part more than two guineas to the buyers ; but reckoned it more advisable every way to keep by the round calcul[ation] of two guineas, than to break it in fractions by adding a seventh part more for the seventh copy.

I don't well know what to say as to a second edition of the Proposals. They are now spread, and receipts given, and some money advanced, and a considerable number of copies signed for ; and the bulk, I expect, will come in against the Assembly in May, so that

to make an alteration as to Scotland, I fear, will not be very advisable. Another volume of the records which I wanted, relative to the blackest period of the History, is very providentially come to my hand since the publishing of the Proposals, which will, as far as I can judge, bring the book to five hundred sheets of paper, in the same print and paper, and some better than Burnet's History; and this will be about a penny Scots a sheet to the subscribers, which I am sure is as easy as can be desired; and I am determined, if I get five hundred subscriptions, not to height the price, for all this addition.

However, if the matter can be done without prejudice, I am not against publishing Proposals at London, upon a fine paper, as my friends please; but I would still incline to have it the very same with Burnet's History; and I see no hazard to signify there will be about five hundred sheets, which will more than balance the want of a seventh copy, and the price continued at two guineas.

If this may answer the difficulties, and tend to promote the design at London, I shall be very easy, and be willing to satisfy Mr Bell for the pains he is at, and pay him for printing Proposals, as many as are needful to be spread in the city, and other places.

In this event, there need be no difficulty in making most of the alterations proposed in the Principal's letter. The 1660 and 1688 may be added, though the Revolution and Restoration are well enough known without the years. *Good* may be deleted. *Mr Sharp, afterward Archbishop*, was the very way I had in my written copy; but I was overruled by my friends at Edinburgh, who were positive Archbishop Sharp was what would run much better in England; and when I objected he was not then Archbishop, it was said the English, in speaking of Mr Tillotson, even before the Revolution, still name him Archbishop. Near Glasgow is matter of more indifference. I was much against setting my name to the book at all; but since it's there, I am easy as to the designation.

As to the remarks upon the Proposals themselves, I need not go through them. I shall be very much at my friends' disposals as to the wording of them. You have my sentiments upon the most

material of them above. What Principal Chalmers, Mr Anderson, and Mr Ridpath, think convenient to be done at London, I go in to it, and shall bear the charges, which, if it be found necessary to lay out before you leave London, I take the liberty to desire you to lay out. I reckon it will not run high, and I shall refund it here. If it be delayed till after the Assembly, I'll have Mr Chalmers, and perhaps yourself, and other good friends, to advise with. But if it be proper to be done sooner, I'll never stand to bestow two or three guineas, as you and friends find proper.

This is all I can write upon this head, and I wish it may come timeously to your hand; and, considering how matters stand here, that the thing is set agoing among us, and cannot be turned out of its present channel, I must leave what is fit to be done for England to you and my friends with you, to whom I again return my kindest thanks.

I hope, by this time, the two volumes of manuscripts are come to Mr Bell's shop, for Mr Johnston and Dr Calamy. I sent up likewise the section about the Marquis of Argyle, under Shawfield's cover, to my Lord Isla. I expect, with some impatience, the papers about the Dissenters' unhappy differences. I need not write you any news from hence. You will have heard of the landing in Ross, and we are under fears every day of the rest of the Spaniards landing in the West, where we are perfectly naked. These confusions put me to a perfect stand, and, till matters settle, I can expect little encouragement for my Proposals here. I am, Dear Sir, yours most sincerely.

April 21, 1719.

LETTER CXXXVIII.

LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1719.¹*Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 1.*

MY DEAREST,—I came very safe in here yesternight. We had little or no rain, and I am perfectly in health, and long to hear from you. Be sure to write to me punctually. I can make little computation yet of my subscriptions.² This night we have the letters which you will have on Friday. There is not much from abroad. We have the names of the regency. I fear our reconciliation is as far off as ever. The King, it's expected, went off on Monday. We have a story in most of the letters that the Regent has been suddenly taken ill, but upon applications was recovered. I wish he may be preserved at this juncture. We have letters from the North, but they differ much. Some say that the Invaders are retired to the Isle of Uist; that they suffer none to come near them to get intelligence; that they caught one near them, who was sent from Inverness, and hanged him. They say, on the other hand, that there are letters bearing the ships are gone off. The best accounts I can hear of this night are letters from Stranaver and Sir Robert Foulis, complaining that the forces are so slow in coming up. They say the Clans are gathering in a body, and the Irishes that were in the ships with them, and they are drawing towards Inverness, and are about 16 miles from it. My Lord Carpenter has upon this dispatched an express, as I am told, this night. People here seem to think that our danger is over from the North. I wish they be not too secure.

The affair of Mr Mitchell is not to be before the Assembly, being put off for some time. The heats betwixt Town and College are

¹ From Letters to Wodrow, vol. xiv. No. 57-73.

² The subscriptions to his History.

very high ; they refused to elect any from the College ; and they, by themselves, have elected Professor Hamilton ; and it's said the Magistrates are to protest against it in the Assembly to-morrow. It is uncertain who will be Moderator. I see little of any great consequence to be before them, and wish their meeting may be peaceable and soon over. Your patrons [patterns ?] could not be got this day, Miss Aikin being very throng. I tried for your lemons ; the best are three shillings a dozen, the second size two shillings, and the worst a shilling. So you may send me your orders what to buy. Your hood is to the dyeing. I looked James Watson's Bibles, and find they are 28 pence per piece ; and the same that we have at Glasgow at the same rate, and the ordinary binding, and the same paper and print, 25 pence.¹ I think we may have them more surely bound at Glasgow, when we tryst them, and as cheap. I mind no more of your commissions. Pray take care of yourself. I have given Jamie two shillings, in case he be obliged to stay all night by this day's heavy rain, which you'll think I well escaped. I have forgot my book of Ministers' names, very unluckily. It stands behind the latron, in that shelf where my manuscript sermons stood, the third or fourth shelf from the floor. It's a thin large octavo. If you can fall upon it, and can find a sure hand, send it in to me ; if not, let it come in with the horses. When my new lad comes home, let him come in with Mr Love's lad, who knows the way, and William Ker the stabler's, and I shall call for him there. I mind no more at this time ; but give my kindest respects to father and mother. I will not have time to write so fully afterwards, and so I have set down these things as they come in my mind. Tell Miss Lillias, Sir John Stewart of Allankbank is very well, for any thing known there. I am your own.

Edin. May 13, 1719.

Let my father send me all his commissions. I cannot have "Popery against Christianity," but a sixpence dearer than it was formerly when I was last in town. It's rising in its price. I have

¹ MS. "25 sh." evidently a mistake.

been this day with Mr Hog of Rotterdam, who remembers father and mother kindly. Mrs Stewart has written this night to Lady Anne; and if the Aldhouse be not taken, she is resolved to come west to it, and Mrs Drummond, Mr Drummond's wife, comes with her. If the Aldhouse be set, she will come to the Hagg; but then Mrs Drummond cannot come. So, when Jamie takes the letter over, let him desire Mr Maxwell either to write the next post after he gets notice from the Lady Aldhouse, or to send you word, that you may write to me if the Aldhouse be to be had. Mrs Stewart will need four stone of cheese for winter; she desires them of the largest size, so you will bespeak them in time.

The pattrons [patterns?] are come late after I had written this above. Jamie seems to incline to come east for me, and especially if the new lad be not come home, or but new come. On Monday or Tuesday come eight days I think he may come. I shall write afterwards the time, if so be as he says the L. Castlemilk allow him, as he has concerted.

LETTER CXXXIX.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 2.

May 13, 1719.

MY DEAREST,—This day the Assembly met, and when the Commissions were read, the Provost of Edinburgh gave in a written protestation against the College choice of Mr Hamilton. It could not be read till the Assembly was constitute, which was gone into, and the Commissioner's commission was read in common form.¹ The Commissioner did commit a blunder, and immediately upon it, before the delivering of the King's Letter, had his speech, which was in common form. After he ended it, he made an apology, that indeed he had very much forgot himself, and had not, as he should, delivered his Majesty's Letter to the Assembly; but he hoped neither

¹ The Commissioner was John Earl of Rothes.

his Majesty nor the Assembly would take it ill; so he delivered the King's Letter, which is very kind. He takes notice of the differences that have been upon the head of the oath, and tells the Assembly that it's now so formed as, he hopes, there will be a general satisfaction, or some phrases to that purpose. The Moderator, Mr James Grierson, who was very unanimously chosen, had his speech, wherein he took notice of the remarkable providences in delivering us from the attack from Spain, and delivered himself very well. He waived saying anything upon the oath. I forgot to tell you, Mr Wishart preached a very good sermon upon the 133d Psalm, mostly the first verse. He very pathetically pressed unity, and came to be very particular upon the oath, and gave some very good directions upon the preserving us from divisions, and proposed to the consideration of the Assembly, whether it were not fit to explain and consider some parts of our excellent Confession of Faith, which I did not so well understand. This is all I mind this day. The protestation of the town of Edinburgh is remitted to the Committee for Commissions, in common form, and I believe it will be sustained.

LETTER CXL.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 3.

Edinburgh, May 15.

MY DEAREST,—This day we had the forenoon spent in prayer. The Moderator began; Mr Gray, Mr Boyse, Mr Guthrie, Mr Blackwell, and Mr Currie, prayed. Mr Blackwell and Mr Shaw of Leith preach before the Commissioner on Sabbath. In the afternoon, the Answer to the King's Letter was approven in the Committee, without any debate. The King is thanked for his care in preventing divisions; and his concern this way, they add, lay them under the greatest obligations watchfully to guard against every thing that may further break us. It will, I doubt not, pass unanimously.

The great subject-matter of talk is the town of Edinburgh's protest against the College choice, which comes not in till Monday. However, the Provost's commission is found null and void by the Committee, because it is attested only by a particular session, and not by the general session, or all the sessions of the place, in terms of the act of the last Assembly. It will probably be sustained for this time, and in time to come they will be appointed to have the approbation of the general session. Whether this will bring in a determination of the Assembly as to the matter, I know not yet, but perhaps it may. A committee is appointed by the Overtures to bring in an act for directing ministers and parishes as to calls; and in the case when the *jus devolutum* falls into the Presbytery's hands, I wish the Lord may direct them well. Yesterday, worthy and learned Sir James Dalrymple was buried. He is exceedingly regretted.

May 18.

The Assembly this day approved the Answer to the King's Letter unanimously, and appoint revisers of Synod books, and a Committee of Instructions, in the afternoon. The Instructions met. There is not much of moment in them. We have no news from the North that can be depended on. Mr Baillie is come up from Inverness, and seems in no great fear. We have a story of accounts the invaders have from Madrid ———, giving them hopes of help. But this is not to be depended upon. I have not time to read this over.

LETTER CXLI.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 4.

May 19, 1719.

MY DEAREST,—We had Mr Blackwell before the Commissioner. He lectured upon the 110th Psalm, and preached upon Ezekiel

xxxvii. 8, "But there was no breath in them," a very sweet sermon, and wonderfully short. In the afternoon, Mr Shaw had an affectionate pleasant sermon on the day of judgment, from Ecclesiastes xii. last. The morning we had an express, with the agreeable news that two of the English ships came up with Spanish colours to the Isle of Donald, near Ross, where there is an old castle with about forty men, Irish and Spanish, in garrison, with what arms and ammunition were not distributed among the Clans. The English have killed three, and made the rest prisoners, and a Spanish commander, with all the arms and ammunition there. The three hundred Irish who were landed, and about five hundred Clans, mostly Seaforth's men, had encamped upon the land; when they saw their friends taken they left their camp in the greatest confusion. There were two persons Colonel Clayton had sent up to get intelligence, who were to be hanged next day, got off in the hurry, and are come to Inverness. It's hoped this will much discourage the Clans from joining them. It holds that Mr Kennedy, said to be secretary to the Duke of Ormond, came from Spain to the rebels, and encouraged them, that shortly an attempt was to be made on England. Our prints say this day, that the Pretender and Ormond are at Rigo, and have laid aside their project of invading us. It's thought the King is safe over; he had excellent winds.

The Assembly's business is but preparing. The Committee of Overtures have fallen on the large overtures. The Assembly met this day at four, and passed the overtures about Popery, which are very good. Mr Veitch's affair came in to the Assembly, and a letter is to be written to the ministers of Dumfries, to show him all kindness and respect. I am glad it's come to this issue, without dipping into the merits of the cause. Little further was before the Assembly but private affairs. I shall give a hint to-morrow of what is done, if I have time.

May 20.

This morning the Committee for Instructions met. There were some janglings and debates about our grievances, and some charge

from the Synod of Fife against Mr Simson for error. All on the head of error is remitted to the Committee appointed to meet thereanent.

In the Overtures, there was passed a tolerable good act about calls to parishes, in case patrons quit or lose their right. That was all done. In Assembly I am not this afternoon; that act being to pass, and the affair of Kilspindy, which is very litigious.

I mind no more news than above, which are confirmed and believed. I find, by letters from London, that the party who appear against Arianism is increasing. And the Synod at Exeter have ordered none to be admitted save such who sign the Article, and our Shorter Catechism about the Trinity. I mind no more at present.

LETTER CXLII.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 5.

May 20.

MY DEAREST,—This day the Assembly met in the forenoon, and approved the Committee for Kilspindy affair, and went through Synod book, and appointed the Synods to choose the Committee for naming the Commission. In the afternoon, the Committee of Overtures met, and went through the class of Instructions, and transmitted what they agreed on to the Assembly. Principal Chalmers is come down post, and was in the Assembly this day. He is very well. Matter is now pretty much ready for the Assembly, and probably on Monday they will be up, if not sooner. There is very little in the public news this night, and we have not one scrape this week from the North, which I wonder at.

May 21.

This day the Assembly met at 10 o'clock, and the affair of the

Church's money was before them, and they made many good regulations. Next, the Committee for naming the Commission was named, who are to meet to-morrow; and then Monkton business came in. The Presbytery of Ayr are appointed to give the parish a hearing of other young men, and appointed to go on and settle the parish; and if any debate fall in, they are not to settle the parish but by advice of the Synod. This decision is reckoned favourable to Monkton. In the afternoon comes in to the Overtures the affair 'twixt the town and college. I am your own.

Dear Peggy, I have yours by post, which is very satisfying. I hope Sandy is better, since you write nothing about him. I'll delay orders about the horses till Saturday's post, since James Reid is to come in. I am surprised John Brown hath left me. Send in the book with the ministers' names with the horse. I am to write to my brother this post about the receipts. I take all care of myself for your sake; and am, my dear, your own.

LETTER CXLIII.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 6.

May 23, 1719.

MY HEART,—Yesterday forenoon very little was done but ordinary business. That about calls is passed for a year. A very large recommendation of the History of Sufferings was made in form of an act, far more than I deserved. Mr Robins' business came in, and the papers were read. In the afternoon the reasonings were, and it ended in a committee of seven or eight, to prepare it for the next Assembly, which I think was too much honour done that ill man. This day the Assembly met, and went through their ordinary business; many, many remits to the Commission, whereof they have made me a member, and with the ordinary

speeches and compliments, the Assembly rose this day about three of the clock, and adjourned to the second Thursday of May 1720.

I have no news from the North. We have no accounts this week. General Wightman is at Inverness this week, and about 1300 regular forces are marching thither. The Rebels are keeping close waiting, to see what will become of the cloud that seems gathering at Corunna. Arms for a whole troop of horse are seized near Perth. I mind no more, but my service to all with you, and at Pollock. I am, your own.

LETTER CXLIV.

RECUSANTS IN DIFFERENT PRESBYTERIES.—TEMPTATIONS TO
DEMIT.

To Mr William Wright, Minister at Kilmarnock.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—The accounts I have had of the different practices among us as to the Oath, which by yours last post you desire to know, are as follows:—In Wigton all were ready to qualify; but the Sheriff wanted a duplicate of the Act. In Stranraer all have gone in, save Mr Boyd in Port-Patrick. Kirkcudbright I have not heard of; Mr Cameron, and the brethren at the Assembly, appeared clear. In Ayr, I hear Mr Grant and Mr Cowie are recusants. In Irvine, I need not signify to you, Mr Wright, Mr Cumming, Mr Millar, and Mr Clerk. In Paisley, Mr Fleming of Innerkip, Mr Fork, and another, you may guess at.¹ In Glasgow some have not yet qualified; but I think none have any difficulties, save Mr Love. In Hamilton all have qualified; and in Lanark, all save Mr Bradfoot. In Stirling there are five or six recusants; in Auchterarder, Mr Drummond; Dunblane have all gone in. In Perth three stand out; in Dunfermline five; in Linlithgow, Mr Brown, Mr Anderson, Mr Bonnar, and Mr Kid; in

¹ Wodrow himself.

Edinburgh Mr Webster stands out; in Biggar none. This is all the account I yet have.

As yet, I have heard nothing of what the government are to do upon these different practices. It will certainly be for peace and the common interest to let matters be quiet; and I don't find many expect that the government will concern themselves in this matter, save where informations are lodged. The shortness of time after publishing the Oath and the first of June, and other things, may perhaps delay prosecutions, except where informations are tabled; but this is but conjecture.

As to the reasons of the few refusers, I have neither at Edinburgh nor here talked with any of them. Perhaps it's but a few who stick at your difficulty and mine, from the approbation of our present constitution by the Union, though I know some do; and others stick at swearing to a succession, merely with the qualification of being Protestants. Others have difficulties from Oaths being no proper tests of loyalty, especially as to ministers; others from their people; and others from some clauses of this new act; and the title of it bears as hard upon some, as the little word *as* did before. But as far as ever I could learn, there is not the least of a Jacobite and anti-revolution tang in any of the recusants.

When I was at Edinburgh, partly by a load of business, and partly from choice, I was not at any of the meetings which brethren who did not qualify formerly had during the Assembly. I am wearied of our debates in meetings, and see little satisfaction to be had that way; and so I can say very little of the scruples or answers that were said to be given at these meetings.

The last part of yours very much affects me.¹ You have my

¹ "Finwick [the parish where the famous William Guthrie was formerly settled] is greatly enraged at their new minister; and a great many here grumble, some of the best groan, and the most exclaim; some new dissenters, I fear and hear we shall have, though I shall do my best to bring them to rights. This affair met me under great damp and darkness of mind, and has greatly increased them. I pray God may support me, for I'm under great discouragement. I greatly fear the success of the gospel is at a stand among us, and that I shall do little more good here. I have

heartly sympathy, and I am sure you want not my advice. You know much better than I, that when you are under heaviness and damps you are ready to magnify matters. By this time I hope you see that temptations to demission are not only from your enemy, but that of the souls of many over whom you are set. You came not to the charge of souls without some notices, from a higher hand of approbation and mission; and your fears, which I believe are ill-grounded, as to future events, are a rule you would never recommend to others to walk by; and I hope, however distressing they may be in a dark hour, they shall never be a rule to you. The things you speak of ought to have weight with you. But I have many times observed that the most moving things have not most influence upon persons under clouds; and I hope, by this time, your Master's work you are engaged in at his call and in his strength, and the comfortable reflections you have that the Lord, by his grace, has made your eye single in what you have done, and that you have no share by this part of your practice or any other allowed part, in the feared stand the success of the gospel is at, and many other things will cast up as good answers to the temptation you have been under. We must ply our work as long as the Lord keeps a door open for us; and permit me to say, it's only time to think of leaving it when he is pleased to call us from it. Forgive my saying so much to one who needs nothing of this kind from me. May the Lord return to your spirit, and shine upon you in his work so sensibly, as these mists may fly off!

I thank you for your care about subscriptions. The more frequently I hear from you, the more acceptable it will be to yours, most affectionately.

June 17, 1719.

been greatly tempted to demit, not from fears of the government, but from our state and circumstances; and scarce any thing hindered me but the consideration of my colleague, and a few godly people with us. In these circumstances, I need your sympathy and advice."—(*Wright to Wodrow.*)

LETTER CXLV.

DRUMMOND'S LIBEL.—PROFESSOR SCRIMGEOUR.

*Patrick Couper to Wodrow.*¹

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—Receive enclosed an extract of the substance of what is libelled against Mr Drummond in Auchterarder Presbytery, by which any may see he understood not what he preached. I have been much displeased with their vernal Synod at Stirling, that they did not entirely refer the affair to the last Assembly. I find that there is among us such a prodigious itch after error, the common plague of the reformed churches, that unless effectual remedy be timeously applied, such tares are like to spring up and spread among us. I could wish our next Assembly might agree wherever any error is preached by any that Presbyteries might be employed to inform the Assembly if approaching, or that they might be empowered, or a Commission, to judge the affair, otherwise the cause of truth is like to suffer, when the greater part of a Presbytery are infected, as is the case here. There are few of the Presbyteries of Stirling and Auchterarder but are for Messrs Hog, Webster, and Hamilton's doctrine, though I believe none of the three will own Mr Drummond's creed, who is but a very ordinary man, for I know him full well. He has nothing of a scholar, though I truly believe him a good man. He was under my ministry in St Ninian's parish. I doubt not you have heard Mr Hog has given a virulent answer to Principal Haddow's sermon. He does not offer to defend the unsoundness of the Marrow of Modern Divinity, but alleges Mr Haddow has wronged the author. The Principal is very quickly to give a reply.

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xiv. No. 85.

We are insisting against our pretended Professor of Divinity, Scrimgeour, and the rest of the Jacobite masters of St Andrews. We did at the last meeting of the royal visitation get the suspension continued on him till the affair was discussed. I wish we get not a disappointment in the end. But, however, our Synod resolves to proceed against him, because he has no authority or title to teach divinity, to put him to trial; to which, if he submit, we do not doubt we shall have advantage, and if he submit not, it will be an advantage. I thank you for the account I received by Mr Grierson of the growth of Arianism, that cursed heresy; I hear it's advancing apace. If you have any further accounts, you would oblige me to transmit them. I long to have your account of the reformed churches, which I have never yet seen.

I am grieved that I can get no service done you about subscriptions for your History; not one can I obtain. How great is the loss this Church sustains by the delay of printing the History of our Sufferings. The news of worthy Mr Moor's death did much affect me. It's but a short while, and some of us shall follow him. Happy, happy he! to be taken off to his rest, from so evil a time. Give my service to Mr Warner and his spouse. I am, your affectionate brother and humble servant,

PATRICK COUPER.

Pittenweem, August 6, 1719.

LETTER CXLVI.

DESIGNS OF PROSECUTING NON-JURORS.

To Mr William Wright, Minister at Kilmarnock.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I had yours of the 8th, and delayed to answer it till I returned from Edinburgh last week. I can give you little information as to the designs of prosecuting Non-jurors. Save

C. E. [Colonel Erskine,] there was nobody at Edinburgh with whom I could talk freely upon that head. He is of opinion a prosecution will be pushed by the governing party. You know that an order came down about a month ago, directed to the Advocate, I think, and Solicitor, to prosecute all Non-jurors. The Episcopal at Edinburgh were some of them laid under a prosecution. The Advocate not being here, and the Justice-Clerk and Solicitor not being very fond of beginning with Mr Webster, since the order was direct to the Advocate, the order was returned about three weeks ago, with a desire that it might be sent down direct to the Magistrates of Edinburgh. No answer is yet come down, and the Magistrates seem resolved not to engage in that affair, alleging they are not bound in law. Thus the matter stands, as far as I know.

The Colonel was of opinion, that the few Nons should have some short and substantial papers containing the reasons of their refusal ready, in case of prosecution ; and earnestly desired that you might give a beginning to it, and send it to me ; and I promised to him to make any additions that offered to me. I earnestly join with him in this desire, and assure you it shall go no farther than *us* two, without your allowance. As soon as may be, send me your thoughts upon this head, and you shall have all the additions and amendments I can make, in the present hurry I am in, with papers daily coming to hand, upon the History of the Sufferings. I resolve to use freedom with Mr James Stirling, upon that letter of his. I am, yours, most affectionately.

Eastwood, August 17, 1719.

LETTER CXLVII.

SEVERE ANIMADVERSIONS.

To Mr James Stirling, Minister at B. [Barony. ¹]

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—When at Edinburgh, I saw some passages of a letter, said to be yours to a minister in the West country, who had not clearness to take the oath lately imposed. Who it was, I was not told, and know not, but it surprised me much. I would not see nor hear any thing relative to you, but before I gave any credit to it, I would first acquaint yourself, which is not only the rational, but the Scriptural way. I endeavoured to inform myself of the manner of conveyance, but all was kept secret, and I am not so much as allowed to let it be known from whom I had the passages; yet I found a way to get a double of them, and have acquainted the person I would show them to you, and wished they might go no further, till I know whether you owned them or not. This, I thought, was a piece of justice and friendship you would have done to me, had the case been mine. The passages are as follows.

“You expose yourself not a little, by such an *unaccountable carriage*, (viz., in not taking the oath.) The government will take notice of such ministers *as take not the oath, and they will, by all unbiassed persons, be reckoned Jacobites* I thought you really a true Protestant; but if you continue to refuse so plain an oath, I will be obliged to alter my thoughts of you My brother and I, and *all honest men*, are now truly ashamed upon your behalf If your parents were alive, how would they be ashamed to see you *appearing for a Popish idolater*? If you suffer upon this account, you will be reckoned to suffer as a *Jacobite*, and an *evil-doer*. Mr Fork² was pitifully confounded before the

¹ Mr Stirling was the brother of Principal Stirling of Glasgow.

² “The Rev. Mr John Fork, Minister at Kilallan,” appears among the Subscribers to Wodrow’s History.

whole Presbytery; his objections were frivolous, such as no man of sound judgement could maintain If he should *appear to be a Papist*, it's but agreeable to the practice of such a father as he had By such a practice you greatly dishonour God, give a scandal to all Protestants, and offend the generation of the righteous."

Dear Brother, these passages appear so keen, and unlike that temper that I know you are of, that I would not believe they came from your pen till I acquainted yourself. It grieves me very much to think that such passages are going about under your name. I have communicate them to nobody but yourself. If they be not yours, I am ready to vindicate you to the person from whom I had them. If they be yours, I persuade myself, on cooler thoughts, you will dislike them; and take notice what and to whom you write upon such a subject, at such a juncture as this, lest our miserable rents be heightened, and unruly passions be provoked, and evils follow, that I am not willing to name. I persuade myself you will take this freedom in good part, as I am sure it is kindly and well designed. I am, Rev. Dear Brother, yours in great sincerity, and affectionately.¹

Eastwood, August 17, 1719.

LETTER CXLVIII.

THANKS AND CONGRATULATIONS.

To the Very Rev. Dr Increase Mather, Minister of the Gospel at Boston.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—Some weeks ago, I was favoured with a packet from you, by the bearer Mr Zuil,² for which this comes to

¹ No answer appears to have been returned to this Letter.

² The name of "Archibald Zuil, in Crawford's Dyke," appears in the list of Subscribers to Wodrow's History.

return you my most humble acknowledgments. Such ripe fruits, from an old disciple, are savoury, and refreshing, more than I dare express to yourself; and since you declare you allow not your friends (forgive me my placing myself in the number) to pray for one day's longer life to you, allow me to join with many others in blessing the Lord, who continues you with his Church, and to adore that grace and goodness which enables you to be fat and flourishing in your old age. Indeed, I cannot help wishing that your Master, your good and kind Lord, may preserve you long for much further service; and it's my earnest prayer to him, that he may bless you out of Zion; that you may see the good of Jerusalem all the days of your life; and, as you see your children's children, and are joining in the pleasing work of setting them apart to the holy ministry, so you may see peace on Israel.

Dear Sir, pray for us, and stir up all you have influence upon to this necessary work. We desire to wrestle together with you; and the Churches of Christ in New England are not forgot by us; and I doubt not but this poor decaying Church is remembered by you before the throne.

I am called upon sooner by some weeks than I was expecting the ship should have sailed, and shall not give you the trouble of any thing I write to your dear and worthy son. I know he will communicate any thing that is worth reading in mine to him, as to our present circumstances.

By the enclosed Proposals, you will see the nature of a very toilsome and laborious work I have been engaged in these several years. The work is so large and chargeable, that the encouragement is but slow; and it's probable it will be some months before the printing of it begin.

Again I send you my thanks for your valuable present; and, as I think I want little of yours that hath been published, so I will reckon myself at a loss if any thing further the Lord enables you to do escape me. It would be a great satisfaction to me to have your thoughts of the state of religion and signs of the times; though your hand be trembling, your thoughts are ripe and steady.

But I urge nothing that may be uneasy to you. My Lord Pollock is not in this country at present; but I saw him lately, and he still leaves his commands with me to give his kindest respects to you. I am, Reverend and Dear Sir, your very much obliged and most humble servant.

Eastwood, August 24, 1719.

LETTER CXLIX.

AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS.—PROPHECY.

*Cotton Mather to Wodrow.*¹

Boston, New England, 3 d. 4 m. 1719.

MY VERY DEAR BROTHER,—It is not very long since I have directed letters and packets for you; but very, very long since I have heard from you; and so, by consequence, I have not yet had the satisfaction to know that you have received what I have addressed unto you.

So little does my country afford of any intelligence worthy of your notice, or proper to be written of, that, instead thereof, I can find nothing to present you withal but a few new little books, which have been published since my last epistolary conference with you.

The state of my country I have described unto you, (and unto itself,) as faithfully as I can, in a *Valley of Vision*, which you find here enclosed. The other essays, to serve the cause of piety, will, by the intention thereof, bespeak some acceptance with you.

After you have looked into the *Psalterium Americanum*, and judged it worthy, I pray that it may have the honour to be presented unto my Lord of Pollock; a man so like to the man that had an heart after the heart of God, that I believe his heart can

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xx. No. 19.

give a more lively commentary than most men living unto the holy breathings which the Psalms are filled withal. I entreat you to render my services acceptable to that excellent person.

I grow more and more confident, that you are entering into the dispensations, by which the *second* of Daniel, and the *thirty-fourth*, are to be fulfilled upon you. Happy Scotland, that has left in it so little matter for the stone to strike upon!

May the glorious Lord continue you a rich blessing unto the world, and unto his Church in Scotland, the most illustrious—the most beautiful in the world! I am, Sir, your brother and servant,
Co. MATHER.

LETTER CL.

PSALMODY.—NEWS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC.

To the Rev. Dr Cotton Mather, Minister of the Gospel at Boston.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I have yours of the 3d of June by the bearer Mr Zuil, in whose name I thank you heartily for all your kindness to him. I have writ twice to you since last winter; and if, by this time, they be not come to hand, I'll be jealous they are miscarried.

However, you are at a very small loss by missing any thing that can come from so mean a hand as mine; and I am the more in your debt, that you take all occasions to favour me with your letters and packets. Now and then, likewise, I am pleased to see what comes from you to your friends in England; sometimes in the Philosophical Transactions; and, more lately, in that sprightly writer, The Occasional Paper.

All that comes from your hand is still useful and instructive. I see, from your *Valley of Vision*, that you, as well as we, have

mercy and judgment to sing of. Our God is saying, "How shall I give thee up!" and yet showing how willing he is to remain with us. It's long since I have had any accounts of what our Redeemer is a-doing among your Indians; and what is become of the little handful of corn in Malabar. Pray favour me with every thing you have in your vast correspondence, relative to the kingdom of our dearest Lord, everywhere.

Your *Psalterium Americanum* I was longing for before it came, and have been wishing these many years for a work of that nature, to bring us nearer the words of the Holy Ghost. My ears are so untuned, that I was never very fond of rhyme, neither can I altogether go into the great remove the excellent Mr Watts has made from the Scripture words, in his Psalms he published last year; though I long to see the essay he promises upon Divine Psalmody; but I cannot help wishing, that, in our public worship, we may not go altogether off Scripture words. As soon as my Lord Pollock comes home, I shall present it to him. I saw him at Edinburgh some weeks ago, and he orders me to give his most affectionate service to you.

It comforts me to think that your hopes are rising under the prospect of our entry to a glorious dispensation. We are like to have some more clouds before the rising of the sun. The frightful opposition made against the forms of sound words among our neighbours, and the spirit of opposition to the glory of the great God, our Saviour, that is breaking out, looks as if Satan were come down in great wrath. We are not like to want our own struggles in this Church, with error, in another dress.

Matters abroad look dusky enough. The Protestants in Germany are generally going into the forms of the Church of England, as I am told; and the promising views we had of the breaking up of light in France are much overclouded; and there are daily abridgments made upon the liberties of the Protestants in the Palatinate. To be sure, your accounts of these matters are better than what I can pretend to; and, therefore, I only lay these hints before you, that I may be favoured with your sentiments

upon the present situation of the Protestant interest among us, in these parts of the world.

I doubt not, likewise, but your friends in this Church will give you better narratives of matters with us than I am in case to do; but this shall not hinder one of the least of them to cast in his mite.

Towards the beginning of this year, we have been under very louring dispensations, as, no doubt, you will have heard before this come to you. Perhaps one of the most extensive and dangerous plots was laid against the interests of religion in Britain and Ireland last year, that we have had formed of a long time; and a train of wonders of our God appeared in defeating it. Had the plot for a general insurrection in France, which was so providentially broken—had the unhappy King of Sweden succeeded in his bold pushes—had the invasion of Spain taken effect, where had we been at this day?

In this nation we felt a little of the last, but very little: Our Lord showed us only what we might have expected, and did deserve. A few, not four hundred, of the Spaniards, landed in one of the remotest corners of this land; and the only thing that frightened us was the accession of our barbarous Clans to them. It seems their orders led them to attempt nothing till they heard of a landing in England, and that the Lord was pleased to break with his own hand. The handful who came to us sailed but three or four days before the grand Armada, and escaped the storm, the east wind, that broke the other. And so they were disappointed of their friends, and were obliged to continue in Ross till the King's troops came up to them upon the 10th of June; and, though not half the number of the rebels and invaders, yet they broke them; and the Spaniards, next day, surrendered prisoners of war. So that we are now in perfect peace; and I hope this second attempt will quicken the government to fall upon measures for civilizing and bridling our Highlands and Islands, as they may not still be a prey to Papists abroad, and the fuel of new and yearly disturbances; and nothing would be more effectual for this than established schools and ministers among them.

Our General Assembly sat in May last, but had nothing of any great importance before them. The Parliament, before they rose, re-imposed the oaths upon this Church ; and the most part by far have gone in to them, and there are not above thirty or forty have not qualified. They have no difficulties, (and any who have such ought not to have named Protestants,) as to King George's title. But they take some parts of the oath to involve them [in] an approbation of the sinful impositions that are upon this Church, and to be no proper tests of loyalty. If they be overlooked, and nobody can question their firmness to the government, I hope our peace shall be continued. If a persecution arise upon this score, it will miserably involve this Church in flames.

Please to receive enclosed a copy of the act imposing the oath. I send you, likewise, a sermon preached lately, near Edinburgh. This is all I mind of come to my hand since my last packet. You have likewise one of my Proposals, from which you will see what I have been engaged in for some time. As soon as a sufficient number of subscribers come in, I hope to begin to publish it; but it will probably be winter at soonest before that can be expected.

No more offers from this place I mind of. I very much long to hear from you, and of the thriving of religion with you ; and earnestly pray you may be under the daily presence and influences of the Spirit, and by him be enabled to do great services to the body of Christ. I am, Rev. and Dear Sir, in the greatest sincerity, yours most affectionately.

Eastwood, August 24, 1719.

LETTER CLI.

BOOKS.—STATE OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

To the Rev. Mr Benjamin Colman, Minister of the Gospel at Boston.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—Since my last packet for you, I think in March or April last, I am run very much in your debt. I had a letter from you by the post, with most satisfying and refreshing accounts of matters with you in New England, for which I return you my most hearty thanks. Nothing could have obliged me more than the notices you give me of these things I had begged the accounts of, and I shall never be in case to make such a return to it as I would incline.

This letter is in mine eye just now; and I was just about offering you some hint of affairs with us, when I have an express, with the melancholy accounts of the death of a religious lady, a relation of my wife, about twenty miles distant; and I must go and pay my last duty to her remains; and the ship this comes by is to sail before I can return, so you must forgive my shortness and confusion in this.

To supply what I once designed to have given you, please to receive a book from the bearer, which, if you have not seen before this comes, will give the fullest view of our discipline and practice of any thing I could think upon. It was writ by a gentleman, a relation of mine, who, some months ago, died in this place, Mr Walter Steuart of Pardovan. Whatever other things you desire to be satisfied in let me know, and I shall use my best endeavours. Meanwhile, pray continue to give me what further offers as to your discipline, church order, university, and other things you would desire to know, were you here, and your friend where you are.

Since that, by the bearer, Mr Zuil, you have obliged me with two valuable packets of your own sermons, Mr Sewel's, Mr Williams', and some others. I have been much abroad since I had them, and have not got through them all; but those of them I have read it's with great pleasure, and return you my hearty thanks for them, and give my kindest respects to your reverend colleague, and any others of them who are labouring with you, and bless the Lord for assisting them in these public services.

I presume to beg you will continue to send what comes to your hand of your reverend and dear brethren's productions, which are both welcome and useful here. And, by the law of kindness 'twixt us, I'll expect all that you yourself publish. Indeed, I'll be sorry if I want any thing that has been published by my dear friend; and a good many you have sent me, I think eight or nine of your own sermons; but they have raised a thirst after more, and I pray the Lord may remarkably assist you for doing eminent services this way to the souls of many.

No doubt, you'll expect accounts of matters since my last in this Church, which I would willingly give, were I not interrupted. Our last General Assembly, in May, had very little before them of importance. The Act of Parliament re-imposing the Oaths upon ministers, a copy of which I send you, came down at that time, and this new form of the Oath does not satisfy all. There are about thirty or forty recusants, not from the least dislike of the government, or inclination to the Popish Pretender, but from an opinion that this form of the Oath involves an approbation of the impositions we lie under in this Church, and the thoughts they have entertained that Oaths are neither proper tests of loyalty for ministers, who daily, and from their heart, pray for his Majesty, and his Royal Family; neither are they, as matters stand among us, any real tests of loyalty. If the scruplers be overlooked, and the government is persuaded of their firm loyalty, the re-imposition will have no ill effects; but if they be persecuted, the consequences will be lamentable.

We are like to have some new trouble among us as to doctrine.

There is a process beginning against a minister¹ in the Synod of Stirling, and it's said several of his brethren about him have too much gone in with him. Some of the articles libelled against him are as follows: (*vide* and copy *alibi*.) What issue this matter comes to you shall, if the Lord will, hear afterwards.

The Proposals enclosed for the History of our Sufferings meet with but slow encouragement. The price is high, the book being large. It is probable it may be yet several months before I can begin the printing of it.

I have only time to thank you for all your kindnesses to Mr Erskine, and any of my friends who come to Boston, and to beg you'll continue to give them your best advices. I have written to Mr Erskine by this ship, and endeavoured to guard him against what you hint to me he is in hazard of.

May your kind Master furnish you every day with furniture for your great work, and serve himself eminently of you! I earnestly beg you'll miss no opportunity of letting me hear from you; and believe me to be, Rev. Dear Sir, your most affectionate brother.

Eastwood, August 24, 1719.

LETTER CLII.

RELIGIOUS ADVICES.

To Mr David Erskine.

DEAR DAVID,—I have yours of the 22d, and could not answer it last post. Perhaps the post may be too late, but it must take its venture, as you seem to be about to do. I am not sure that this finds you, and though it do, by yours you seem to be pretty

¹ Mr Drummond of Crieff.

much determined to make a trial how you will agree with a garrison. It's not my part to raise difficulties against what you and your friends seem to be gone into. I only notice to you, that you make a wrong use of that part of the New Testament you cite. And, as I hope and expect, you are making conscience to be in a readiness for an eternal state, when you are leaving your native air and going among strangers; so there is nothing which is not inconsistent with everlasting happiness, (that is, unrepented sins,) which will be a sufficient argument against what you are pleading against. Therefore, when I persuade myself that you are making conscience to have matters clear, and in good terms 'twixt God and your own soul, and have publicly owned him for your God, your reasoning will not hold. I am not more particular, because I know not in whose hands this may fall; and I can only commend you to the grace of God and his divine conduct, and advise you not to stand in the way of what you once had some inclinations to, if Providence clear your way. Put a blank in the Lord's hand, and let him choose out your way, and bring it to pass. Let your eye be single, and your dependence on the Lord close in the road of a tender walk and conversation, and diligent improvement of the talents God has blessed you with; which I still think may be much better employed than in attending a business that is the result of the wickedness of poor fallen mankind, generally speaking. Now, I am almost sure you'll think I have exceeded.

I would send you a long set of queries for the Netherlands, had I not spent this whole day in writing to Boston, where I forgot not your brother, and am obliged to take a journey to-morrow, and have no time to form them. But as soon as you are settled, which I wish for one year were at some university; but wherever it be, let me know, and I shall send what may be matter of conversation and inquiry to you.

Meanwhile, dear David, I commit you to the grace of God; remember him in your youth; realise him still with you, and the party you have to deal with; and remember your education, your views, your parents, and the main concerns which relate to eternity,

and acknowledge God in all your ways, and never lean to your own understanding. And, by the law of friendship that has been 'twixt us, see you write frequently to, dear David, yours most affectionately.

August 24, 1719.

I'll be fond to know if this has reached you.

LETTER CLIII.

PROPHECY.

To William M'Farland.

SIR,—I have yours, with the printed piece of Mr Parker on the Revelation, and the papers upon that dark book you send me under the title of "The Crisis;" both which I return to you. You tell me the author is a little of my acquaintance, and has some other collections and other things to communicate with me, and desires I would set down my remarks upon the margin of the MSS. (The author is J. Giles, wright in Hamilton.)

I have glanced through the manuscript very correctly. The calculations of matters relative to the accomplishment of Daniel and the Revelation were never what I have much studied, though I am far from blaming any who dip into these dark parts of Divine revelation. And at this juncture, when you know my hands are full of another work, indeed I have not so much time as to examine them, which is a business of very much labour, far less to give the author any amendments; so that all I can do is to offer what occurs to me, after an overly view of the manuscript.

It's not many books ever I read upon the Apocalyptical subject; and a good many years now since I have considered none save Mr Mather's Appendix, and a little pamphlet upon the great period

1716, and an answer to it. But there is not much in the papers which appeared new to me, save what he advanceth as to the 75 years which he would have allowed beyond the 1260, which the author makes somewhat probable; and I wish the essay were mostly confined to that, and the foundation of it, from the comparing of Daniel and the Revelation, more fully made out. What he hath about the number 666 falls in, if my memory fail not, pretty much with what Mr Potter has in his essay upon that. There seems to be a plain difficulty against Mr Parker's computation of 1260 days, so as to end in the year 1649; upon which he builds his scheme, both from the objections proposed by Messrs Mather, Fleming, and others, against beginning so early as Mr Parker does; and from the narrowness of the change that fell out in the year 1649; it being very much confined to England, at least Britain, and having but little influence upon the antichristian state in the general. Neither can I go in with the author's application of the 70 weeks to his purpose in hand. From anything I have read upon that subject, it appears to be most plainly applicable to the Messiah and his coming; and it will be fit the author consider what Dr Owen and others have written on the 70 weeks against the Jews.

If any thing of these papers come to be published, the style must be smoothed; there are more errors in the writing, and several repetitions, and other things in a first draught, which will fall in course to be helped. The author seems to speak of Mr Parker as being banished for his opposition to the English ceremonies, whereas, if I mistake it not, it was his father, who wrote *De Disciplina Ecclesiastica*, and his famous book *De Cruce*, and not he who was persecuted. Neither do I see the need of reprinting Parker, nor any thing of Brightman's, which is very common. But references to and citations from them may be made, if the essay be brought to a bearing.

This is all that offers to me upon this subject, unless it be that I wish the author may consider as many of the books [as possible] that have been published, at least since the Revolution, upon the Re-

velation, before he think of publishing any thing on that remarkable subject, besides a good many in Latin and French. It will be worth his while to consider Mr Fleming's Apocalyptical Essays; Whiston on the Revelation and the Wonders of the year 1716, with reflections upon it; and a pretty large commentary published last year, which I have not read. I'll be glad to see you when you are at leisure, and shall add any thing that occurs. From your affectionate friend.

Eastwood, October 23, 1719.

LETTER CLIV.

WODROW'S HISTORY.

To James Watson, Printer.

December 7, 1719.

SIR,—This day only I got the specimens, though I have been expecting the carrier these eight days, with some impatience; yet it's but two or three hours ago that I had the specimens of a sheet of the History, upon the three different kinds of paper, for which I thank you, and will most cheerfully pay you for the charges you have been at. I have also the two sheets of the Preface to the Confession, which have obliged me.

I have not got time yet fully to consider them. I observed an error or two; but it may be they are in the manuscript, which, indeed, I have not yet revised, but will fall about it, and make it as exact as I can, when you send the sheets you have; which please to send up to my Lord Pollock's lodgings, sealed in a cover direct for me. What further offers at first view is what you observe as to the superfine, that the margin is too large at the back, which will be soon helped. I notice the title upon the head of the page, *The History of*, is omitted; if any friends think the title runs better

The Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, I shall be easy as to all these circumstances. It may be considered, if it will not be convenient to have the sections also in the title at the head, or at the top of the margin, because some of the chapters are very long. The coarse paper of the specimen does not appear to me perfectly the same with the French crown, upon which the Proposals are published; it's, I think, not so fair, and about a strawbreadth longer. I am fully resolved to have the paper fully as good, if not better, than the Proposals, even the coarsest kind. I please [like] what you term the demy, but I think it's thin, and does not bear so very well. The superfine looks handsomely, and though I have had pretty much dealing in books, yet till now I never so much considered the prodigious difference of the same print on different papers.

When the calcule [account] comes, no doubt you will insert the price of the demy and superfine, and the alterations I may with safety make in my Proposals to such as take copies upon these papers.

I mind no more till I hear from you. Pray have your thoughts on a paper, if any offer, a shilling or two better than that on which the Proposals are; for I really think it a little thin, and not so fair as I could wish it; and you know that paper is it which I must chiefly be well fixed in. I am, yours very sincerely.

LETTER CLV.

SUBSCRIPTIONS TO WODROW'S HISTORY.—PROPOSALS.

To Colonel Erskine, at London.

MY DEAR COLONEL,—I wrote to you last week by post, and have been every post expecting to hear from you what Dr Calany has done. I have not yet heard from the E. of B. brother, Mr Ch. [Chamberlain,] what is become of that volume of the History I

wrote of; but as soon as I can come by [it,] it shall be sent up to the Doctor.

Now, I have brought the matter of subscriptions in Scotland to as full a bearing as I expect it. And, after all the pains that have been taken, the amount is near three hundred. One would have expected a History so much called for since the Revolution, and so much wanted, the encouragement whereof has been recommended by the Assembly and Commission, would have, in near a year's time, had 500 subscriptions among ministers; and yet I suppose there is scarce a hundred, if there be sixty.¹ This is no surprise and disappointment to me, for, indeed, I did expect no great things from Scotland. I have employed an active hand at Dublin lately; what success he shall have, I cannot say. My greatest hopes were still from London; and if these fail me, it will be the worse. I have no doubts of your care about it, and that you will do your utmost, not only upon my account, but upon the score of the work and the importance of it. Mr Fraser, to whom I give my humble duty, and would willingly hear from him, and Mr Ridpath, I know, will lay out themselves. And I presume upon Dr Calamy and Mr Anderson, to whom I give my kindest respects, their assistance. You will consider how far it may be proper to give our Scots Members of Parliament any trouble. A good many of them I could use freedom with, and several of them have signed already, but not many of the Peers. It will be fit all have Proposals; and if any use their interest with their English acquaintance, it will be kind and a little national. This matter I must entirely leave to your management. If the matter be left to them to go to a bookseller's shop and sign, I doubt it be slow; and agents must undoubtedly have receipts put in their hands, as well as receipts left at a bookseller's shop, or some coffee-houses you are acquaint with, where people use to meet.

As to the form of the receipts, I have sent up one with the Proposals; and because it will be troublesome to send up 200 (if so many be needed) signed receipts by me, you may advise with Mr Ridpath, if it will not do well enough if I send up a power to him or

¹ The subscribers to Wodrow's History ultimately amounted to 659, of whom 249 were ministers.

you to sign them, obliging myself to deliver copies for as many receipts as shall thus be given out; and you may then print three or four hundred receipts, and number them, and keep a list of the persons' names and designations who receive them, that they may be printed with the rest. If this will not do, I shall endeavour to take some way or other to send up 200 signed receipts to you, by some merchant; but if the other way would do, I would wish it. But you must acquaint me soon, for the Proposals cannot be published till the receipts be ready, and I must cause print them here.

I have now caused print off some specimens of a sheet of the book on the paper of the Proposals, and a finer paper, which I am sure will please you, and really looks well; and I only send up three or four specimens of the fine sent, because the Proposals for England must be only upon that. If noblemen and others would have it upon a superfine paper, they may; but I fancy this will perfectly please, and the letter is also fair and beautiful.

I have now made a full calcule now, as far as some circumstances which mar a perfect computation will allow me, and find that I can furnish even this fine paper at the two guineas in sheets, providing I have 500 subscriptions. And I am glad that it is so, for it hath brought me out of a difficulty I was in, as to taking a different way with subscribers in Scotland and England. In Scotland, of my 300 subscribers there are but very few who desire it on any better paper than that of my Proposals here; and those that are pleased, I am thinking on a method to gratify them as to the difference of the paper, and bringing them to a level with those that take the fine paper, which I think will be easy and satisfying, and is but a piece of justice and righteousness.

That no time may be lost, then, I send you up directed in different packets, four sheets of the History printed on the paper and letter I would have the English Proposals. They direct to Sir Robert Pollock, Shawfield, Sir James Campbell, and Mr Cunningham. The very margins will stand two shillings a sheet, very near; but they are both very useful, and I think beautiful. This sheet is chosen out for the sake of the thickness of the margins, and not for the matter of it.

What I now propose is, that as soon as possible you will please to cause print the Proposals I send up with this at London, by any you see good, and keep an account of the charges you are at upon this and all other things I give you the trouble of, and they shall be thankfully refunded. Let them be printed on the very same demy paper upon which the specimen is, and the same letter. And, if you please to add some known booksellers' shops or coffee-houses where you will have trustees at London or in the country, you may do it.

I have made some alterations in the style, according to the opinion Mr Chalmers brought me last year. The only thing of great moment you wrote to me about, is the giving a seventh copy to them that sign for six. I have considered this, and calculated the charges, as far as I can; and I find it cannot be done, unless the price be advanced beyond the two guineas a seventh part, which will have its inconveniences. I wrote to you before, that all who make their proposals in this manner, lay on just a seventh part on the whole price, and it's the very same thing to the buyers, generally, only an encouragement to booksellers who take a quantity. This I have not done, and it will be much better and easier to hold it at the round two guineas. And it will be, I believe, one of the cheapest books has been printed these many years, considering the largeness and fineness of the paper; and that it will be near five hundred sheets in print, little above a penny a sheet; and English books upon worse paper are twopence a sheet; and booksellers ought not to sell it but ten shillings above subscriber's price, and that is gain abundance to them. However, if it shall be convenient by friends to cast the subscription money, so as to lay on the price of the seventh copy upon the six, and advance the subscription money proportionably, to such as sign for six copies, which will come 'twixt twenty-four and twenty-five shillings a volume, I shall submit; though I think this is a loss to single subscribers, and I would far rather have it run, as in Scotland, at the two guineas.

If you find it convenient, you will cause insert an advertisement, when the Proposals are published, in the Flying Post, Even-

ing Post, and St James' Evening Post, or what others you see good.

With the Proposals I send you up a copy of some things, which, if you find proper, you may insert upon the other side of the Proposals as a specimen. You may make your choice of what I send up. But I think there will be scarce any need of this, because the Proposals will show the paper and print, and for the matter of the book, it must vouch itself, when it appears.

Write to me as soon as you can about the receipts, and any other thing you think proper to suggest. I cannot say but now I am a little impatient to hear from you, it being near a month since you left us.

Nothing further offers, save that when any subscription money comes in, I am to desire it to be given in to a correspondent of a friend of mine at Glasgow; and they tell me it will be paid here, with two or three per cent. advantage, upon call.

I make no apology for all this trouble, and entreat you will give me a gust how things are going, and send me down a pamphlet now and then. I am, yours, most affectionately.

Jan. 6, 1720.

P. S.—I wish you may try what the sheet in the paper and print of the specimen will be printed for, at 500 copies, and what the paper will stand a ream. I am willing to have it printed in Scotland; but I desire to know the lowest price of paper and print.

LETTER CLVL

ABJURATION OATH.

To Mr George Gillespie, Minister at Strathmiglo.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of December 26th, &c. As to the prosecution of Non-jurants, I have the accounts of it, and

the stop put to it at present. What will follow, I know not. Since you have no clearness to state your sufferings upon a refusal, it does not appear to me so tenable that you have not taken it, when a regular call came; at least I think, had that been my case, I would have qualified, and not waited the government's insisting. I know none in this country who are refusers, but in covenant strength, they have resolved upon sufferings, if carved out to them. Indeed, if the government bear (which I did not before know) that any who had clearness to take the oaths have refused them till they were distressed, it may provoke, and I fear it may fare the worse with such as have such difficulties as they cannot get over. That is in the Lord's hands, and our waiting eyes are towards him. I am, Rev. Dear Brother, yours, &c.

Eastwood, Jan. 6, 1720.

LETTER CLVII.

PROSECUTION OF NON-JURORS.

To my Lord Pollock.

MY LORD,—You will forgive me the trouble of this by post, since I presume still to advise with your Lordship in all my difficulties. You will see on the other side the copy of the letters I had this day from our Sheriff-Depute.¹ I resolve, at his desire, to

¹ Sir David Dalrymple, by orders from the Duke of Roxburgh, having written a letter to Lord Eglington, "that he should give directions to prosecute Non-jurors, within the bounds of the shire of Renfrew, whether they were of the Established Church, expectants of Divinity, or ministers of the Episcopal persuasion," Mr Sempill, Sheriff-Depute, Renfrew, sent to Wodrow, and his brethren in the bounds who had not qualified, a copy of the above letter, and requested them to wait upon him at an early day, to confer upon the subject.—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xiv. Nos. 113, 114.) In a letter, dated January 11, 1720, Mr Webster informs Wodrow, that the magistrates of Edinburgh had also received a letter from Sir David Dalrymple, with orders to pro-

meet with him on Wednesday, for I fancy the prosecution will not be so very sudden.

If there be any legal defences can be made, or any advice your Lordship has to offer, they will be most acceptable. It is a long time since I laid my account with suffering in this matter, and hope for inward peace to support me, be the event what [it] will. I am sorry the King has been advised to be hard upon his friends, who have given all evidences of loyalty to him, save one, which, in fact, is no real evidence, as matters now go. I pray the Lord preserve the peace of this Church, and shall, however I be dealt with, do all I can for the preservation of it. I'll be fond to hear from your Lordship by post, if you find it proper to advise any thing. I am grieved to hear Miss Lillias' tenderness; and am, my Lord, your very much obliged, &c.

Jan. 10, 1719, [1720.]

LETTER CLVIII.

SAME SUBJECT.

To Colonel Erskine, at London.

MY DEAREST COLONEL,—No doubt, before this time, you will have accounts from Edinburgh of the steps taken against the Non-jurors; and you and others will have your thoughts what it is proper for you to do. It is only this day that the copy of my Lord Advocate's letter to the Sheriff was sent to all who are reputed to be Non-jurants in this shire. The tenor of it is annexed to this letter.

secute the Non-jurant ministers, and "forthwith to return an account of their diligence."—(*Ib.* vol. xiv. No. 115.) But the magistrates in Edinburgh, and most other places, were very reluctant to meddle in this matter.—(*Ib.* vol. xiv. No. 119.)

I know you will be sorry the King is advised to take this step at this juncture;¹ and if matters are pushed to severities, I fear it will neither be for the interest of this Church, nor of his Majesty's government. That all the Presbyterian Non-jurors, gentlemen, and ministers, to a man, are sincere and hearty friends to our only rightful and lawful Sovereign, King George, is what is so evident as cannot be called in question, and I wish his Majesty were duly informed of it. I am sure the ministry, if they will allow themselves to see what has passed, and what daily passes, cannot but know it. They have given all the evidences of their attachment to the King and the succession in his family, in the most difficult times, and done every thing proper for them in their station, and given all tests and tokens of their affection, save this complex oath, which, as matters now go, is really no test of loyalty.

Their enemies must acknowledge that it is not from disloyalty that their refusing the oaths doth flow, but from the things they think disagreeable to their principles; and the reserved rights of Scotsmen involved in them. This may be weakness, but can never be construed to be disloyalty; and, hitherto, they have been very tender to make any noise of the reasons of their refusal, out of regard both to the peace of the Church and the country; and out of regard to his Majesty's government, which they most heartily pray for, and subject to in all things they possibly can with a safe conscience.

It will be found that a good many, and, for any thing I know, all in this country who have stood out, will suffer; and a new day, unless it be in order to overlook such as are known to be friends to the government, and to add a clause that may reach real enemies, will do no service. What interest it will serve to persecute a company of friends, in the firmest manner, to the King, when his real enemies can be reached for their not praying, I protest I cannot see, when I consider it in the most serious

¹ The Squadron were blamed as having an active hand in urging on the prosecution of Non-jurors; and it is said that Sir David Dalrymple resisted it as long as he could.—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xiv. No. 119.)

manner. For I can see nobody will be gainers by it but Jacobites, by the humours and dissatisfaction it will raise against the government in the South and West, and the separators from the Church, who will make a handle of it against ministers who have qualified ; whereas, if matters were suffered to go on as they have been since June, when people really do not so much as know who are who, and some Non-jurors are taken for Jurors, and some Jurors for Non-jurors, in a few months' time the distinction will entirely cease. But if a persecution break up, I am persuaded the flames will rise at another rate than ever they have done ; which, however, in all events, I shall do what I can to bear down ; but I am really of opinion it will neither be in the power of Jurors or Non-jurors to bear them down.

Perhaps this may be reckoned a threatening of the government ; but you will believe me when I tell you, that it proceeds from no such design ; but only that you and the real friends of this Church, and to the King's government, may know real matter of fact. Some few ministers, it may be, will easily be borne down, though nobody can answer for the effects that oppression may even put wise men to ; but I wish the consequences of their persecution may be well considered, both as it will affect Church and State. For my share, I neither have, nor I hope ever shall have, any separate interests from these.

I know I need scarce almost write thir things to you, were it not to confirm to you, what, no doubt, you may have observed, in other corners of the Church, from this where you will not know so well how matters go.

You will consider how far it may be proper to inquire into the designs of such as have procured these orders from the King, and give what hints may be proper, how the persons pointed at in these orders of the Presbyterian and Revolution principles should behave themselves ; whether there be any method to lay their case before the King ; how far it may be proper that Presbyteries, or the ensuing Commission, be dealt with, to address in behalf of those whose loyalty has been so often declared by this Church ; and if any

door can be found whereby to lay the case of a good number, not altogether useless members and ministers of this Church, before his Majesty, the heads of such an appli[cation] would be hinted. What friends with you think proper to be done, I shall communicate to Mr Wright and others in these bounds. Any thing that offers for their direction in the meanwhile will be spoken to. I don't doubt but my Lord Advocate may be spoke with himself in this affair; and several others who will not be, if I mistake them not, for the utmost rigour and haste. You will easily see how uneasy I will be till I hear from you upon this affair. What is here you'll communicate to the Earl of B. [Buchan,] my Lord R. [Ross,] Sir R. P. [Robert Pollock,] and friends in the House of Commons, to whom I would willingly write; but I have not time, and you can as well lay it before them.

The author of the History of the Sufferings is not a little longing to hear what is done in the Proposals you received, as he thinks, some weeks ago. If he himself turn a public sufferer, it may retard his work, [at] which he continues very busy, and resolves to go on till he be disturbed in it. Forgive this, in haste, from, Dear Colonel, yours most affectionately.

Jan. 10, 1720.

LETTER CLIX.

PERSEVERANCE IN REFUSING THE OATH.

To Sir James Stewart of Goodtress, at his Lodgings, Edinburgh.

DEAR SIR JAMES,—Yours of the 14th came to hand last post. My being at some distance from the office, hinders me from the satisfaction of acknowledging my obligations to my friends so soon as I could wish, otherwise I would not have delayed

one moment to return my hearty thanks for so obliging a letter.¹ I take the necessary and very seasonable hints you give me as the most real and practical evidences of that friendship you have been pleased to honour me with, which I shall still labour to value and cultivate to the utmost of my power.

The subject you write upon being so nice and tender, serves only to heighten the proof of your goodness in giving yourself the trouble to set me right upon it. I have still been of opinion that not only the laws of revelation, but the small remains of uncorrupted reason, lead men to use more freedom in communicating their sentiments one to another, in important and difficult subjects, and restoring such whom they take to be fallen, or out of the road. So there was no room in the least for a thought of officiousness in this matter.

You are certainly in the right and natural road in cautioning me against the wrong ways of determining myself, and urging the great reason I have for my closest pondering of this affair. I know none in the world needs directions and advices more than I do; and if my heart deceive me not, I am not altogether averse to fall in with what appears to me truth and duty; neither does my conscience altogether reproach me for neglect of means to come to a right determination in this affair. I am still ready to receive all the light my friends offer me, and will endeavour to ponder every thing the best way I can; and when I happen to continue to differ from them in my sentiments of things, they will, I know, believe it flows not from humour, but want of conviction; which, if it be not from the natural stiffness of things and facts, which alter not their nature from our different uptakings of them, and the diversity of postulates upon which we reason, must certainly flow from my weakness.

¹ Sir James had written to Wodrow for the express purpose of inducing him to swear the Abjuration Oath. "The subject," says he, "I am to write of to you in this letter, is of so nice and tender a nature, that I have had no small struggle in my mind whether I should write or not. But, when I reflect upon the friendship I have always justly had for you, I at last determined rather to appear officious than be wanting to the duty of a friend." Wodrow replies with his usual openness and respect; but it is evident Sir James' arguments made no impression on his mind.

Perhaps it may be too much in me to say any thing of the King's orders to put in execution the laws against Non-jurors of all denominations. You suppose me a party in this, and too much concerned, perhaps, to form an impartial judgment; only you will give me leave to wish there be nothing of party in any who have advised the prosecution of them against Presbyterian Ministers. You know what has been suggested, (though I am sure it was in a good measure false,) that the body of such who had not freedom to go in with the oaths appeared in judicatories, and in other cases, against a certain set of men and for another, and a promise was made to remember it. A little time will discover whether changes in practice will be followed with a change in appearances in public upon certain occasions. I have still been of the thoughts that the less ministers meddle in state differences they are the more in their duty, and I am very sure the most part that are now recusants have carried themselves as abstractly as many in the nation.

Whatever be in this, I almost flatter myself you will agree with me, that all wise governments will make a distinction, at least ought to do so, between their real and sincere friends and their known enemies. And when laws are necessarily made, which may strike at the first, through their own weakness and (in the eyes of the most part) unnecessary scruples, a difference should be made in the execution, especially when a road is open to reach enemies, as I humbly think there is in the case before us.

That there are not wanting some who make insinuations that the recusancy of Presbyterian Ministers is from the same Jacobite principle with that of the other side, I shall not doubt, and pray the Lord may forgive them, when such glaring evidences as are at the most critical times, yea every day, given of the contrary, might have prevented so uncharitable a thought. I could almost undertake to prove that all Presbyterian Ministers, (for what I know,) who have not gone into the oaths, have given more solid proofs of their firm loyalty and affection to King George, and a Revolution interest, than can be gathered from any oath whatsoever; and you will forgive me when I add, that I can scarce see at this juncture that

oaths are any real test of loyalty to the government, though I know they are heartily given by many worthy persons under the appearance of a security; and I wish the wisdom of these nations would seriously consider some other kind of more solid evidence of persons' affection to so good a King as God hath set over us. The very nature of oaths as a security supposes more of a real sense of religion, than, alas! many have; and, under our present degeneracy, as they are an inlet to much sin, so I am much of the mind they are a real prejudice to government. Forgive this excursion.

Indeed, I have had many thoughts that Presbyterians, Ministers, and others, who cannot come in to the oaths, have been wanting of late to themselves and his Majesty, in not giving some declaration of their loyalty and affection. Somewhat might be said to excuse them even in this, that the Church, again and again, has declared their untainted loyalty, that they have upon all occasions joined in addresses, and practically and publicly evidenced this. And since the last alterations, the accession has been so great and general to the evidence required in law, that some of the recusants believe they would be so few, and in so remote corners, that, as they might be safely overlooked, so it was unfit upon many reasons to make a noise with any declaration from them.

No doubt, when they are threatened to be civilly prosecute, a declaration comes from them with a vast disadvantage, and a very ill grace; and if a little breathing were yet allowed them till the next General Assembly, for what I know, they would all come in to a most hearty and extensive declaration, and that in the most public manner [that] could be desired, which would (if what they have done, and daily do, is not sufficient) fully distinguish them from Episcopal Non-jurors. You, and other hearty friends to this Church and his Majesty, will consider if any thing of this nature may be fit to be done, and whether it may not be for the interest of the Church, and our harmony and peace, that such a declaration go in the channel of Church judicatories, and from them (if it be found proper) to his Majesty and the world. I have so much diffidence in any thing offers to myself in such a tender matter, that I shall

do nothing till I know the sentiments of those who know things, circumstances, and seasons, of doing better than I can pretend to.

I see well enough that any such declaration will never deliver from the penalties of the laws ; but if it may tend to keep us as far as may be in peace among ourselves, and stop the mouths of such as brand ministers with anti-revolution principles, *valeat quantum valere potest*. No doubt, it might be a foot whereon a government, who have been very merciful to rebels, might exercise a little clemency and connivance to such whom they know to be firm friends. And it would be a public opportunity for some who have, it may be, upon wrong reasoning, contracted an aversion and dislike at all public oaths, without such restrictions and plain explanations from the imposers, as, in our present circumstances, can scarce be expected, and perhaps were unfit to ask, to declare their affection to the government. Your sentiments in this matter, and all that offers further upon the subject you had in your thoughts, will be with the greatest gratitude entertained as the greatest mark you can give of your friendship and undeserved concern for, Dear Sir, yours, most sincerely,

R. W.

Eastwood, Jan. 18, 1720.

I forgot to set you right, pardon the expression, as to one innuendo :—that the oaths are now, by the condescension of the government, given to ministers of their own framing. Certainly the King has been very kind in this matter, and, as you observe, not without effect, since so many of those who were the most clamorous opposers of them are come in. And I am firmly persuaded of his Majesty's goodness to this Church, whose dutiful carriage I had almost said deserves it, at least, shows it's not altogether misplaced. But you know some, who, for themselves, desired no alterations, though they were pleased that the difficulties of others should be removed. And it was told as plainly as circumstances allowed, that proposed alterations would not satisfy all, and when things that would have gone a little further were found what would be straitening to the

King to grant, they were silent, as choosing, in this case, much rather [to] cast themselves on his clemency in their inextricable difficulties, as they were persuaded every way consistent with their inviolable duty to him.

LETTER CLX.

SAME SUBJECT.

To my Lord Pollock.

MY LORD,—I would not have delayed my acknowledgment for your kind letter of the 12th so long, if I had any thing remarkable to have writ by post. But having the occasion of the carrier, I would not fail to return my kindest thanks.

I am very sensible of your Lordship's sympathy with me at this time, and in former difficulties, and very much value it; and though my prospect of trouble¹ be upon matters, a great many whose opinion I highly honour have quite other views of than I can attain to, yet I am firmly persuaded all events and issues are in the hands of the holy and wise God, to whom, if my heart deceive me not, I endeavour to approve myself; and there I cheerfully leave myself and all that concerns me, and his work in my hands in this place.

I will be sorry if any expression I dropt in my last has, without my observing it, imported any thing of a positive determination. I have never allowed myself to go further than determining myself for the present according to the best light I could attain to; and it's highly reasonable I daily leave room for every thing that casts up to me in Providence. I must own, indeed, for a good many years I have had occasion to hear much reasoning upon the matter of the oaths. I had the benefit of a very full and free conversation

¹ The trouble to which he might be subject for refusing to swear the Abjuration Oath.

once and again, upon this subject, with the man I was most in hazard of being biassed with his opinion in quisquose and difficult matters of any that ever I conversed with. Your Lordship will almost without my naming him know that I mean the late Advocate. Had his sentiments been followed, some of the inconveniences we are now under in this Church had been prevented. And yet I am most willing to receive every thing that shall be offered to me.

What I meant by legal defences was, not that I thought any could be made if the orders had been given in the way that I imagined they would come, by the letter of the Acts of Parliament. But when the orders appeared to me directed to Sheriffs and Magistrates of Burghs, when, in the meanwhile, the act *primo Georgii*, to which the last act refers as to the penalties, expressly determines the prosecution to be before the Lords of Session or Justiciary, and, as I take, upon an information, I was ready to think all that the Sheriffs could do was to return lists of such who had not recorded their certificates in their books; and the effectual prosecution was to run in another channel by an indictment in order to conviction. I pretend no skill in these matters further than the plain letter of the law, and, indeed, the English frame of laws we are now under are far more intricate than our plain old Scots acts were. This last act, *quinto Georgii*, seems to make the penalty the loss of the stipend, at least the one-half to the informer; and yet afterwards it refers to the former act as to the penalties. How to knit these fully together I don't know, and wish I may never be brought to study them further. It's folly to strive with a government I love and pray for.

I resolve to keep by the dutiful exercise of my office in this place, till I see the Lord, in his Providence, loosing me from it; and I hope the day will be sufficient for the evil of it. When any thing offers, your Lordship thinks proper I should know, I hope to hear from you. I promise myself Miss Lillias is no worse, for which I bless the Lord. All here give their most humble duty to your Lordship. I am, in a most particular manner, my Lord, your very much obliged and most humble servant,

R. W.

Eastwood, Jan. 18, 1720.

LETTER CLXI.

SAME SUBJECT.

To Mr William Wright, at Kilmarnock.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 18th this day, and am sorry that you are necessarily hindered from travelling. I am dunned with letters upon all hands from London and Edinburgh, urging us to meet, and do somewhat upon this threatening by the government, and it was to communicate all to you, that I would willingly have had one night of you, that we might have had a full conversation.

Our circumstances, perhaps, may be easier here, though it be uncertain how long either, than in other places where sheriffs and magistrates may begin to execute the laws, though, indeed, I see not by the acts of Parliament it's competent for them; and it is the general cry, that we take joint and uniform measures. The two things I find most insisted on are, a declaration of our loyalty in most ample terms to the King we love and pray for, and doing what may distinguish us from the Episcopal Non-jurors, seeing some openly enough insinuate, that the few Presbyterian Non-jurors are so upon a Jacobite lay. And then the question is, whether to do this in an address, or in any other way. The other thing insisted on is a declaration of the reasons of our Non-jurancy, when we come publicly to suffer, that we appear not as evil-doers and fools; what those shall be, and how or where offered, and in what manner. Further, it's asked what methods we shall take, if we shall appear before civil courts, use legal defences, desist from preaching, when commanded so to do, and multitudes of other things I need not write of to you. Upon these, and every thing which offers to you, as proper either to be written to friends, or done by us, I shall be much satisfied to have your mind at full length, since I am deprived of the pleasure of conversing with you. What our qualified

brethren will do, I have heard nothing. We are certainly to consider if any thing be incumbent on us, without expecting or waiting what they do. I am, yours, most affectionately.

Jan. 19.

LETTER CLXII.

CONTINUED SCRUPLES.

To Sir James Stewart.

DEAR SIR JAMES,—I was abroad when yours of the 19th came here, and the end of the week involves me in things of another nature than the subject before us. This is all I have to say in excuse of my return, its being so late.

My debt to you is so much growing upon my hand, that I must think of giving over my acknowledgments of that which, indeed, I cannot fully express; and instead of what you are pleased to reckon undeserved compliments, I shall only assure you that I shall carefully weigh what you so kindly propose to give me light in this perplexed matter, which has been the subject of much wrangling, and give as close attention as I am capable of to the force of every argument you lay before me, and determine myself in the issue, according to the best light I can attain to.

You are pleased to open a pretty large field as to the lawfulness of oaths in general to governments. My scruples have not run so very much upon that, though I cannot say I have so much dipped upon it. I believe it has been pretty generally in use in Christian kingdoms and societies. Neither can I determine whether oaths were introduced there, from the instances you adduce from the Old Testament; one of which, David's case, 2 Sam. v., is plain as to a

league and claim of right, but not as to an oath, though I shall not dispute it, or rather, from this method of stipulation, by a solemn appeal to God's omniscience, with implied imprecations to him as a Judge, its being the most awful tie reasonable creatures could come under.

That kings and societies may demand them, when answerable to their end, I shall not debate, though this will not follow upon their being in use, especially in times and circumstances differing from our miserable times. But one would think, times and circumstances may so far alter, as it may be neither proper for magistrates to demand oaths, nor lawful to give them if commanded. I do not say we are in this case; but I fear we may be drawing fast towards this state, I make the supposition of, for argument's sake. When the sense of religion and the Divine perfections is so much off people, that you or I would not lend 100 merks upon an oath, without some other mean to reach our money when we would have it, and we can scarce attain to that degree of charity, as to believe most part of people fear an oath, the question then will be, if such a mean of security, altogether unanswerable to its end, wherein the awful name of God is interposed, be lawful, and not whether any thing extrinsic can afford a dispensation from that which is my duty, as you state it.¹

When we are upon this head in general, it would perhaps be more proper for me to consider public oaths as required of ministers, who give daily other and far more convincing evidences (in our present circumstances) of their duty to the King. And then, I doubt a little, if there has been such a general requisition of them as your argument supposes. Perhaps it will be found that they came in only upon churchmen, their mixing in with the affairs of the world, and their sinfully getting into civil posts and employ-

¹ "If the commands of our superiors, who have a right to command, are to be obeyed in things lawful, that once fixes the duty of compliance upon me, so that no extrinsic consideration can afford me a dispensation, for at all ventures I am to do my duty where I am clear in the matter of the duty, though I were persuaded that not one other person of the society were to do it sincerely besides myself."—(*Stewart to Wodrow.*)

ments, in which case, they were naturally brought under the usages common to others in those stations. I see the known Abbot de Vertot, in his "Dissertation sur l'Ancienne Forme des Sermons, usitez parmi les François," before the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, makes this pretty evident as to France, during the first race of their kings.

Whatever be in this, as far as I can learn, there are no oaths required of ministers in any of the Reformed Churches, save in Britain and Ireland, unless it be when they come in some churches to join with statesmen in mixed commissions for superintendency and other matters. But as to their maintenance and civil protection, there is no oath required. And since the Reformation, (except under Episcopacy,) probably the National Covenant and the Solemn League were the first oaths gone into by Presbyterian Ministers in Scotland, wherein the limitation of allegiance in defence of religion was inserted.

All this is but practice and facts, and will not amount to a rule; and from it you will not suppose I would incline to have the clergy independent on the society whereof they are members, or the government under which they are subjects. I know somewhat of the unaccountableness of that doctrine, and abominate it. But this is not a place to speak of the regulations I wish they were under, more safe to the magistrate, as I suppose, and agreeable to their function, than what they are now subject to.

That unhappy eight hour bell has deprived me of that part of yours I am earnestly desirous of,¹—the matter of the declaration I hinted at; and the more I think of it, the more I incline to think, could it be well concerted, it might be of some use, at least to vin-

¹ Sir James Stewart, in his letter, proposed to consider three things in Wodrow's last communication to him: "The unnecessariness of oaths, as being no security to a government, and the imposing thereof an occasion of much sin, and may in the end prove a blind to the best of kings. 2. How far a declaration from you and those in like circumstances may be proper at this time, and if their present circumstances may not detract from the weight and value of it. 3. Your postscript." After animadverting on the first of these points, he says, "I am again cut short by eight o'clock, but as to the matter of the oath, I presume to send you enclosed some thoughts I designed for a friend of mine in anno 1716."—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xiv. No. 123.)

dicating such who, after their utmost consideration and reasoning, cannot come up to the oaths.

Your large paper written 1716 is most welcome, and I shall very soon return it to you. I have only got time to glisk it over cursorily, and find the matters in it of that variety and importance as require more thoughts than yet I have given it. At first view, I am not able to come in to the general principle that lawyers' sense of words that I swear must be taken for a mean of determination as to the import of phrases, unless it be declared by the imposers, and agreeable to the plain import of the words obvious to everybody; and I can scarce be for the peculiar ways of speaking of any particular faculty or science, their being brought in to matter of oaths, which should be very obvious, especially when generally imposed. Yet I agree with you as to the general scope that lawyers are to be mostly regarded as to the fixing the debated sense of phrases peculiar to their profession. What is at the close about the reference to the Union Act, and other laws referred to, inveigles me in a good many intricacies, which I will [be] very fond to have your mind [and] help in.

But at present let me beseech you to go on in the road you are in; for if I know myself, it's not my own particular case lies so much at heart, as that of both the Church and the King's interest in this nation; though I ought and must do all I can for my own safety, and especially keeping a clear conscience in a difficult time. I am, Dear Sir, yours most sincerely.

January 21, 1720.

LETTER CLXIII.

SAME SUBJECT.

To Sir James Stewart:

DEAR SIR JAMES,—I was abroad at our Presbytery when yours of the 19th came here, and when I was this day about to make a return, I am interrupted by the accounts I have of new orders come from the Justice-Clerk with a copy of a libel against the Non-jurant clergy of a neighbouring shire. I know no returns are yet made from this shire to the last orders sent, and see not how such indictments can be given yet for some days.

This obliges me to ask liberty to break off our friendly correspondence for this post, by asking your advice in point of law as to my procedure. Upon returns of the want of certificates, no doubt there can be indictments and summonses given to appear before the Lords of Session or Circuits; but as far as I can observe, no other courts are competent in matter by the act *primo Georgii*. By the last act, *quinto Georgii*, there seems a clause relative [to] the stipend cognoscible before the Sheriff courts, and yet the posterior part of that same act refers to the penalties enacted *primo Georgii*.

What the nature of the indictment is I cannot yet tell, though I am shortly to have a copy of it. Probably you will have heard the contents of it, and whether the subsumption relates to the stipend, or the five hundred pounds, or both.

I'll be fond to know the channel this matter is to run in, and if any appearances be competent before the Sheriff court, or if we are to have indictments sent us, and our first appearance at Edinburgh or before the Circuit. And I presume to hope you will suggest any thing you find proper as to my behaviour in this emergent.

If the interest of the Church and his Majesty's government be

safe in pushing this matter, I shall be the easier. I bless the Lord I yet enjoy much inward serenity, and am conscious of no known guile or sin in this affair, whatever civil guilt I may be looked upon as under; and wish all may be well directed in holy and wise Providence; and am, Dear Sir, yours.

January 22.

LETTER CLXIV.

LOYAL ADDRESS BY THE NON-JURORS.

To Mr William Wright.

DEAR BROTHER,—About half an hour after I dispatched mine to you, yours came to me, which, had it been a little sooner, had prevented my rude and through-other [confused] draught. However, by it you will see what was then in my head, and now I shall only add, that I am very well satisfied with your draught of the Address,¹ and can heartily subscribe it, and wish it may be what brethren in our circumstances will agree to. I have no letters this week from brethren in Stirlingshire or Edinburgh, and I suppose all we in this Synod may agree in your draught. Dumbarton brethren, they say, have gone in, and Mr Bradefoot.

You will see my draught is upon another foot than yours, and a declaration I thought of, to be given in to the Sheriff courts to prevent returns, if they please, or that extracts of it may be sent with the returns that are made; and if the government, when they have these returns, will go on to give indictments, they will do it with the worse grace. This offered to me, the rather that I had little

¹ This was an address and declaration of loyalty, which Mr Wright had drawn up, in such terms as he conceived would be dutiful to his Majesty, and consistent with the principles of Non-jurants.

prospect of access to an immediate address to the King, considering the edge upon the Secretary, which appears from the return to the application made by Mr Webster; as I hear this moment, by a letter from Edinburgh, that his Majesty will be obeyed. But, if we can fall into a method to present it, I am most willing it be essayed.

Your thoughts upon the Union being necessarily implied in the allegiance, jump [agree] very much with mine, as to the restipulation, and the nature of allegiance. And I design, in a post or two, to send you my thoughts upon this at greater length, which I dashed down this week. But, as to the King of Great Britain, Crown of Great Britain, Government, and other expressions, being in use since the union of the two crowns, which you may be assured I do not like, and before the incorporating union, I did think they might be used, without a necessary implication of being understood of the incorporating union; and, unless some terms, that have since the late union been applied, and understood of that, though before they were otherwise, it will be hard to find words to express ourselves in, but what may be applied by people to our approving it. For instance, the words *loyalty* and *lawful King* may be thought to bear a reference to the present laws and constitution; in that case, there is no help, but that we give the sense of our own words.

This is all offers to me *raptim* this night, because on Monday I am to be abroad till night, and it may be all night, and would not fail to write, though the shorter, this night.

By what you have signified to me, I can guess you will not be satisfied with some expressions in the draught I sent you, and, perhaps, not with the assurance. But I am, as far as once reading reaches, pleased with yours, and I wish you may make amendments on mine, so as it might, if found proper, run in the channel it is calculate for, of which I expect your thoughts upon Monday, and all other things that offer. You still find me as open and free in every thing as any friend can be; and I shall communicate all

that comes with you; though I have got into a senseless load of letters. Meanwhile, I am, yours most sincerely.

Jan. 29.

LETTER CLXV.

SAME SUBJECT.

To Mr Andrew Cumming, Minister at Largs.

DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 26th, and in most part of what you write, I am entirely of your mind. I think we should essay to address the King, in the most ample form we can, in a consistency with our difficulties on the Oath; and, because these are various, we must condescend one to another, and go as great lengths as we can, and hold off things we have not clearness in, if all have it not.

But the difficulties I apprehend are in the way of an address made me turn my thoughts to another channel, that when we are called before the Sheriffs, as it's said we will before returns be made, if we can agree in it, we offer to take the Assurance, which is one test of loyalty required by law; and, with that or without it, if we cannot agree to it, we give in a declaration of our duty and affection to the King, as near the words of the oath, and as ample as may be, subscribe it, and crave it may be registrate in the Sheriff books; and that returns may be made of it to the Advocate and Government.

You suggest a good deal of matter, both of an address and declaration. The great thing in yours, which is not so agreeable to my way of thinking, is our engaging to the King, and his successors, governing us according to the laudable laws, engaged to by

the C. [Coronation] Oath. There one of my difficulties lies, that his Majesty engages, in all the Oath we are to expect, to rule us according to the laws made by both parliaments at the Union, and, indeed, in fact, our allegiance seems to suppose our subjection according to the known laws, T. [Toleration] and Pat[ronages.] I am, yours.

Feb. 3, 1720.

LETTER CLXVI.

MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS.

To the Rev. Mr Benjamin Colman.

REV. DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 17th of November came timely to hand ; but I am sorry to find the ship returning sooner than I was made to believe, so that I am again curtailed in writing to you at that length I inclined to have done.

I have writt for the Rev. Mr Neal's History of dear New England, and expect some pleasure from it, though he must be at a vast loss when not upon the place of which he attempts the History ; and can do little but collect what others have writt or said to him ; yet the character you give his ingenuity, and the hopes some of your friends have of it, raise my expectations.

In my attempt upon the Sufferings of this Church I am not under his disadvantages ; I have access to our public registers of our Scots Council and Justiciary or Criminal Court, and a multitude of other authentic papers, from which the body of my History is compiled ; yet I have had many difficulties to get through. This attempt is thirty years too late, and I have no line to guide me, we having no history of that period ; and the most severe actings of that bloody period are not to be met with in public records, but

were transacted up and down the country by the standing army under the influence of a debauched clergy. Beside, you and my friends cannot but see my pen and style will not answer the taste of this nice age. I never studied expression as perhaps I should have done; but though I had, it were no great wonder that I have lost any thing I had of it by seventeen years' retirement and conversation among country people. Indeed, it was much against my inclinations to appear in print, and I have many apprehensions the subject will suffer by coming through my hands; but piece by piece I was by my brethren hooked in, till I got so far in as I could not retire, without sinking this necessary work.

Since the publishing my Proposals new matter has come to my hands, so that I guess the work will run to 500 sheets. This and the slowness of subscribers has retarded the printing; but if some unforeseen thing fall not in, in a very little time now I hope to begin. You may expect the first volume as soon as it's published, and an opportunity offers, but speak no more of the subscription money. I am more in your debt than that comes to.

The collections methodised were what offered to me as the best account I could give of matters with us, and I am glad they in any measure satisfy you. The longer I live I see the more need of an orderly government, and cannot but regret the opposition has been made among you to this. When the times grow worse than I bless the Lord they have been in New England, as I fear they may with you and us, the necessity of government and discipline will yet further appear.

You have made me very sorry to hear your health and other things have hindered your finishing that noble design, *Moses and the Prophets fulfilled in Christ*. Dear Sir, resume, if possible, the design; it's most seasonable at this time, and I hope there is a blessing in it.

I return you my most hearty thanks for the valuable present you send of your own and your Rev. Brethren's labours. The Rev. Mr Wadsworth has both edified and affected me with his serious strain of solid piety, and I give him my most affectionate regards, as also

to your dear and valuable colleague, Mr Cooper. You'll continue to favour me with what is from time to time published; nothing of any importance has been printed here since the sheets I send you with this, which I flatter myself will be welcome. They are written by a dear friend of mine, a youth of the greatest hopes we have among us, whose name you see is concealed. I did not send you the Confession of Faith and our Catechisms; but when the other volumes of our public bodies of doctrine are published, you may expect them, if the Lord will.

I promise myself you will continue a correspondence I value so much, and allow me hints of every thing remarkable that is agoing in your parts of the world. By this I write to Mr Erskine, and heartily thank you for all the good advices you have given him, and persuade myself you continue your Christian offices with him. May our gracious God remarkably countenance you in his work, and continue you for a blessing to his church, and a comfort to, Rev. and Dear Brother, yours in many bonds.

Give my thanks to C. [Cooper] for his compliment.

Feb. 10, 1720.

LETTER CLXVII.

MARTYROLOGY.—PROPHECY.—ARIANISM.

*Dr Increase Mather to Wodrow.*¹

Boston, Nov. 11, 1719.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I have yours of the 24th of August, for which I thank you. I'm very glad that you are preparing an historical account of the sufferings of the Lord's witnesses in Scotland, in two of the late unhappy reigns. A late author reports that Dr

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xx. No. 21.

Amet would often wish that there might be published to the world a martyrology of the sufferings of non-conformists under prelacy, in the reigns of two other, of James I. and Charles I. This of yours will, I hope, be of great service for the truth, and for the Church of God.

As for the signs of the times, I know they will be better than at present they are; but I hope, in Christ, that I shall be in a better world than this before they come. I no way doubt but that Anti-christ's 1260 days are well nigh expired; yet that dying beast may give a cruel bite. There is great talk of a general peace in Europe, which makes me think of 1 Thes. v. 3.

I am troubled to hear that Arianism or Socinianism are prevailing in England, and that too among the dissenters from the Established National Church there. I do not hear that it is so in Scotland, which is a matter of joy. And it is a comfort to me that my son Samuel (who is the Pastor of a dissenting congregation in Witney, near Oxford) stands up for the truth. I now send you some of his discourses, which please to accept of. I see, in reading the newspapers, that in ——— another of his books is published, proving the Deity of the Holy Ghost; but I have not as yet seen the book. I bless the Lord that my sons do not fall in with the errors of the time. 3 John ver. 4.

As for myself, the goodness of God is wonderful towards me. Notwithstanding my great age and decays, I am able to preach to the greatest congregation in the largest meeting-house in Boston. My hearers tell me they can hear me as well now as forty years ago. The Lord help me to be humbly thankful. I do not, nor never did I, make use of my notes in the pulpit. English ministers do too generally read their sermons. You in Scotland do not approve of that practice. I have read that in Helvetia they do not allow their ministers to read their sermons, except they are past sixty years. But how gracious is God to me, who am past eighty, in continuing my understanding and memory! Who would not serve so gracious a God with all his might, as long as he has any ability to serve him! What shall I render to him!

Dear Sir, let me say to you, as I am wont to say to my best friends, do not pray that I may live longer, (for who that thinks of heaven can desire to continue in the world,) but pray that, whilst I am here, I may be capable of doing service for God and for Jesus Christ.

The Lord be with you, prosper your ministry and your labours in writing to the glory of his name, and the edification of many of his elect! I am, your friend and brother,

INCREASE MATHER.

Please to present my service to my Lord Pollock.

LETTER CLXVIII.

SAMUEL MATHER'S TREATISES.—PROPHECY.

To the Rev. Mr Increase Mather, Doctor in Divinity, and Minister at Boston.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I shall not offer to express how satisfying it was to me to have a letter from you of the date November 11 last, with the valuable present of two of your son, Mr Samuel, his seasonable and learned performances. I bless the Lord your sons walk in the truth, yea, are contenders for the faith once delivered to the saints, in this lax and loose age we are fallen into. I heartily rejoice in the pleasure this must afford you in your old age, but chiefly in their glorifying your God, and kind Master, in whose debt [you] are so much.

The Dissertation, *De Ordinatione*, discovers a vast deal of digested knowledge of the first ages of Christianity, and a great deal of solid and judicious reasoning. His excellent discourse of the awful doctrine of the Trinity is, indeed, a noble appearance for the Great God our Saviour, his Father and Spirit; and I don't see what gain-sayers can object against his Scriptural and strong reasoning.

I am refreshed by your firm hopes, that the days when the mystery of iniquity shall have an end are approaching, though, indeed, I have sometimes trembled under the fears of the dying struggles of the bloody beast, and wait while the vision tarries to see what the Lord is about to bring out of this approaching peace.

Lately, a friend of mine sent me some papers, containing remarks upon, and a parallel betwixt, the prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation, as to the twelve hundred and sixty days, to look over. He builds much upon the calculations and reasonings of the learned and pious Mr Parker; and agrees with him, that the twelve hundred and sixty prophetic days expired in the year 1649. But he is of opinion, which he builds upon Dan. xii. 6, 11, 12, that the calculations he has seen have overlooked seventy-five years, the difference betwixt the twelve hundred and sixty years, and the thirteen hundred and thirty-five, which the angel fixeth, as he thinks, for the complete run of the Antichristian State. This brings his period to the seventeen hundred and twenty-four. I was in case to give him no help almost in this necessary inquiry, being at present involved in things very much alien from it. The thought was new to me, probably it will not be so to you, who have so exactly considered that matter; but I presumed to lay it before you, and will be extremely fond to have your opinion of it. We are, in this Church, perfectly free of any inclination, so far as I know, to the old heresies now vamped up in England, in this dark day, and that even among the Dissenters.

I thank you for your good opinion of and wishes to the toilsome work I have for some years been engaged in. The first volume is now copied out for the press, and, if the Lord will, in a very little time printing will begin. I pray the Lord this necessary work may not suffer by being in so mean hands. I adore the great goodness of God to you in your old age, and to the Churches of Christ in you. May an abundant measure of his Holy Spirit be your portion and singular usefulness to the Redeemer's kingdom. Please to favour me hearing from you as long as you are able, and with every thing the Lord strengthens you to publish, and allow me a share in your

prayers; and give my humble duty to your son, Mr Samuel, with my hearty thanks for his services to the foundation truths of our holy religion.—I am, Rev. and Dear Sir, your unworthy brother and most affectionate servant,

R. W.

Feb. 10, 1720.

LETTER CLXIX.

WODROW'S HISTORY.—MATHER'S WORKS.—ARIANISM.

Cotton Mather to Wodrow

SIR,—At the moment (which is just now) that I received the satisfaction of your letters dated the latter end of August, I am advised of a vessel sailing for Glasgow so suddenly, as to give me no time for any large returns.

And, indeed, if I had more time, yet I know not whether I shall do well to burden you with large epistles. This country affords very little matter of intelligence worthy to be laid before you, and it is a pity to give your more important studies any interruption.

I extremely rejoice in the hope of the service which will be done for the kingdom of God by the publication of your Church History. And, though our distance renders it impracticable for us to assist the work with our subscriptions, yet, if I live to see the work published, I hope to give some assistance unto the sale of it in these parts of the world.

The Church of Scotland is most certainly the best thing that our poor earth has to show; nothing on earth has, indeed, so much of heaven in it. The sentiments which good men here have of that

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xx. No. 22.

glorious Church, I expressed, after my poor manner, in a letter to our honourable Principal Stirling, (dated 10 d. 5 m., 1718,) which, if it may contribute any thing to the intention of your work, I shall think myself, as well as it, honoured by its being inserted there. The history of that renowned Church is full of wonders; and the little taste of it, by a nameless writer of *Memoirs*, in octavo, raises our appetite for what you intend for us in folio. 'Tis an excellent work that you are upon. May the glorious Head of the Church prosper it! But you, Sir, as well as I, know this world, and the influence which the powers of darkness have upon it, so well, that if the most elaborate and well studied essays to serve the kingdom of God meet with but small encouragement, when things of another aspect get forward with no obstruction, you will not wonder at it. However, go on; hold out, my friend; *God will provide*.

My dear Frankius, in his preface to his edition of the New Testament in the modern Greek, as a present for the poor churches under the Mahometan oppressions, (for the publishing whereof our glorious Lord strangely supplied his expenses,) has an observation with which I will comfort you:—" *Explorate cognovi, ubi Deus primum animo indiderit bonum ac salutare propositum, superfluum esse impatientem de via ac ratione id in effectum deducendi sollicitudinem: Deum enim sic cuncta dirigere, ut quodlibet legitimo fiat tempore, et eo major deinde gloria in ipsius providentiam redundet; si, citra curas anxias et operosa hominum molimina, consilia sua perfecerit.*"¹

While the glorious Lord has accepted me more than two hundred and ninety times to serve his kingdom with my mean pen, in publishing composures, many of which have cost me very little thought, and been the fruits of no long projection, he seems to pass a sentence of death on several preparations that have cost me much

¹ "I have found by experience, that when God has put a good and useful purpose into the mind, all impatient solicitude as to the way and manner of carrying it into effect is superfluous; for God so orders all things, as to do everything at its proper time; and if he accomplishes his counsels independently of the anxious cares and aboribus endcavours of men, so much the more glory redounds to his Providence."

more study than those that have come abroad ; especially the *Biblia Americana*. And if he will have them to lie for ever buried, I am entirely satisfied in his will, and wisdom, and justice ; and his grace, in what has been already done, will be sufficient for me. However, I will wait upon Him, with hopes that he who raises the dead will, in his own time and way, bring into the service of his kingdom what it has no occasion for.

We are sorry for any share that our dear Scotland may have in the universal decay of real and vital PIETY, in which the Church every where (and here also) is languishing. But the most grievous tidings that ever came over the Atlantic to us, are what we hear of the fearful apostacy, in so many of our English brethren going off to *Arianism*, or to *Gentilism* ; and the Laodicean temper of so many more who have withheld the testimonies which the labouring truth has called for. My younger brother has twice made suitable appearances on this lamentable occasion. I have also, in my poor way, written over to London the sentiments of our ministers on this deplorable degeneracy.

Our God will shortly do some wonderful things ; will show wonders to the dead. You will speedily have a general peace. And then, the next news will be—*things which we looked not for !*

But, my dear friend, while you are labouring and not fainting, and in the patience of the kingdom, you will have the Lord of it graciously strengthening and succeeding of you. Yea, he hath said, “ I will never leave thee nor forsake thee.” In Him, I am, Sir, your affectionate brother and servant,

CO. MATHER.

Boston, New England, 12 d. 9 m. 1719.

Sir, you will give my most humble service unto my Lord of Pollock and his lady, to whom I present the little book, entitled “ *The Best Espousal*.”

And you will remember me to Mr Jameson and Mr Clark, when you see them.

LETTER CLXX.

ABIANISM IN ENGLAND.—“HORRID WITCHCRAFT.”

To Dr Cotton Mather.

REV. DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 12th of November I had in due time, with the enclosed valuable performances. Forgive me when I complain only to your[self] of a supposition you make, as if any thing from you, be it never so large, could be burdensome to me, or interrupt my studies. The kind and useful correspondence you have honoured me with now for a good many years, I have still reckoned one of the greatest satisfactions kind Providence has allowed me ; and though you may now know what disproportioned returns you are to look for from me, yet I now presume to make a claim on your undeserved goodness and friendship ; and the oftener and at the greater length I hear from you, you oblige me more than I can express.

I am in your debt for the good opinion you are pleased to entertain of that toilsome and laborious work I have for some years been taken up with. As soon as the first volume is published you may expect to have it, and I embrace with thankfulness your kind offer of help to disperse it in dear New England.

Since the printing of my Proposals many new materials are come to my hand, which, with other things, have retarded it a little ; but I have a prospect of beginning it now very soon, if the Lord will. It probably will swell to near 500 sheets. Your kind supports, and Dr Frankius' remark, have been very seasonable to me, considering what I have and am like to meet with discouraging ; but I leave all upon the Lord and his wise Providence.

We are here with you bemoaning the frightful apostacy of so

many among our neighbours to Arianism and Emlynism,¹ and the violence of multitudes who yet, I hope, are not in the snare of the devil, against confessions and subscriptions. I rejoice in the glorious appearances your excellent brother has made for the precious truth.

Little offers from this country that I can yet write fully of. We are alarmed with the outbreking of horrid witchcraft upon the family of a nobleman about twenty miles east from this, the Lord Torphichen. A son of his, about twelve years, it seems, has been seduced into the devil's service some years ago, and strange things are done by him and about him.² Several are taken up, and lawyers have taken a precognition; what the issue is, you shall hereafter know, if the Lord will.

Meanwhile, let us pray that the visible and invisible kingdom of Satan may be weakened and destroyed, and do our best to promote our Redeemer's kingdom. May you be long useful for grand

¹ *Emlynism*, so called from Mr Thomas Emlyn, a Non-conformist minister, who became an Arian, and wrote various treatises in defence of that system, particularly, "An Humble Enquiry into the Scripture Account of Jesus Christ," for which he was prosecuted by the Dissenters; and the jury having found him guilty of blasphemy, he was sentenced to pay a fine of L.1000, and suffer a year's imprisonment. The fine was afterwards commuted for L.70, but he remained in confinement two years. His works were collected in 2 vols. 8vo, by his son, Sollom Emlyn, Esq.

² This account was communicated to Wodrow by Mr Williamson of Musselburgh, as follows:—"I can only tell you now, that having been with Mr Anderson of Falkirk, my sister at Abercorn, Mr Kid of Queensferry, and some others in that bounds, anent the affair of Torphichen witches, I find there is truth as to the substance of the report going; though, by often telling, some circumstances do vary. It's certain my Lord's third son has been dreadfully tormented, thrown up and down the room, candles put out, and endeavours made to get him away. There was a fast on this account. Mr Brisbane got one of the women to acknowledge an image of the child, which, on search, was found in another woman's house; but they could not know what kind of matter it was made of. Two women, who have confessed, are since dead, and told the devil would kill them for confessing. The matter is not over; many are still delated by the child; but some who have been of very entire fame being named, it's suspected it may be one of Satan's stratagems to bring some innocent persons into suspicion among the guilty. I hope to get more distinct accounts, which, when they come to hand, shall be communicated."—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xiv. No. 170.)—Both Wodrow and Cotton Mather were firm believers in witchcraft, a belief which was quite common in their time.

services in it, as you have been ! Pray continue to send all your remarkable providences, your hopes and fears, as to the times we are fallen into, and whatever you publish. Allow me to expect, by every opportunity, the satisfaction of hearing from you. I have enclosed my dutiful respects to your venerable parent ; and am, Rev. Dear Sir, yours most affectionately.

Feb. 10, 1720.

LETTER CLXXI.

CASES OF DRUMMOND OF CRIEFF AND HOG OF CARNOCK.—
THREATENED PROSECUTION OF NON-JURORS.

To the Rev. Mr Thomas Hoog, Minister of the Gospel at Rotterdam.

[Mr Hog, or Hoog, was born at Larbert, in August 1655. His father, the Rev. Thomas Hog, was minister of the united parishes of Larbert and Dunipace. Having received his education at the High School of Edinburgh, and at the University of that city, he first intended to follow the profession of law, and was for some time placed under a Writer to the Signet ; but he soon changed his purpose, and entered upon the study of theology. He was licensed to preach the gospel March 7, 1678, and, during the same year, was privately ordained. In 1679 he went over to Rotterdam, where, for about half a year, he assisted his uncle, the Rev. John Hog, minister of the Scottish Church in that city, whose colleague, the Rev. Mr Fleming, the Author of "The Fulfilling of the Scriptures," had, when on a visit to Scotland, been thrown into Edinburgh jail, and kept prisoner for some months. From his knowledge of the dead languages, Mr Hog, in 1686, was appointed by the magistrates of Tergoes, in Zealand, to the office of Rector of the Latin School in that town. In 1689 he was admitted minister of the English Church at Delft ; and, in 1694, he became minister of the Scottish congregation at Campvere. After this, he was earnestly solicited to undertake the pastoral charge of the parish of Clackmannan ; he also received an invitation to become second minister of Ayr ; and another to be assistant and successor of Mr James Frazer, Culross. These situations he declined ;

but he was induced to accept of a call to be the colleague of Mr Brown in the Scottish Church in Rotterdam, and was admitted May the 10th 1699. In 1701 he received an invitation to become Professor of Divinity in King's College, Aberdeen, and felt much inclined to fill that office; but the hostilities in which England and Holland were involved with France rendering it dangerous for him to leave Rotterdam, he continued there in his charge. It appears that Mr Hog received an offer of a similar situation in a Dutch university. He died on the 6th of January 1723. "He was confined to his chamber for several months, and, during his last illness, he afforded a gratifying spectacle of humble yet firm reliance on the divine promises, and an assured hope of a blissful eternity. At home and abroad he was respected for his piety, talents, and worth. If his imaginative powers were not remarkable, there was much of solidity and good sense in his intellectual character."—(See *Dr Steven's History of the Scottish Church*, Rotterdam, pp. 140-144, and p. 150.)—ED.]

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 21st December came to my hand pretty soon;¹ and it deserves a longer apology than I shall trouble you with, that I am so late in acknowledging a letter I longed for, and which was very satisfying when it came. The plain fact was, this some few days after the receipt of yours the 9th or 10th of January, orders came down from the government to put the laws in execution against the Non-jurors, and this a little diverted me from answering my friends' letters. I wish I had not had this excuse to make, and so I imagine will you.

Whatever be the issue of that affair, which is yet in dependence, I can assure you I was uneasy till I got some breathing, that I might acknowledge yours, and show my willingness to entertain a correspondence I so very much value, and you so very kindly offer.

As to the Auchterarder affair,² besides what I wrote before, the

¹ This letter of Mr Hoog's is not preserved among Letters to Wodrow.

² We have already mentioned (p. 399) the dissatisfaction produced by a sermon which Mr Drummond preached, September 18, 1718, at the admission of Mr David Shaw to Auchterarder. For some of the statements contained in his sermon, which were substantially those of the Marrow-men, he was libelled before the Synod of Perth and Stirling, and the articles charged against him were expressed in very gross and heterodox terms. In his answers to the libel, which were large, consisting of

Synod in October agreed upon a libel, of which I send you a copy, and put it in Mr Drummond's hands, citing him to give in his answers against the 2d Tuesday of February, which was last week, when the Synod met *pro re nata* upon that affair. What they have done I have yet no accounts, but it's generally said they are to remit it to the Commission.

As to your dear brother's affair,¹ it stands, for what I hear, as it was till next Synod. No doubt, you will have accounts from him of the Satirical Review of his Conference, &c., and the reply he

ten sheets, very closely written, "he denied all the propositions as expressed in it except the first; gave his judgment upon the several propositions; had several keen and warm touches both at the Synod and the brethren who gave the information; rehearsed the parts of his sermon which appeared to him to be pointed at by the information, and which he thought the informing brethren, through ignorance, or something worse, had misrepresented." These answers not being altogether satisfactory, Mr Drummond at length, by the advice of his friends, gave in to the Synod short answers to the libel, which were expressed in milder terms. These were generally satisfying. The result was, that the Synod came to "a sentence which was—declaring their satisfaction with Mr Drummond's shorter answers; discharging him and all ministers in the Synod to use the expressions contained in the libel, or any to the same purpose; giving back his long papers to him, and ordering him to suppress them; appointing the Moderator, in their name, to thank the brethren, who, at the Synod's command, had given them information, for the zeal and concern they had shown for truth. The vote was unanimous. The last clause contributed not a little to their unanimity."—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xiv. No. 183.)—The process commenced January 9, 1719, and terminated February 11, 1720.

¹ This was the case of Mr Hog of Carnock, whose conduct, in publishing the first part of the "Marrow," with a recommendatory preface, had given great offence to some of the leading men in the Church, and appears to have been repeatedly under the consideration of the Synod of Fife, to which he belonged. Mr Hog, by the strictness of his principles, and the opposition he had made to legal doctrine in various of his publications, had rendered himself obnoxious to those of more "Moderate" views, and the opposition made to the Marrow seems to have been intended chiefly to mortify him. It has been said, too, that Principal Haddow of St Andrews, whom Boston styles "the spring of that black act of Assembly," 1720, condemning the Marrow, entertained a personal grudge at Mr Hog, contracted in Holland when they were both students.—(*Brown's Gospel Truth*, p. 483.)—Mr Hog's "Conference between Epaphroditus and Epaphras," referred to in the text, was written in answer to a sermon on 1 John v. 11, 12, preached by Principal Haddow, at the opening of the Synod of Fife, April 1719, and printed at their request, in which he made a direct attack on Marshall on Sanctification, and especially on the Marrow of Modern Divinity. The "Satirical Review" of the Conference was entitled the "Snake in the Grass."

has given to it with much modesty, and the queries, at the close, upon the Gospel offer; so that I need say nothing on this head. I agree most heartily with you in the solid and judicious remarks you make as to these processes upon the head of doctrine.

I thank you for the hints you gave me, though melancholy enough, about Wittichius' Spinozism, and Professor Regius' last piece against his colleague. I beg you'll continue to let me have all that passes remarkable at your universities; and, when a ship offers, I'll be fond to have any of the late papers published, in Latin or French, upon any controversies that emerge; and whatever charges you are at I'll most willingly refund.

We have some things in the prints on the affair of the Palatinate; but I beseech you to continue to send all you know on that affair, and the state of the Reformed Churches.

I most thankfully embrace the obliging offer you make of putting yourself to the trouble of sending me answers to queries upon the present state of the Reformation, learning, and other things. I shall never be in case to make returns to so much undeserved kindness. And I have presumed to cause copy over some queries I drew up some years ago to some of our students coming over to Holland, to which I had no returns save a very few hints. My hurry at present does not permit me to form them anew, and cast in the additional ones in the proper places; but instead of this, send you them just as they stand, being only matter for you to enlarge on at your leisure. Now and then, as your time and health allow, please to dash down what offers to you, and what you learn from your excellent opportunities of conversation and correspondence on each of these subjects, and please to send them in parts, as occasion offers.

The subscriptions to my History of the Sufferings are going on, though slowly; and unless I be interrupted in Providence, I will now very soon begin to print the first volume. I mostly now wait for instructions from London and Dublin.

What turn the threatened persecution for Non-jurancy among us

[may take,] I cannot say. You will have heard that general orders came down from the Secretary to put the laws in execution. The sheriffs and magistrates are not very forward in most places. And, save in Stirlingshire, the Duke of Montrose, depute, has passed a decret in terms of the Acts of Parliament against Mr Warden, Mr Hamilton, Mr Anderson, and Mr Hastie, in absence, I hear, of nothing further done.¹ Those liable to the law are willing to give the most ample declaration of their loyalty to his Majesty, and the abhorrence of the Pretender, that can be. Whether this will be accepted, to distinguish betwixt them and the Jacobite Non-jurors, the event must show.

I would fain hope our gracious King, who has shown so much favour to his open enemies, wants only a colourable plain ground to make a distinction betwixt conscientious Non-jurors, who pray for him, (and nobody can question their affection and duty,) and those on the other side. If he be prevailed with to fall in to severe methods with his real friends, and a persecution arise for conscience' sake, I am, indeed, very apprehensive of the consequences.

That you may have any thing that is agoing, please to receive the enclosed Proposals for Mr Williamson's Sermons. I'll be very fond to hear what is a publishing, or lately published, in your Universities, or elsewhere.

Mr Warner, &c., remember you most affectionately, and so does my Lord Pollock and Miss Lillias. You'll give my kindest respects

¹ Writing from London, Colonel Erskine says, "We have frequent accounts from Scotland of the orders sent from this to prosecute all Non-jurors, but do not hear that any has made such advances in that prosecution as the Sheriff-depute of Stirlingshire. The Magistrates of Edinburgh, several Sheriffs, and others, have written to Sir David Dalrymple, desiring he may interpose with the government in favour of ministers who have given constant proofs of their loyalty and affection to the King and his government, though they cannot give that legal proof of it, by taking the Oaths, which they reckon binds them to what is not agreeable to the principles of the Church of Scotland; and severals who wish well to our Church have done what they could here with the Duke of Roxburgh and others, that Presbyterian ministers may be overlooked as formerly; but he and some others who manage our affairs seem inclined to go on."—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xiv. No. 169.)

to your son I saw with you, and your other sons.—I am, Rev. Dear Sir, yours, &c.

Feb. 16, 1720.

LETTER CLXXII.

ENGLISH GOVERNMENT AND DISSENTERS INCAPABLE OF ESTIMATING THE REASONS OF PRESBYTERIAN NON-JURORS.

*Colonel Erskine to Wodrow.*¹

London, January 28, 1720.

REV. SIR,—The memorial sent to Earl Buchan, with yours to me of the 14th, came to hand. I'm satisfied what is in it, and what you have writ upon that head, may satisfy any man that regards the King and Government, how unreasonable it is to prosecute Presbyterians as disaffected to the government, because they cannot take an oath they judge not agreeable to their principles, but tell you freely that all these reasons are not proper to be made use of here, even with our own people. I doubt not but you are sensible that not only those in the Government at Court, and the Church here, but most of the Dissenters think our people's refusing that oath proceeds from a mere whim or weakness, if not worse; and, therefore, the main reason to be used at Court for them is, that whatever their weakness or folly be, they are good and peaceable subjects, and true friends to the King, and ought not to be treated as enemies to the government, and put in the same class with Episcopal Non-jurants, who refuse the oaths because they are Jacobites. I do not say but the reasons given by Presbyterian Non-jurants are proper to be used, when the law is pushed against them by the magistrate, and especially by their brethren, if they should

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xiv. No. 153.

proceed to declare their churches vacant, and plant them with other ministers ; I say such arguments may be then more properly used than here ; but your friends will make the best use they can of the reasons offered. Mr Brown and Mr Bonar, in the Presbytery of Linlithgow, their taking the oath at Edinburgh the 21st, and not till the threatened prosecution, not only exposes themselves, but the other Non-jurants, as men who are not so from principle, but will qualify at last to prevent the penalties of the law ; and yet the law does not protect them (more than others who will not qualify) against the prosecution of any informer. If they had no difficulty, they should have qualified sooner, or ought to give good reasons why they did it not at the time appointed by law.

I think I wrote before, that Dr Calamy got the second volume which you mention, and he waits for the other before he writes his thoughts ; and you may expect that what your other friends can do to promote the work will not be neglected. I'm very sorry that Doctor's not proceeding should retard the work. Fail not to write what passes from time to time about your brethren. Some here are not idle to do all they can for them.—Dear Sir, farewell.

LETTER CLXXIII.

NON-JURORS.

To Colonel Erskine, at London.

MY DEAREST COLONEL,—I know not well what to think of your silence now for a month ; I cannot misconstruit it, and yet know not well how to account for it. That nothing offers from London, at a time when our case is in dependence, is strange. I will be glad you have no ill news to write ; but would have been content to have been prepared, as it were, for them by hints from you ; and directions, if any can be given, how to carry upon a second attack.

I cannot conceive you suppose that I am getting new light. Violent measures, especially with known friends, can never move either the judgment or affections. You know where my straits lie ; and though they are reckoned whimsical and metaphysical, yet I could retaliate, and allege that abstraction and metaphysics lie on the other side, where I, in charity, suppose large abstractions, and so large that I cannot come to them, and must stand where I was, as long as facts, which I cannot get free of, by all my whims and metaphysics, stand.

This last threatening has made so many changes that (though I can promise nothing of what I may be left to do in a strait) I am of opinion any changes are now much over ; and I think the world may see it's nothing but principle and conscience moves the few that stand out.

I have nothing to acquaint you with from this country. You have better accounts than I can give from Stirlingshire. The Sheriff-depute there has the singularity, I shall not say honour, of being the only one who inclines to persecute Presbyterian ministers. No doubt, others will do what is consistent with their safety when they are pushed by new orders ; but, indeed, I do not find they are willing to be involved in it.

We have, in this Synod, a declaration of our loyalty ready to give in, and an Address to his Majesty ; but what to do when all our applications for advice are answered by silence, we are at a loss, and choose to lie by, if we may be connived at ; though it's not easy to be ranked among Jacobites, and a set of people whose principles and practices we abhor. We believe our gracious Sovereign needs only to be informed of our circumstances, and desire only to know how we shall, without offence, do it.

This is all offers to me at present, and I shall be very glad to be informed by you of all that passes, or is proper to do.

I have this day sent up the fourth volume, which completes the first part of the History, by a Glasgow merchant, with a letter to Mr Ridpath to deliver it, with the former volume, to D. C. [Dr Calamy,] and you will join in it. It comes by Mr William Bow-

man, son to Provost Bowman, in Glasgow, and is to be left at Mr A. Bell's shop.

You'll signify to me what is done at London, as to the Proposals I sent up, and let me know if any encouragement may be expected. I give my most humble duty to the E[arl] of B[uchan ;] and am,
Dear Sir, yours, R. W.

Feb. 23, 1720.

LETTER CLXXIV.

ABJURATION OATH.

To Mr J. Grierson, Moderator of the Commission.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—The time of the Commission is now approaching, when I hope to wait on you, though, were I not some way obliged to be at H., to see if any returns are come up as to subscriptions, I would rather choose at such a juncture to keep at home, and pass my time as much unobserved as may be ; and, indeed, I have work enough on my hands.

I hear a good many, who it seems had not light to take the oaths before the elapsing of the day, have now got over their difficulties, which I am glad of, and wish it had been even sooner ; since I am apprehensive their coming in at such a juncture may be misconstrued by some, as if such who yet continue in the dark only stand out because they are not put to extremities, and brought to suffer, as being recusants out of humour, singularity, and other very unaccountable motives, and not from real inward strait. It would be much more Christian if no comparisons were made, and there were less judging of others ; but this is what must be looked for in an age such as we are fallen into. That which is most grievous to me, and such as are in my circumstances here—

abouts, is, that we have no opportunity to distinguish ourselves (since public praying, and acting upon all occasions for his Majesty and the Protestant Succession, are not reckoned much upon) from those who decline the oaths, upon principles we loathe and abhor, in the event of our being called to suffer upon what we reckon matter of conscience.

It is my own opinion that any appearance we should make this way, if made in conjunction with our brethren, and running in the channel of Church judicatories, would be most for the interest of the Church in all events.

Indeed, I do not pretend to know the circumstances of things, or seasons of them, [so] as to make a full judgment in this affair, in which, it may be, I may be thought too much concerned personally fully to judge; and, therefore, I am at a stand, till I know the sentiments of others equally concerned in the common interests, from which I hope never to have a separate view.

No doubt, you, and other brethren with you, will have had your thoughts, whether it be proper for the Commission to take any notice of the circumstances of brethren who, after their utmost endeavours to get light, cannot come up to give the tests of loyalty required by law, or make any application in their behalf, or transmit any address, containing a declaration of their duty and affection, to his Majesty.

I easily see difficulties arising from the returns I am told have been made to some applications already made, in favour of Mr W——r, who saw good, it seems, to make an address,¹ without acquainting his brethren in the same circumstances with him; for which I shall not blame him, neither can I approve, till I know the

¹ "I am told by a very good hand, that Mr Webster has writt a long address and petition to the King himself, with very solemn protestations of loyalty Last Lord's day, his church in the afternoon was exceeding throng, some expecting a farewell sermon, others, perhaps, looking for something more than ordinary upon this event; but he disappointed them all, kept very clear of these matters, and preached an excellent rousing practical sermon, on Psalm cxxxix., close, 'Search me, O God!' &c."—(*Williamson to Wodrow*, Jan. 15, 1720.)

grounds he went upon. And it may be there may be other reasons why any appearance in our behalf may be unfit, which do not offer to me.

I am fully persuaded that if there be insuperable difficulties in the way of the Rev. Commission, and good reasons why, at this time, it be unfit to take notice of us, nothing of this kind should be proposed to them by us ; since, in many respects, this would be of ill consequence to this Church.

I know none who understands the circumstances of affairs better than yourself, and nobody's judgment can be of greater weight with me than yours. Forgive me, then, the trouble of this, and please to let me have whatever you think proper to communicate upon this head ; and believe that I am, Rev. Dear Sir, yours.

Feb. 24, 1720.

LETTER CLXXV.

THE PROSECUTION OF NON-JURORS.

*Colonel Erskine to Wodrow.*¹

London, 3d March 1720.

REV. SIR,—Yours of the 23d February I have just now, and think it's odd you had none from me for a month before. I mind not the particular time I wrote ; but one was straight to you, under cover, by P. Haldane, and others by Edinburgh. I wrote my mind as far as I could think proper for me as to your circumstances. I told there were several letters and representations sent here from some to me, and others in favour of the Non-jurants, and pleading the prosecution of them might not proceed.

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xiv. No. 189.

Several such letters, sent to Sir David Dalrymple, were by him laid before the Duke of Roxburgh for further directions, about two weeks ago. Two days ago he had got no answer from the Duke, and he'll send no further orders to Scotland, for going on in the prosecution, till the Duke give him orders, which I'm informed will be given; so it's best to prepare for the worst can be done against you, and to make such representations of your loyalty, and petitions for relief and favour, as may be most effectual. None of your friends here will advise against these methods, but give all the assistance they can; though your friends are not so many, and some not so courageous, as I could wish. Some ministers having taken the Oath since the orders of prosecuting were sent down, makes the authors of these orders conclude most part of you will take them, if they proceed to execute the law. It's eight or ten days since Mr Webster's petition was given to the Duke of R. [Roxburgh] to be laid before the King; but the answer is not yet given by the Duke, nor do I know if the King has got it. And, though the Duke should not, I hope there will be a way got to lay the case of these ministers before the King, of which you shall hear when any thing is done. You and others are to blame, that do not send us distinct accounts what ministers have lately taken the Oaths, and who stand out. I heard some in Fife had taken them, and also Mr Anderson in Falkirk, who, I know, now is sentenced as a Non-juror. And I heard you had taken them, which I contradicted, being satisfied they were misinformed. I wish none who cannot comply may be too anxious about the prosecution, but do what they judge most proper for relief; which I pray the Lord may send, or prepare them for suffering. I am, Dear Sir, yours.

LETTER CLXXVI.

REPRESENTATION OF NON-JURORS.

To Colonel Erskine, at London.

MY DEAREST COLONEL,—I wrote from Edinburgh upon Thursday last, and since had yours of the 3d. You will have heard that nothing was done at Edinburgh but the materials of a representation, agreed upon to be sent to ministers in our circumstances absent, and there were but eight or ten present. For my own share, I am sorry to say that I was not pleased with the frame of it; and, though the matter was good, yet it was so clogged with additions and words, that it ran not at all smooth and lively, and, as I thought, would neither read nor answer the design. Besides, it was said to be the opinion of friends at London, that no petitory clause for protection and favour should be in, as what would be reckoned an owning of the dispensing power. I hear after I left them they appointed another meeting in the end of April; but, if the government will bear so long, it will be much better, and make less noise at the Assembly. I would have us all very plain and explicit upon his Majesty's right and title, and against the Pretender, and for the Succession, and every thing that may evidence we are hearty friends, in a consistency with our principles.

I cannot give you a distinct account from Fife. It's said Mr Moncrieff and Mr Gillespie have qualified, but not Mr Logan. Mr Park and Mr Smith in Dumbarton have gone in. I hear of no more, save Messrs Brown, Bonnar, and Bradfoot. The story about Mr Anderson and me is foolish. I heartily wish all who have light would go in without loss of time; we very much suffer by some practices, but there is no help for it.

At Edinburgh I have come to a minute [bargain] with the printer. I must have some eight or ten sheets ready against the Assembly, to let people see I am begun; for they clamour much at the delay. So I entreat the Doctor's observations may be sent as soon as possible, if he please to give them; and, that it may be brought to some bearing, what I may expect at London by the beginning of May. The delay is so improven, that it was believed at Edinburgh by some I had laid aside printing altogether. Pray let me hear from you as soon as possible. I am, yours.

March 14.

LETTER CLXXVII.

WODROW'S HISTORY.

To Colonel Erskine, at London.

MY DEAREST COLONEL,—I have yours of the 24th last post. I shall not give you trouble of compliments, for all the pains you are at with the Doctor;¹ for this [is] what I still expected, that you would spare no trouble in this matter. I shall now give you what occurs to me with all frankness.

When I was acquainted by you, Mr Drummond, and Mr Chalmers, of the Doctor's offer to look over the manuscript, I signified my apprehensions that the Doctor's multiplicity of affairs would not permit him to do any thing to purpose in this matter. However, I frankly went in, and sent up the first five years, and now twelve more years are come up, so that nothing has been wanting upon my part. I have not yet had one scrape from the Doctor, though I have writt to him more than once.

¹ Dr Calamy.

However, having made the offer, I am in so far discharged ; and though the Doctor's remarks will be most satisfying, or those of any person of judgment, yet as matters stand now, I jealousy they may be late. You may modestly acquaint the Doctor that my circumstances are such that I cannot delay printing any longer ; and if the whole of the frame and method of the book were to be changed, I could not think of printing these three or four years, if the Lord spare me so long. Besides, though I can make no judgment of the reasons for the entire alteration the Doctor seems to think necessary, not having yet heard them, I must say to you only, that the alterations some would incline to have, to make it suit the taste of England, would perhaps go so far as to lose the design, in some measure, as to Scotland ; and though I would go all the lengths I possibly can to make it palatable to England, yet I do not incline that it should fall short of its usefulness in Scotland. You'll believe I am not so much in liking with our neighbours as to be willing either to drop our principles or facts that may, perhaps, not answer their gust.

Indeed, I never expected that any thing that drops from my pen can be current in this nice age. But, then, I know that with persons of curiosity and judgment, the principal papers and vouched facts will, in some measure, atone for my style ; and, indeed, there is scarce a fifth part of the book my words.

Besides, there are a great many views I had in inserting papers, and giving the account of sufferers, which, at first sight, may appear to be much the same and coincident, that in the Doctor's view and that of others, may appear fit to be dropt, which, when nearly considered, neither you nor I would incline to drop, because they contain different testimonies to different branches of our suffering principles, and accounts of worthy ministers and Christians, whose memory ought to be handed down to posterity. And I have taken the liberty of inserting many things otherwise I would not have inserted, because we have no history of that period, and to be materials to others to work on afterwards.

But enough of this. Take any remarks the Doctor gives you,

and send or bring them with you to the Assembly. I shall make the best use of them I can, and what I cannot overtake in printing the History, I shall take notice of in the Preface, if they be of that importance as need this. But for altering the whole frame of the History, it's what I don't see is now practicable.

Bring with you the volumes the Doctor has done with, and offer him the other two; but if he has not time for them, then bring them with you.

I hope against May to have 400 subscriptions; and at London I know you will do what you can for encouragement, and if little be got there is no help for it; I must print the fewer copies. But you'll deal with booksellers and others as you have occasion. Pray give my dearest respects to Mr Ridpath, and let me have his remarks, which I would rely as much on as many, and Mr Hume's papers, or any other thing he has to communicate to me. Fail not to give my humble duty to the Doctor.

Nothing offers as to our peculiar circumstances. I am of opinion changes among us are much over; though I can say nothing, having met with so many surprises. We want to hear what is adoining at London. I am, with my most affectionate regards to your nephews, Dearest Colonel, yours most affectionately.

March 31.

Pray write as soon as may be.

LETTER CLXXVIII.

HENDERSON'S "GOVERNMENT AND ORDER."

*To Mr Robert Stewart.*¹

DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 14th I had last post. It's plain very little depends upon it whether Mr Henderson be the author of that

¹ See vol. i. p. 17.

book or not. You had from me all the vouchers I was master of in Mr Baillie's Letters from my alleging it. I remember Mr Baillie gives him for the author more than once. Since the Letters are not indexed, I cannot point out all the places; and, indeed, I have so many diversions at present, that I have not time to search them. But I gave you one place that appears decisive to anybody who will not wrangle—Mr Baillie's letter to the Presbytery of Irvine, February 28, 1641. "The treatise I sent you of the Unlawfulness of Limited Episcopacy is answered. They have set me upon a reply which I have now ended; readily you may see it in print at once, with a new edition of the *Canterburian Conviction*, much augmented. Think not that we live any of us here to beidle. Mr Henderson has ready now a short treatise, much called for, of our Church Discipline; Mr Gillespie has *The Grounds of Presbyterian Government well Asserted*; Mr Blair a *Pertinent Answer to Hall's Remonstrance*, all ready for the press." I doubt not but in your perusal of Baillie you would meet with other passages; but this may satisfy any unbiassed person when the *Government and Order* was printed this very year, and few of the papers of that time had the names of the authors.

I have not the least communication with Mr Anderson, and am heartily sorry he has gathered up such gross mistakes about his sub-committees, and published them and his own folly to the world.¹ He ought to be called upon to give his informers. If he continue in this pedantic and indiscreet way of writing, his reputation must sink as a writer, and the cause he undertakes; and nobody will think it worth while to notice what he writes. His best friends, I hear, are very much displeased with his performances, and yet they say he is still going on, and we expect some new volume every day. I am, yours most affectionately.

April 18, 1720.

¹ Wodrow here alludes to Mr Anderson of Glasgow's Letters upon "Overtures concerning Kirk Sessions," written in a style of acrimony which his friends much regretted.

LETTER CLXXIX.

LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1720.¹*Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 1.*

MY DEAREST,—There is nothing offers since yesterday to write, were it not that I promised to write as oft as I can get it done, upon condition you be not troubled when I cannot get it done.

I find Thursday last was celebrated here by ringing of bells, as Friday was at Glasgow, for the reconciliation betwixt K. [King] and P. [Prince,] upon a story it was so at London; but was not by any public authority. They talk of great changes at Court, such as Mr Walpole, first Commissioner of the Treasury, and others. I believe there is little yet certain. Changes will be, no doubt, and I believe they are concerted before the reconciliation; but what they are is not yet made open. Two are talked of most peremptorily; Duke of Devonshire in Argyle's room, as Steward, and Lord Couper as Privy Seal. The Synod of Lothian meet this week, but have nothing before them of importance. If any other thing offer before night, I shall add it. I hear little other thing here. Mr Kid has left Presbyteries a good while, and the Synod have ordered the Presbytery of Linlithgow to call for his reasons. I am to begin printing to-morrow, and have got access to the Signet-Office, for which I came in. Be not surprised though you miss a post, but assure yourself I shall do what I can to write. I am your own.

May 6.

¹ From Letters to Wodrow, vol. xiv. Nos. 209–217.

LETTER CLXXX.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 2.

MY DEAREST,—I write only because you obliged me to write. News we have none, save what is in the prints. Here is nothing going save expectations of what the Assembly will do. The Commissioner¹ was in town this night; the Letter and Instructions are in common form. The Commission should have met this day; but we have not a quorum in the forenoon, when I write this. I long to hear if the church be provided, and all news from the West. I am throng in the Signet and Parliament House, with the registers. I have free access to all; but Mr John was not come this day, of which I wonder what can be the reason. I am very well as you can desire. My service to all friends at Pollock, and in the West. Continue your care about yourself, as you would do the greatest kindness to your own.

May 10, 1720.

LETTER CLXXXI.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 3.

May 12, 1720.

MY DEAREST,—I have yours yesternight, by Mr Hunter's man. with my stokins [stockings,] which you needed not have sent, for I bought a pair of half-milled dark stokins as soon as I came to town; but I shall obey your orders, and wear those you sent. I am perfectly well. You may guess what throng I have of letters

¹ John Earl of Rothes

by the few you sent me, which are little to my handling here. I bless the Lord you are no worse, when you write as to your body, but will be now impatient to hear every post till the pain in your head leave you. I beg it of you, as you love me, take care of yourself. I desire most closely to sympathise with you under the other indisposition and deadness. May the Lord send a reviving! I hope he will. Give my dearest respects to the bairns, and see they be obedient to you, and read their Bibles that can. Let me know how they are, and what they will have when I come home. I have looked for some little Confessions for them, but they are not so good as I could wish. Give my service to Mr Naismith and Mr Pollock. The Lord be with them and you, and the people by them! I have little prospect of going home the fourth Sabbath; but the fifth, if the Lord will, I hope to be with you. I am much obliged to Mr Pollock for this help in time of need. If he can help me half an hour on the fifth, it will be very acceptable.

For news I have none. Mr Hamilton, I fancy, will be Moderator. Honest Mr Watson died on Saturday. I am to be at his burial to-day, at four of the clock; and I shall scarce write this post, for nothing will occur, and I shall not have a bit of time. If any thing remarkable fall in I shall write; but be not surprised if you get none. I shall write as often as I possibly can; but you may be easy, for if I should be in the least ill I shall surely write. But I hope the Lord, whose service I think I am engaged in, will preserve me. Mr John is very well, and extremely useful to me. Send in word to his parents he is perfectly well. I can send nothing with this you write for, it being late before I have yours, and in a hurry; but I shall mind your commissions, and bring all west. Great grace be with you and ours! I am your own.

Mr Hunter's servant does not call, so this comes by the post. I have yours, which is very welcome. I perfectly obey your desires, and shall labour to mind Pierce for your mother. I this night send west the news to your B. This day Mr Hamilton was chosen Moderator very unanimously. Mr Grierson had an excellent sermon on Psalm lxxviii. 28, "Thou hast commanded strength for us;

strengthen what thou hast wrought for us." He had a touch about firing the country, much to the same purpose with the last sermon I heard at Eastwood. I am just come from honest Mr Watson's burial. The Lord be with you! I am your own.

Mrs Martin's cheese was so salt it could not be eaten. She desires six stone this year. The King's Letter had nothing extraordinary. It was very kind. He says he has somewhat under his consideration for the suppressing of Popery, and hopes the Assembly will do all in their station for this great end. The Commissioner told us the King had used his endeavours to remove differences among ourselves, and would take all opportunities to redress our remaining grievances.

LETTER CLXXXII.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 4.

MY DEAREST,—I wrote at full length last post, and have little to add, but am anxious to know how you are. Yesterday the Assembly met for prayer, when the Moderator, Mr James Clerk, Mr William Wishart, Mr William Stewart of Inverness, Mr James Craig, and Mr Thomas Blackwell, prayed. Mr Stewart and Mr Alstoun are to preach before the Commissioner. There is a great deal of business before the Assembly, so that, unless much go to the Commission, we shall have a long session. This day, the Answer to the King's Letter is passed, and a committee for the Commission-book appointed, and for Synod-books. The Answer is just a repetition of the King's Letter, with a thankful acknowledgment, and suitable returns in a common strain. I mind no other news.

I have got a vast deal of curious papers here. I wish you may put Mr Maxwell in mind to write to me if I shall stop the London letter, and any other commands he has for me. The Vindi-

cation of the Overtures is published this day, but nothing yet before the Assembly about them. I hear of no noise anywhere about them, save in Glasgow, and where it's raised from thence. Mr Anderson is tolerably well, and was out yesterday.

I need not every time tell you I am perfectly well, as, indeed, I am, blessed be the Lord! But if I shall forget this, and in a hurry miss writing, you may be easy, for I shall write, if it please the Lord any indisposition befall me. I remember all friends; and am, with my blessing to ours, your own.

May 14, 1720.

LETTER CLXXXIII.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 5.

May 17, 1720.

MY DEAREST,—The affairs of the Assembly are now turning throng, and, indeed, but opening out. We had, on Sabbath, two very good sermons, on Acts ii. 43, and, in the afternoon, "He that walketh uprightly, walketh surely," by Mr William Stewart and Mr Alstoun. The Assembly have done little. A proposal for having a Highland minister in Glasgow was thrown out. There are most lamentable accounts of the growth of Popery in the North. Mr Henry Robin is turned out. The affair of the Marrow of Modern Divinity is delayed till Thursday.¹ A contribu-

¹ "In the fourth Session, (Monday the 16th,) the Committee for Purity of Doctrine reported, that they had had under their consideration several books and pamphlets, had conversed with the alleged authors of them, 'and were well pleased to hear them explain themselves upon sundry of the grounds quarrelled;' but added, that there were certain other portions and expressions in these writings which deserved to be further considered. The report was accompanied with some propositions collected from the Marrow, 'which appeared contrary to the Scriptures and Confession of Faith; and, likewise, with some expressions exceeding harsh and offensive, pass-

tion is designed for some Scotsmen, taken late slaves. The Overtures probably will be delayed till next Assembly. If any [thing] further offer this day I shall write. Little other thing offers. Mr Low and Mr Laing are laid aside in the affair of Abdie in Fife, which the Commissioner was not so fond of. I am your own
R. W.

Monktown is like to lose his process against Sir Thomas Wallace about Fultoun.

LETTER CLXXXIV.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 6.

May 19, 1720.

MY DEAREST,—I have not much to acquaint you since my last, save of the pretty sudden death of Mr Webster. He has not been well these six or eight weeks, and turned black in his colour, and very sleepy. Last week he went out of town, and came in on Saturday. He was in the street upon Monday. He did not think death so near, but was laying his account with it. On Tuesday night he was very lethargic, and was cupped, and eat some little about ten at night, and went to his bed, and died about eleven that night. He was very well as to his soul's state.

The business of Monktown is determined in Mr Fultoun's favour against Mr Baillie, which I am sorry for. A call about Abdie in

ing many others that were exceptionable.' The report and extracts being read, the Assembly agreed, that, before entering on the consideration of these, they should lie on the table till Thursday first, to be perused by the members; and that, likewise, a diet should be appointed for a meeting of the Committee for Overtures, in order fully to consider the said report and propositions, where all the members of the Assembly, and any ministers of the Church that please, may be present, and allowed to reason on these subjects."—(*Dr M'Crie's Account of the Marrow Controversy in Christian Instructor*, vol. xxx. p. 549.)

Fife came in on Tuesday, and both were laid aside; and the affair of Spynie in Murray, about a probationer settled in a parish, when another patron in Spynie was for him, but the people against him, was very much waived.

Yesterday, in the afternoon, there was a Committee of the whole House upon the report from the Commission about the Purity of Doctrine, where the propositions extracted from the Marrow of Modern Divinity were very unanimously condemned, after the reasonings of Mr Hog, Mr Gabriel Wilson, and Mr Bonar, were heard. The propositions were so gross, that there was no reasoning of any force against them.¹ The book is discharged to be recommended, and the propositions are to be printed.

This day, Mr Coople's affair of Kirkoswald; and Mr Archibald Muir his deposition by the Synod of Lothian, for the story of the moorcock,² are to be in; and on Friday the affair of the College of Glasgow and Mr Dick are to be before the Assembly. I imagine it will be Tuesday at farthest before the Assembly rise; so you may send in the horses to be in on Tuesday, at W. Ker's, about twelve of the clock. If I be not a member of the Commission, I'll endeavour to come off part of the way on Wednesday; for I am longing to be with you. If I be kept upon the Commission it will be the end of the week before I come. Meanwhile, take a special care of yourself, as I do. I bless the Lord, I am perfectly in health. There are three sheets of my book printed, and it's going on. The subscriptions are but slow, yet I think they will creep up to the five hundred. I have not heard from you since Saturday, but hope for a letter this day. If any thing offer further to-day, I shall add it. Send all your commissions with the horses. My love to the bairns. Grace be with you. I am your own.

There is a large representation about the growth of Popery to

¹ Wodrow belonged to the Anti-Marrow men.

² "There has been nothing material before our Synod, but the process against Mr Archibald Moir, minister of Garvet, [Garvald,] who was suspended by the Presbytery of Haddington for drunkenness, swearing, and saying, King George had no more right to the Crown than a moorcock. — (*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xiv. No. 94.)

be formed, and transmitted to the King by the Assembly. The Overtures are not yet come in; that called the negative is altered in the sub-committee; and it's probable they will be transmitted to the next Assembly. Mr Muir's case is determined, and the sentence of deposition continued on him. It [will be] four of the clock before we rise; and from the Assembly we all go to Mr Webster's burial. I have both yours this day. My service to all friends. Your own.

LETTER CLXXXV.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 7.

May 20, 1720.

MY DEAREST,—I had both yours yesterday. I bless God you are all in ordinary; I continue perfectly well. This day the Assembly met forenoon and afternoon, and though it be eleven of the clock when we rise, I shall take a quarter of an hour to give you the history of the day, which is to yourself, and not to be talked of, which I do not suspect you of, except to our friends at Pollock.

In the forenoon, Mr Coople's affair came in, and he was fully vindicate; our Synod's sentence unanimously affirmed, as now the phrase is; and upon a vote, Kirkoswald preferred to Lasswade, and the Presbytery of Ayr appointed to go on and settle him in the first on a call. This took up the forenoon. At four, the Committee for Overtures met upon the Overtures upon Presbyteries and Sessions. This matter hitherto has been before the Committee for Instructions, and a report brought in with Mr Clerk consent on the matter, smoothing what is called the negative, and transmitting the rest, with small or no additions to the next Assembly. This report none opposed, save my Lord Grange and Mr James Clerk. When it came in before the Overtures, Mr Anderson moved that they should be

dropt altogether, as artfully contrived, and having bred a jealousy in this nation. He was taken up for this, and backed by my Lord G. [Grange] and Sir James Campbell. Mr Clerk opposed him as to the dropping of all, till considered very reasonably. However, by clamour, one way and other, though there were none but these three appeared against considering them, the time was spent, that is, three hours. At length all of them, save Mr Anderson, yielded to the consideration of what was said to be new in them. But Mr Anderson, after he had smoothed a little what he first offered, insisted. At length it was agreed to enter upon the consideration of the overtures. It was what was very odd, that it was moved and insisted upon to drop things before considered, and extremely exposed the proposers. It was insisted that the Commission had no power to transmit any new thing. This was fully taken off, and it was shown that after the desire of so many Synods and Presbyteries, the Committee could not in justice but go on, and transmit them to Presbyteries. What the Committee will do, and the Assembly, I think seems plain by our ordinary rules; but a little time will now discover the issue. The Assembly met at seven, and the business of the condemning of the Marrow of Modern Divinity came in. After the Committee on Wednesday, it was expected there would have been no reasoning in Assembly, all having gone in. But after the reading the Act, and comparing the propositions with the Scripture and Confession of Faith, Mr Anderson spoke against a clause in the Act, prohibiting printing on doctrine, discipline, and government, without consulting Presbyteries. This was reserved, and the other parts of the Act were voted.¹ There were only four

¹ The General Assembly, in their Act condemning the Marrow of Modern Divinity, arrange the condemned passages under five heads, and refer to those texts of Scripture, and parts of the Confession of Faith, to which they are said to be opposed. 1. Concerning the Nature of Faith; under which the charge is, that the Marrow makes saving faith a man's persuasion that Christ is his, and died for him. 2. Of Universal Atonement and Pardon. 3. Holiness not necessary to salvation. 4. Fear of Punishment, and Hope of Reward, not allowed to be motives of a believer's obedience. 5. That the believer is not under the Law as a rule of life. Besides the passages under these heads, others are quoted and condemned, while it is said there are "many other exceptionable positions contained in that book, which, for brevity's

Nots, Mr Gabriel Wilson, Mr J. Grant, Mr Brough, and Mr Willox. My Lord Grange voted Approve. After the vote, Mr Wilson desired his voting *Not* might be marked. Whereupon it was moved he might be called to the bar, and give his reasons, with a great deal of heat. He came to the bar, asked pardon wherein he had given any offence, and declared his dislike of the propositions which were condemned, but declared that he had an expedient to propose for the peace of the Church, which could not be heard before the vote, which made him mark his dissent. This satisfied all, and there was no more of it.

Then Mr Dick's transportation to the College of Glasgow came in, which, in short, was by a great plurality refused. Indeed, I thought it should have been otherwise, after Mr Dick did interrupt Sir James Stewart, when pleading his earnestness to continue in the parish, by telling the Assembly that Sir James was not to speak of what had passed in private betwixt them, and that he desired the Assembly might hear his own sense in his own words, and not in Sir James', which made me apprehend his unwillingness was not so great as was talked of. However, to all our surprise, he was continued. This is a good deal of work this day.

sake, are omitted.—And the General Assembly do strictly prohibit and discharge all the ministers of this Church, either by preaching, writing, or printing, to recommend the said book, or, in discourse, to say any thing in favour of it; but, on the contrary, they are hereby enjoined and required to warn and exhort their people, in whose hands the said book is, or may come, not to read or use the same.”—(See printed *Acts of Assembly* for this year.)—The draught of this Act was the production of Principal Haddow. The passing of such an Act affords a strong proof of the prevalence of confused and erroneous views of the Gospel in the Church of Scotland at that period, and it gave great dissatisfaction to some of her most eminent ministers. “There is, however, reason to conclude,” as Dr Fraser observes in his *Life of Ebenezer Erskine*, (p. 239,) “that a great proportion of the members of Assembly that year possessed at that time little or no personal acquaintance with the vilified book, and were induced to acquiesce in the Act, merely by the injurious and artful representations of the committee by whom the business was prepared.” To this it may be added, that the phraseology of some parts of the book is occasionally paradoxical, unguarded, and not always the happiest, or the least liable to misconstruction. But the heresies with which it was charged no candid reader will be disposed to fix on it; and in condemning the treatise, the Assembly virtually condemned some of the most important truths of the Gospel.

May 21.

This day the Commission is named, and they have put me on, which is three years in end, and you will not be pleased. If this come to you before the horses be off, you need not let them come here till Tuesday, about ten or twelve. They may be a night by the way. Let me know if Govan communion be the last [Sabbath] of May. Send all your commands by the horses.

May 21.

My Dearest,—I continue perfectly well in health. I doubt it be the end of this week before I come home. Endeavour to engage Mr Pollock against next Sabbath, the last Sabbath of this month, and continue your care of yourself. You see what care I take, and how closely I have written.

LETTER CLXXXVI.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 8.

May 23, 1720.

MY DEAREST,—I fancy this will be the last you may have at this time from this place, unless I be kept after Thursday; and now that the Assembly is up, I have half an hour spare, I shall give you a hint how matters went this last day. Yesterday we had a very good lecture from Gen. xxii., and sermon on "Exceeding great and precious promises," from Mr Sa. Craig, a very sufficient man; and Mr Mitchell preached in the afternoon on Philip. i. 27. This morning at eight, the Committee of Overtures met upon the Overtures about Kirk-sessions and Presbyteries, where matters incidental were handled till ten, when, after a treaty with

Mr Anderson in private, as to the explication given of the negative, with which he seemed satisfied, by Mr Alston, that matter was tabled. The draught proposed we thought to be the very same on the matter with the report from the Committee of Instructions, to which I happened to be clerk, and so the Committee's report was stuck by. We had reasoning for three hours, very close, upon the two controverted heads, about the negative and general sessions. There was very great warmth and clamour against them. I need not repeat the arguments. I saw little said but from Mr Anderson's letters. The speakers upon that side were Sir James Campbell of Ardkinlass, my Lord Grange, Mr James Clerk, the Laird of Affleck, Mr Bonar, and one or two more. They would have had these two dropt, as what they alleged were contrary to the constitution, and new. My Lord Grange advanced some things out of Mr Gillespie and Mr Alexander Lauder, but took for granted the consequences denied upon the other side, and harangued with some tartness upon the hazard of the negative and the other points. These were answered with much solidity by my Lord Cullen, Mr Chambers the Solicitor, Mr Stewart of Inverness, the Solicitor, now Advocate, Mr Mitchell, Mr Wishart, and many others; and, at length, it was told that this was not the time to enter on the merits of the cause, till returns were made from Presbyteries to the next Assembly; and it were the hardest thing imaginable, when twenty or more Presbyteries, and some Synods, desired their being transmitted to them, it should be refused. In this debate, Mr Anderson did not mix, reserving himself for the Assembly. I did not hear much new, except from my Lord Cullen, who, indeed, in near half-an-hour's discourse, handled the negative, as it's called, most closely, and evidently showed that unless a rule like this were established, the elders would inevitably have a negative upon the minister, and showed the hardships of this to a great length. Mr Clerk insisted most on the general sessions. At length it came to a vote, Transmit or Not, and it carried Transmit by a great majority. The Commissioner has been indisposed, and frequently

bled, and is some better this day. He came in about twelve of the clock. Multitudes of things were remitted to the Commission. Mr English of Kilspindie was complained of as having broken his injunctions, and cited against the next Assembly to answer. The act about calls *jure devoluto* was amended in several points, and left to Presbyteries till the next Assembly, without having the force of an act. Then the Overtures came in. Mr Anderson opened the debate upon them with a speech he craved liberty to read, which contained some remarks on The Full Vindication, quite out of the road of the Assembly. He was interrupted, and told the author of it was none of the framers of the Overtures, which was the ground he went on in the refutation of it; and then he insisted upon the formula and act of Parliament establishing sessions as well as other judicatories, and said he thought himself bound by oath to maintain sessions, as a branch of what we were solemnly bound to, which nobody denied; but, it was observed, we were bound to general sessions as well as particular sessions. And in private, it was observed by a very great man, that he had charged all his Jurant brethren as perjured, and yet came in afterwards and took the oath. He said he reckoned himself a dying man; and, indeed, he is very weakly and faintish, and was extremely ill on Saturday and yesterday, and was brought to this day's meeting in a chair. Then Mr Clerk, Sir James Campbell, and a few others, spoke, and were answered; and at length it came to a vote, and carried Transmit to Presbyteries, with the amendments, by 16. A good many for the Overtures were out of the House. And had it not been out of regard to the Commissioner, who was not a little indisposed, the reasonings upon the side of the Overtures would have been much longer; but, when the question was only a transmission, the dipping into the merits of the cause was thought needless. Then the Assembly ended in the ordinary way. There was little remarkable in the speeches. The Commissioner recommended to ministers to discourage jealousies and evil surmises; and the next Assembly is indited to May 11, 1721.

By the Answer from the King to the Assembly's Letter, which we had this day, which was very kind, the express which brought it brought the patent to Mr Dundas to be King's Advocate, and Mr Walter Stewart to be Solicitor. It's said, also, in a private [letter,] that the Duke of Argyle is out of his post of Master of the Horse. You'll know the King is going to Hanover when the Parliament is up. These news you may communicate, and a general hint of the Overtures being remitted to Presbyteries; but none are to know the particulars above but you and me.

There are six sheets of my History printed. I mind no other thing. To-morrow the Commission sits, when I'll have new attendance. I shall haste home, but expect me not till Friday at soonest. I shall write anything remarkable if anything offer to-morrow; if not, till we meet, and ever, I am your own.

I have not time to read this over.

May 24.

My Dearest,—I have no news. This day, they say, the Parliament rises. I hear from Mr Clerk that Mr Anderson this day is dangerously ill, and everybody reckons him a-dying.¹ Sir David Dalrymple has one thousand pounds a-year. I am hasting through things to get off on Thursday, if I can. Grace be with you and ours!

¹ Mr Anderson died February 19, 1721.

LETTER CLXXXVII.

THE MARROW CONTROVERSY.

*Rev. John Warden to Wodrow.*¹

October 8, 1720.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,—It was with great satisfaction I had yours of the 29th of September last, wherein I had the welcome account of your recovery; which I earnestly wish the Lord may perfect, and continue your health for a further blessing to this poor Church.

According to your demand, receive herewith Mr Forrester's Letters; and it would be a very great favour if you could send to Mrs Laidlay's "Cumming's Scripture Consequences," and Waterland's Sermons, which I shall return very soon.

I cannot say whether I shall be at our Synod, being not so well as ordinary, and the distance very great. But, if I go, I shall send you anything, if there be such that is material. Fail not to write me what is of moment from yours, particularly anent Greenock affair. I doubt not but you have heard of the act of the Presbytery of Edinburgh anent the Lord's Supper. If you have not, I can send you a double of it.

You may know Mr Hamilton² has been at Edinburgh this week, upon a line from the Sub-clerk.³ It is about a letter he wrote to Mr Hog; which I cannot send you, because I kept not a double

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xiv. No. 228.² Of Airth.

³ The Committee for Purity of Doctrine, appointed by the Commission according to the instructions of the General Assembly, 1720, at their meeting on the 12th of August, appointed their sub-clerk, Nicol Spence, to require Mr Hamilton's attendance at their meeting in Edinburgh on the second Wednesday of October. For the history of his examination, see Dr M'Crie's Account of the Marrow Controversy, —*Christian Instructor*, vol. xxx. p. 691–694.

of it, and, indeed, I did not desire it; so that I believe my sending you the remarks will be to no purpose, seeing I cannot but reckon while you want the letter you will grope in the dark with them. Only, I may tell you, that I have blows from both sides; for, as I never could think as some do, so I was never for the measures that others take.¹ And I hear that I am to be called in for the endeavours I used to rectify the first draught of Mr Hamilton's Catechism, some seven or twelve years ago, though Mr H. took the rectifications with him, made what use of them he thought meet, and printed his Catechism without either the advice or allowance of those who endeavoured to do what was then reckoned good service to the Church. I am sure some people miss their man; but it seems we will debate.

Let this give my most humble service to Mr Warner. I long for his answers to my queries about baptism. Remember me with much affection to your spouse. I am your own,

[JOHN WARDEN.]

¹ Mr Warden, in the Marrow Controversy, appears to have valued himself considerably as a middle man, not entirely approving the sentiments and measures of either side, and steering clear of the extremes into which he apprehended both went. In reference to Mr Drummond's case, he says—"I am *squadronie* in that matter, being sometime on one side and sometime on another, as I think most agreeable to the gospel."—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xiv. No. 41.)—The consequence was, as usually happens with middle men, that he pleased neither party, and thought himself harshly treated by both. "In the meantime, I am grieved," says he, "that in your country, as I hear the ministers of a certain bounds, [the Presbytery of Stirling in the affair of Mr Drummond,] should be accused of such things as to their doctrine, the very thought whereof their souls abhor. And, for my own part, I am weary of contending and calumny, and am at giving over standing betwixt parties, having blows from both; for we were once like to have had a libel here against Mr Wylie much the reverse of Mr Drummond's; but, I hope that affair is crushed, and so is he ready to be, who, saluting your spouse and father-in-law, ever is, though now in great haste and much fatigue, your own."—(*Ib.* vol. xiv. No. 88.)—He says again, when speaking of the same case—"In the meantime, you judged perfectly right when you alleged to some I was not on a certain side, but rather a mediator, and, therefore, had blows from both hands; for this is certainly true, contentions are the burden of my life, and I cannot but be grieved to see some so expose themselves as to give offence, so am I to see others so violent as to make more noise about this than things of far greater concern."—(*Ib.* vol. xiv. No. 98.)

LETTER CLXXXVIII.

MR HAMILTON'S CATECHISM.—ACTS ABOUT BAPTISM AND THE
LORD'S SUPPER.—PROFESSOR JAMESON.

To Mr John Warden, Minister at Gargunnoch.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 8th, with the learned Mr Forrester's manuscript with his letters, and shall take care to insert what is needful in the History, if what relates to him be not printed off.

If I can understand the remarks without Mr Hamilton's letter, by all means send them. I'll guess at them if the resumptions be anywise large. I cannot understand the call you are to get to come in to the Committee for Purity of Doctrine, because of your endeavours to rectify Mr Hamilton's first draught of his Catechism. The notion I had of this good man, (perhaps it's ill-grounded, but I tell you my very thoughts,) upon an overly view of his Catechism, some eight or nine years ago, and a very transient conversation with him at Edinburgh, was, that he had taken up some phrases and ways of speaking, and put a sense and meaning upon them, I had not observed to have been used by practical writers, and using them in his own sense. He differed in sound and expression from others, but in sense, when he came to explain his terms, he did not, as the term, *personal covenanting*, *Gospel*, &c.; but *hæc inter nos*.

Our Synod had Mr D. Turner's affair before them last week, and Cartsburn's¹ appeal from our Presbytery was unanimously rejected, and you need not question but the settlement will go on. For my share, I disprove [disapprove] the method of his licensing; and, indeed, I know not where the contempt of our reasonable acts of Assembly, that seems growing upon us, will end. My difficulty

¹ Crawford of Cartsburn.

lies not so much there as in comparing persons and charges. We have also unanimously, save Mr Anderson, who voted Refer to the Assembly, and Mr Ritchy, who was Approve, except in extraordinary cases, passed an act of Synod, and ordered it to be printed with the Act of Assembly, 1690, against private baptisms, and both are to be read from pulpit. Our act enjoins the keeping of Acts of Assembly, and regulates the scandalous abuse we have at Glasgow, in the Clerks' giving warrants to parents and sponsors for baptism without minister or session. Mr Anderson alleged the act, 1690, was obsolete, and instanced that it was no more to be enjoined than the acts obliging ministers to take the Solemn League and Covenant; for which instance he was taken up pretty sharply, and told that the substance of the Covenant was what every minister was yet engaged to at his ordination.

Pray send me the copy of Edinburgh's act about the Lord's Supper, and also, if you have it, the representation and protestation given in against it last week save one, wherein it's said some things are excepted against in the narrative about consulting of sessions, as not fact. And it's alleged it's against our rules, lodging the power of naming the time of that ordinance in the minister and session, and complaining of the curtailing one sermon, whereas they think we need rather more than fewer sermons.

You will have heard that the Presbytery of Edinburgh at their last meeting rejected the two calls to Messrs Brown and Gusthart, because not agreeable to the former way of choosing ministers at Edinburgh, and there was no appeal by the magistrates from them.

I send you the following passage out of Calderwood's Large History, which may a little help us out of the difficulty of Buchanan's being Moderator. Mr George Buchanan, "after his return to Scotland, was a Professor in Saint Leonard's College, and gave proof of his skill in theology in the exercise of prophesying, when it fell to him by course."

I am glad to hear the differences among the ministers at Dumfries are pretty well taken up, and that Mr Veitch preaches now, and visits Mr Paton.

You will be sorry to hear Mr William Jameson is in a dying condition, and so low with a complication of troubles that Saturday's night he raved some. If he and Mr Anderson, who is in very dangerous circumstances, be carried off, we lose two who understood the controversy about Episcopacy as well as any they leave behind them. Mr Jameson has not been valued and encouraged in his life as he ought to have been, and after ages will reckon him a wonder and prodigy considering his circumstances.

You must write long letters to me, and expect scrapes from me; for I am almost still under a load of writing. I am, yours, &c.

Eastwood, Oct. 12, 1720.

LETTER CLXXXIX.

WODROW'S HISTORY.—DEFOE'S MEMOIRS.

*To Mr James Fraser, at the Golden Angel in the Haymarket,
Westminster, London.*

DEAR SIR,—I cannot express how much I was pleased to have yours of October 5th, by my dear friend, Colonel Erskine, about a month ago. The Colonel's delay in returning to London hath hitherto made me put off my acknowledgments for so kind a letter, hoping to have made them by him.

But being at some distance from him, and uncertain when he comes up, I could not prevail with myself to be any longer in your debt, and have presumed to send this under my Lord Ross's cover, since I know his Lordship reckons you among his friends.

Your kind approbation of my History of the Sufferings, after you had given yourself the trouble to read it over, was, I must own, one of the first things made me in earnest think upon the printing of it. Your exact knowledge of books and exquisite taste makes

you one of the best judges I could have wished for. Meanwhile, I am very sensible how little any thing that drops from my pen is adapted to answer the English palate. But what is wanting in beauty and neatness of style will, in some measure, be made up by the well-vouched facts it contains; and I own these were what I made it my business chiefly to look after, and I can say that they very much surprised myself. This collection from our records, and particular attested narratives, I flatter myself may be of some use to the interests of religion and liberty, and may open out to the world such a scene of severity and barbarity, as may make a rising generation value the late glorious Revolution, and the happy establishment of the Protestant succession, and abhor tyranny, Popery, and persecution.

I humbly thank you (as I before desired Colonel Erskine to do in my name) for the offer of twenty pounds to help on this work. I wish none of my friends lose by any risk they are pleased to run in promoting this design; and unless you know of hands to take so many copies, I cannot allow myself to embrace your generous offer. But if the matter be that you know of twenty of your acquaintances ready to take books, and give in their guineas as the first subscription, (or ten, if the twenty pounds relate to the whole price,) please to let me know, and their names and designations, that I may print them, and I shall draw upon you very soon. If you send me not their names, I must print you among my subscribers for the whole.

The loss you are at by the fall of the stocks I very much regret, and the more that you had so noble and generous views in employing it. I hope the Lord will accept your willing mind, and bless you for your having it in your heart.

Defoe's Memoirs I have, and can assure you he is grossly imposed upon in the informations he has got. I wonder how he is fallen into so gross blunders as he is guilty of in the matter of the Highland Host, the Indulgence, and other heads. I have been urged to take some notice of his misrepresentations; but hitherto I have done nothing. What I may do in a preface I am not determined. Had I any acquaintance of him I would acquaint him-

self with his mistakes, since he appears a friend to liberty, and I think has erred not of design, but as people must do, who go not to records, through misinformation.

If you can give me any further hints about these three volume of manuscript you write of in the hands of some widow,¹ I'll endeavour to follow the scent and find them out; but hitherto can find no such books in this country.

Your friends at Glasgow, particularly Mr Simson, have you most kindly remembered. There is now about one hundred and twenty sheets of the first volume of the History printed. It's a beautiful print and paper, which will please every body. I wish I could say so of the method and style. I hope in two or three months the first volume will be ready. I am thinking upon dedicating it to his Majesty, and beg your thoughts whether I may venture upon it, by the first post. When you honour me with a letter by the post, which I'll be very fond of, direct for Mr Robert Wodrow, Minister at Eastwood, to the care of the Postmaster at Glasgow. In time of Parliament my friends, the Earl of Buchan, my Lord Ross, Sir Robert Pollock Sir James Campbell, Shawfield,² Boquhan, will trouble themselves with yours; but I'm far from grudging the postage. If you condescend to honour me with your correspondence, you shall have all our remarkables here; but you'll find me very troublesome and Athenian in my temper. I am, Dear Sir.

¹ "I am credibly told, that there is in the hands of the widow of some clergyman in your neighbourhood in the country, a complete Journal, in three large volumes, in folio MS., of all that was said or done in all the public or private Assemblies in Scotland, from the beginning of the troubles in Charles' reign till his death, which was some years ago, and contains good and bad that was said or done by both parties, friends or foes."—(*James Fraser to Wodrow.*)

² Daniel Campbell of Shawfield.

LETTER CXC.

DRAUGHT OF A PREFACE.—DEDICATION TO THE KING.

*To Mr James Fraser, at the Golden Angel in Haymarket,
Westminster, London.*

DEAR SIR,—I want words to express the sense I have of your goodness, in the two last I received. Now I am so far in your debt, that I must plead bankrupt. I was longing to hear the event of your conversation with the Duke of Montrose,¹ when yours came to hand last post, with Shawfield's bill for ten pounds, which I doubt not will be accepted. Please to receive enclosed ten receipts, numbered 776–785, inclusive. I have left them blank, and if your friends to whom they are disposed incline to have their names printed with the rest of my encouragers, please acquaint me, and I shall take care to insert them, and set me right if wrong in your own designation, Mr James Fraser, Secretary of Chelsea College, London.

If it be possible to retrieve any thing anent these MSS. Mr Archibald Campbell spoke to you of,² I shall do what in me lies to retrieve them. I thank you for the distinct account you give me of Mr White's papers.³

¹ Mr Fraser was to consult the Duke of Montrose, or the Duke of Roxburgh, with respect to the propriety of Wodrow's dedicating his History to the King.

² These are the three vols. in MS., referred to in the preceding letter. Mr Archibald Campbell, son of Lord Neil Campbell, had informed Mr Fraser of their existence, but could not tell him the author's name.

³ "As for those papers, I mentioned once to you in conversation, that one Mr Jeremy White, an Independent non-conformist, who died about ten years ago, and told in company of the present Earl of Sunderland, the late Earl of Dorset, and several others, where I was present myself, that he had a perfect collection of all who have suffered by the penal laws in matters of religion, from the Restoration to the

Since you were pleased to give yourself the trouble to read over my History, I have sent you up what I design for a preface; it's just my first draught as it dropt from my pen, and I'll be fond of your amendments upon it; if they come in three or four weeks, they will be in time.

I know prefaces are nicely looked into, and therefore my pen is unequal for them; but now that I am engaged, I must go through the best way I may. What I get not sent up this post shall come under my Lord Ross's next post. There you will see the improvement I have made of your account of Mr White, and what I have said of Mr Defoe's performance.

Please to accept of my kindest returns for your pains with the great man you write of, to have his most excellent Majesty's allowance to subscribe this work to him. There is no help for disappointments of this kind.¹ Perhaps his Grace supposes this is a preface to some little money from the King, but I protest to you I have no such view, and neither expect nor desire it. It will be an honour I own anything of mine is unworthy of, to have the King's name before it, but did I see any inconveniency in it, I should not once have suggested it to you. It would be for the reputation of the work and our country, and considering the countenance given me by the General Assembly and Commission, by their several acts encouraging this work, and the abhorrence his Majesty and all good

Revolution, their names and surnames, the gaols where they were imprisoned, the fines raised and levied upon all England over, with the time and places, and that the whole number exceeded 60,000, whereof about 5000 had died in gaol."—(*Fraser to Wodrow*.)—Mr Fraser adds, that, after the most diligent search, he could not discover what had become of these papers; and that James VII. when upon the throne, offered Mr White five hundred guineas for the collection, which Mr White generously declined, knowing the use he would make of them would be to publish them, for the purpose of showing that Protestants as well as Papists, when they had the power in their hands, were persecutors, and that the Church of England had no reason to reproach Papists on that score.

¹ Mr Fraser spoke to the Duke of Montrose of Wodrow's intention of dedicating his History to the King; but his Grace showed great indifference to be concerned in applying to the King for his approbation. Mr Fraser accordingly resolved to embrace the first convenient opportunity of addressing himself to the King on the subject, and humbly desiring his consent.

Princes have of tyranny and persecution, I did not think it altogether unworthy of his Majesty's patronage; but if it be any way unfit, it becomes me to be perfectly silent. If your application prevail, it will be a singular obligation on me; indeed, I am already under greater ties to you than ever I was to any courtier.

Forgive me for writing this in haste. My printer continues to make me hope I shall have the first volume in March, and I am at some toil in forming the preface, the indexes, the errata, and other things of this nature. The paper and print are beautiful, and will please everybody. I wish I could say so of the style and matter.

You have herewith the half of the preface; the next shall come next post to Shawfield or my Lord Ross; to whom I give my most humble respects. Believe me to be, Dear Sir, yours under inexpressible ties.

January 25, 1721.

LETTER CXCI.

THE MARROW.—COMMUNIONS.—SESSIONS.

*To Mr William Hog, Junior.*¹

DEAR SIR,—I have yours of the 8th, and thank you for the accounts you give me of matters.² You may believe I shall never

¹ Mr William Hog, merchant, Edinburgh, was a character well known as another Gains, at whose house all the pious ministers were wont to meet. He was very active in all the societies for promoting religious and beneficent objects in his day. After speaking of the pains and time Mr Hog had bestowed in reference to the printing of the Fourfold State in 1720, Mr Boston says, "Ever since that time I have had his friendship, most beneficial to me, he all along since sparing neither pains nor expense to manage for me the affairs which have in my late years been nearest my heart. May the Lord reward to him and his the labour of love in those things wherein the honour of God and my comfort were so much concerned."—(*Memoirs*, p. 364.)

² "As to the Marrow, the Act of Assembly, I find, is more and more stumbling to

make an ill improvement of what you trust me with. You are misinformed as to my being a member of the Committee of Assembly which framed the Act against the Marrow. I am, indeed, generally present at most Assemblies; but I was not a member of the last, and, as far as I mind, I did not hear the Act till I heard of it in the Assembly House, where, after hearing the reasoning, though I had no access to vote, I own I did not observe anything advanced which would have hindered my approving it. However, I am as much (if my heart deceive me not) open to light, as to all the articles in it, as if it were yet to pass in the Assembly, and as soon as I can see the truth and real Christian exercise wronged by any expression in the act, none shall be more willing to have it removed than I, and it will be most satisfying to me to hear the things that are stumbling and offensive to my brethren, that I may have my thoughts upon them. We have nothing as to this in this country, as far as I know.

As to the regulations made by your Presbytery as to communions,¹ I know no more about them save what is contained in the paper printed on that subject. I am very glad that such as are dissatisfied with them do not break communion. It is a woeful principle eversive of all society, and contrary, in my opinion, to the Scripture account of the Christian Church, for people, when their light comes not up to that of others, presently to throw up their offices, and separate from Church communion. I know some seri-

many ministers of eminence for piety and learning. Some of them are desirous of a meeting here to concert measures for representing their grievances to the next Assembly as to this matter. You being a member of the Committee who framed that Act, I do not know your mind as to the points contained therein, and so, perhaps, I have said too far. However, I hope you do not consent to all concerned therein, but that you will rather join with those who think truth has suffered much by that Act. I assure you it is a matter of very great weight and concern to some, not so much because that book is condemned, but because several sweet truths are also condemned therewith."—(*William Hog to Wodrow.*)

¹ "As to the communions here, they continue to abridge the solemnity of that ordinance, though it be the grief of several serious Christians, who are not, however, left so far as to dissent and absent from the holy ordinance on that score."—(*William Hog to Wodrow.*)

ous persons are inclinable to this, but they should be reasoned and prayed out of it.

You are again misinformed that our Presbytery hath passed the Overtures. Remarks were sent in last year ; but we have not entered on them this ; neither is there any breach among us as to elders and deacons.

I am heartily sorry to hear of the jealousies, lies, and humours that prevail in Glasgow, where some endeavour to inflame the country about, and form addresses, and bring country people to sign them, though they contain arrant untruths. I give you nothing of this kind but what I have with grief seen. In one address, for instance, they make country elders to say, "that once they had power to depose ministers, and that branch of their power has been rent from them, and they are told that by the overtures transmitted by the Assembly, the small powers remaining with them are taken away," &c. I leave it to yourself to judge what spirit such unaccountable papers flow from. But these things are not come among us in this Presbytery, and I hope never shall.

I am of your opinion, that too little regard has been had to the honour of Zion's King and Head, and perfectly agree with you, that such who seek their own honour, and not that which cometh from above, will and ought to meet with contempt. But I pray earnestly that the office of the ministry may never be brought into contempt, and am persuaded whoever invades will either be made sensible of their sin, or meet with sad and sore strokes, which I pray may be prevented. I wish the Lord may return with power to the spirits of his servants and people, and the fogs and mists now hanging over us would soon fly away before the Sun of Righteousness. Till that be, I am under the dismal apprehensions [things] will grow worse and worse. Blessed is he that watcheth, and keepeth his garments clean, and walketh wisely in a perfect way.

By this time I may perhaps have wearied you. But I assure you, if I should enter upon the methods taken in this neighbourhood, by misrepresentations and methods I love not to insist upon, to form parties, &c., I would not soon end. If you knew the state of

Glasgow you would wrestle much for them. If the Lord will I get in in March, I shall give you a larger detail of matters, and set them in a quite other light than I imagine you have them in. Meanwhile, I am yours, &c.

Feb. 14, 1721.

LETTER CXCH.

KIRK-SESSIONS.—FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

To the Rev. Mr Thomas Hog, Minister at Rotterdam.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have been waiting with some impatience to hear from you, and for the continuance of that useful correspondence you were pleased to favour me with. But nothing has come to my hands from you these twelve or fourteen months. I have not wanted my fears that your letters to me may have miscarried; and, therefore, having the occasion of some going from Glasgow to Rotterdam, I could not but give you the trouble of this.

Last year, about this time, I sent you over a large number of queries as to the state of the Reformed Churches, and the matter I presumed to propose for your writing to me at your leisure hours. I hope they came to hand, and I very much long to have your instructive accounts upon them.

You can, indeed, expect but very insignificant returns from this country, and as to matters of a general concern in this Church, no doubt, you will have larger and better accounts from your brother and others, than I can pretend to offer; but if any thing I can give you can be of any use, you may command it when you please.

You will have heard of the noise made last year upon some overtures upon our manner of proceeding in judicatories in this Church.

The last Assembly made an amendment upon one of them, against which most clamour was raised, which was expected would have satisfied all; but a new flame is raised in the Town of Glasgow upon that head, and a good many elders have refused to join in Sessions, even *lite pendente*. I am hopeful they will soon see they overdrive things, and am truly sorry for the sad circumstances of that place, and their needless and groundless jealousies of their ministers.

The first volume of the History of the Sufferings is promised me to be ended in a month or six weeks, and I'll be fond to have your remarks on it when it comes to your hands; the second volume is ready for the press, and nothing on my part to stop it. But such large works take time to print.

Besides your accounts, in answer to the large queries I send you, piece and piece as your leisure allows, pray send me what hath been remarkable as to religion and learning this last year. We are extremely pleased to hear that Mynheer Hornbeck, an elder of yours, is made Pensionary to the States. Any late remarkable theses or pamphlets, in Latin or French, will be most acceptable, I would willingly have your advice what journal is best for knowing the new books in Holland. I only get the Paris "Journal des Scavans." The "Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres," and the "Histoire Critique de Republique des Lettres," I find are stopped. Let me know what journal, in French or Latin, you will advise me to buy. I give my kindest respects to your son I saw with you. My Lord Pollock and Miss Lillias are at Edinburgh, but they retain a savoury remembrance of you. Mr Warner gives you his kindest respects. I am, Dear Sir, yours most affectionately.

Feb. 17, 1721.

LETTER CXCH.

MARROW CONTROVERSY.

To Mr William Hog, Junior.

DEAR SIR,—I have yours of the 18th, and the enclosed letter,¹ which I return to you. No eye but mine hath seen it, no, not my father-in-law in the house with me. You may depend upon any thing you are pleased to entrust me with, for that is still sacred with me.

With the very same frankness that I use with those whom I trust, I give you my sentiments upon it, since I presume it's to have these, such as they are, you have communicate it with me.

I observe a nice and just care in my dear brother, against every thing that appears to him to strike against truth, and a great concern and grief, because he thinks truth struck at by the Act about the Marrow; in all which I cannot in the least differ from him, because I would allow myself just to do and act so, were I under the impressions he is under. I notice further, that he has found sweetness and benefit by the Marrow, which I do not question, and that he was still in case to separate betwixt the precious and vile, and the chaff and wheat, and yet every body cannot do so.

As far as I have time to consider, the thing that is distressing to Mr B. [Boston] is chiefly that proposition—*As the law, &c.*,² and

¹ This was the copy of a Letter of Mr Boston, containing his objections to the Act of Assembly condemning the Marrow of Modern Divinity, which Mr Hog transmitted to Wodrow. earnestly requesting him not "to expose it to the prejudice of any of the persons concerned," but to return it. This was probably the letter which Mr Boston wrote to Mr Hog of Carnock, setting forth the necessity of seeking redress from the Assembly for the injury done to truth, in the Act condemning the Marrow of Modern Divinity. The letter is inserted in Fraser's Life of Ralph Erskine, p. 168.

² "The condemning of that position, 'as the law is a covenant of works, you are wholly and altogether set free from it.'"—(*Boston's Letter to James Hog.*)

two expressions in the act about *catechetical doctrine*. Upon the reading of this, you may be sure I presently turned to the Act of Assembly ; and, upon reading and comparing it with the Marrow, I am still at a loss to see where Mr Boston's strait lies, and heartily wish he had expressed it fully ; but it may be our dear friend Mr Hog understood it. The proposition condemned there is, that believers are set free from the Covenant of Works, wholly and altogether—which I cannot but think is an error, unless some other sense be put on the Covenant of Works than I understand. The Covenant of Works, in the notion I have of it, contained a rule of life, or the moral law, as that rule of life, and the manner of obedience to this rule of life, required and allowed by that covenant, our own natural powers and abilities, and doing in our own strength, in order to life. The author of the Marrow, in the very next page, seems to have had the very same notion of it, and distinguishes the *commanding* and *condemning* power of that covenant. Now, when he speaks of the covenant in the general, one must think that he speaks both of the commanding power of the covenant, or the moral law in the covenant, and the condemning power. That believers are altogether free from the last, I take to be a certain truth ; but that they are free from the law in the Covenant of Works, is what I have not yet seen ; and I can scarce think my dear brethren are of this mind. And the very title that goes before, *That the believer is not under the law as a rule of faith*, shows unexceptionably, that in this sense the Assembly does condemn the proposition ; and what follows makes it evident that this was the sense of the author of the Marrow. I am ready to think Mr Boston's concern in this matter runs upon his apprehension, that the proposition condemned is, *that the law, as it's a covenant of works, is what the believer is wholly and altogether set free from*. And, if I apprehended that to be the proposition condemned, I would heartily join with him in reckoning it a thrust at truth ; for I am persuaded that believers are delivered from the law *as a covenant of works*, that is, from the obedience to the moral law in their own strength, and by virtue of their own powers ; and that they now

are obliged to do every thing in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by covenant strength. But till I see further, I must think there is a vast difference betwixt these two propositions, *that a believer is wholly and altogether set free from the law, as it's a covenant of works*, which I do not think the Assembly points at, and their proposition, *As the law is the covenant of works, the believer is wholly delivered from it*. I take this proposition to be exegetical, that the believer is delivered from the law, that is, the covenant of works, containing both a law, and the manner of obedience to it in our own strength. As I said before, I take believers to be free from the last, but not the first of these; and, as far as I mind, all our divines maintain the obligation of the law contained in the covenant. And, without the utmost force put upon the Act of Assembly, and the words of the author of the Marrow, I cannot see that it can be otherwise understood.

The two expressions in the act about catechetical doctrine,¹ for my share, I cannot see the least hazard in them. Whether the first of them, that holiness is necessary to obtaining eternal happiness, be word for word in the Confession or Catechisms, I have not time to consider; but I am sure it's in the Scripture, Heb. xii. 14, and Rev. xxii. 14, 15. And though I have no mistake of my dear brother, his excepting against this expression, yet I would humbly move he may not insist upon it, since it's perfectly agreeable to Scripture, and the whole of the work of redemption, that we should be holy and unblameable; and it may be liable to much mistake. Where the wideness of the Assembly's expression lies, especially when the whole of it is taken in, *our free justification through our blessed surety, the Lord Jesus Christ, received by faith*

¹ "It was also represented, that two passages in the 'act for preaching catechetical doctrine' were stumbling, namely, the necessity of holiness in order to the obtaining of eternal happiness and justification through our blessed surety, the Lord Jesus Christ; the former being considered and compared with the condemning of that passage, under the third head of doctrine, 'If the law say, good works must be done, if thou wilt obtain salvation;' and the latter is too wide, and neither of them the language of our Confession of Faith or Catechisms, so far as we remember."—(Boston's Letter to James Hog.)

alone, I am at a loss to see. I take our justification through our surety to be the very marrow of the Gospel, and the only refuge of an exercised soul.

Had the letter condescended upon the difficulties as to the five heads of doctrine, you should have had my poor opinion of them also ; but I can say nothing further till I hear them. Thus you have what offers to me upon Mr Boston's letter, upon a cursory reading of it, without the least reserve. I have read some of his Fourfold State with much pleasure, and observe nothing, as far as I have read, but what confirms me in the opinion I have had of him since I had occasion of his acquaintance, that he is a faithful servant of no small solidity and sufficiency.

I have outwearied you with this first head, though long writing is not often my greatest fault, and I shall leave the overtures till we meet. I am a member of the Presbytery of Paisley, not of Glasgow. When I get in, (if the Lord will at the Commission,) I shall use the same freedom in conversation upon the overtures that I have taken upon the Marrow. Mr Dunlop first, and now Mr Anderson, are removed by death. I pray our differences may be at an end, as I am persuaded they would soon be among honest men, if there were more Christian freedom, and faithfulness, and conversation, and less of private jealousy and party designs. I am, in haste, yours, most affectionately.

Feb. 20, 1721.

P. S.—Upon reflection and consideration, you will find that such who, by wire-drawing, and putting senses upon one or two of the overtures, which they cannot bear, and were never in the thoughts of such who framed them, and by insinuating I know not how many groundless jealousies, and unseasonable publishing ludicrous banter and jest instead of argument in point, and half representations of matters, these, I say, will be found to have been the raisers of heat and fire upon this head that is in our neighbourhood. If there have been methods of that kind used upon the other side, as I know nothing of it, so, for my share, I heartily disclaim them as

base, and unworthy of ministers. Mr Dunlop first, and now Mr Anderson, are removed by death. The different ways they managed that debate, I think, are obvious to all who shut not their eyes. Send me your thoughts on the whole, and any thing further about the Marrow or Communion.¹ I am, Dear Sir, yours, most sincerely.

LETTER CXCIV.

THE DEDICATION TO THE KING.

To Mr Fraser.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 25th of February came not to me till last post, otherwise I had sooner answered so obliging a letter. It's a pleasure to have your approbation of my preface. I shall alter the word *propale*. I am here at the Commission of the General Assembly, and though in a hurry, I could not but write this scrape to you, and beg you'll let me hear from you as soon as you have an opportunity to ask leave of his most excellent Majesty for my inscribing my book to him. My friends tell me, that it's by all means decent and fit his Majesty be acquainted, and I have his permission before I print my dedication; and as soon as I have it, I'll send you a draught of it. I give you a thousand thanks for taking the trouble of binding and presenting it; and I'll certainly accept of the favour, and give you the trouble of this. I hope in May to have the copies of it at your hands. Forgive this scrape, in a perfect hurry, from, Dear Sir, yours.

Edinburgh, March 7, 1721.

¹ "As to our communions, I am afraid some will dissent on the head of abridging the sermons, joined with their other reasons; but, as you very well say, they should be reasoned and prayed out of it."—(*William Hog to Wodrow.*)

LETTER CXCV.

CALDERWOOD ON KIRK-SESSIONS.

To Principal Stirling.

REV. DEAR SIR,—When last week at Edinburgh, I got a large number of original letters to Mr R. Douglas, which I have the pleasure to peruse. When sorting them, I fell upon one from Calderwood, March 4, 1646, which, relating to our present unhappy debates, I send you a copy of. How vastly different are the principles that great man goes on, as to elders and sessions, from the novelties now so much hugged! Our miserable times will not bear our going the full length of the principles of our worthy reformers, and those who succeeded them; but we have the satisfaction to have them plainly on our side in the questions now on foot. I hope to make not a few other discoveries from the letters I have by me, had I time to read them. I'll be fond to have your procedure on Wednesday; and am, Rev. Dear Sir, yours, most affectionately.

Eastwood, March 14, 1721.

LETTER CXCVI.

MARROW CONTROVERSY.—KIRK-SESSIONS.

Rev. John Warden to Wodrow.¹

DEAR BROTHER,—Yesternight I had yours, and am glad your History is so great a length, and wish the guineas may be as ready for the second.

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xv. No. 7.

As for Mr Hamilton's queries and answers, I only read them. He says there was a concert not to communicate them ; yet next Monday I design to write to him for them, and whatever charge it shall be, I hope to satisfy you to the full ; for I hear his answers are improven against him. But what wounds me more is, I observe that both sides are going to affecting extremes. You have no doubt considered the act of Assembly condemning the Marrow ; and, among other things, they condemn that book for asserting believers' freedom from the covenant of works, in room of accusing it for concluding or asserting their freedom from the law of God as a rule of life. You know what a vast mistake this is. On the other hand, some written letters, designed for the press, against the Assembly's act, were sent me to revise ; and this week a draught of a representation to be given in to the next Assembly, against the former act, which was sent me also, was under my consideration, in both which I find extremes, and have made my remarks on both so plainly, that I am persuaded I shall be more and more reckoned a foot out of joint, as I know they reckon me, and upon all occasions I deal openly and freely with them. In the meantime, I have pressed, with all earnestness, to forbear a paper war, though, indeed, the carriage of the other side to these is scarcely tolerable. In the meantime, my heart fails me for this poor sinking church, and I have sometimes inclined to write in a friendly manner to some of our leading men, to grant a calm conference, and so heal our bleeding wounds, and prevent our ruin, but know not whom I dare trust. Ah ! shall our doctrine go by these means ? and will our government, worship, and discipline, with the life and power of godliness, go with them ?

I wish, yea, beg, for the Lord's sake, you would use your endeavours to suppress the Overtures, for they will kindle a fire that your children will not see quenched, and the flame is too high already. In the meantime, advise me if you think I may write, as I tell you I incline, to some of our ministers at Edinburgh. I would do any thing to prevent further breaches. And while I write of this, you may know that it is my fall to go to the next Assembly ; but what con-

sequences a decreetted Non-juror his being there may have you will see, unless, right or wrong, he go down the stream. Fail not to write about this, for our election is to be on the 20th of February next. The parish of Bothkennar, where the curate was, have given a call (I mean the honest people concerned there) to Mr Gray at Dollar. But I fear it will not do; for he is obstinate against it. I am sorry you have wanted Waterland's Sermons; but the truth is, a brother who had the exercise on Col. i. 15, begged it only for a day or two, and has kept it these six weeks; but it shall be sent you very soon. I hope, in March next, to send you two dozen or so of the Widow's Mite. My dear brother, I am oppressed and sore broken; pray for me. The Lord has set me in a stormy post, not within, but from other airths without this place; but I dare not complain. O to be faithful and honest! I am still tugging at Baptism, and was to have finished what I had to read of Strong on the Covenant; but every day gives me a new avocation. Our people in the neighbour church are looking we will do our business by new doctrine and new overtures; so that it will be easy to complete the union.

You see what a long letter I have writt you. Fail not to write soon and freely to me. Mrs Ladely will send it. My service to your kind spouse. I ever am, your own in much love.

January 28, 1721.

I am sorry you could not be active in your late ordination.

I fear Lady Boquhan is dying at London. The physicians there conclude her case desperate.

LETTER CXC VII.

ACT CONDEMNING THE "MARROW."

*Rev. John Warden to Wodrow.*¹

[Received March 1, 1721.]

MY DEAR BROTHER,—By the date of the enclosed you will see that I am not careless in writing to you ; but the storm hindered. I have little thing to add ; only our presbytery last Wednesday continued Mr Gray at Dollar, and refused his transportation to Bothkennar. Our presbytery are as one against the overtures ; and I hear that representations are coming in from the several sessions, in the whole of this country, against them ; and I apprehend the consequences of them, should they not be dropt, will be worse than those of the oath. I have been oppressed defending you, it being given out here that you was for them ; and I wish you would furnish me with some other arguments than what you dropt to me at your own house, that so I may clearly vindicate you, especially to friends. I have been at some pains reading them, and I like them still the longer the worse. I have also been revising (*sed hoc tibi soli*) a draught of a representation, by some South-country brethren, against the act of the Assembly condemning the Marrow ; and, indeed, I like the representation as to the doctrine of it fully as ill as the Marrow, yea, much worse. But a conference is proposed. And, indeed, there is an absolute necessity that the Assembly's act be rectified ; for never did I see its equal. Mr Hamilton positively declines to give a double of the queries and his answers, because he says he promised not to do it until the Commission be over. But I have still hope fully to satisfy you. I think that those who give

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xv. No. 23.

their second guinea for your book will seek receipts. The Widow's Mite will be printed in a week or two. I expect a long and particular letter from you, when now you receive two from me. I salute your spouse and family, and still am your own.

I have Waterland, but must read him a second time. You shall have it very soon.

LETTER CXCVIII.

OVERTURES ON KIRK-SESSIONS.

To Mr John Warden, Minister at Gargunnoch.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I had not yours of January 28, and the other, without date, till March 1, when taking my horse to go in to Edinburgh, so that I was nearly obliged to delay my answer till I returned on Saturday last. Yesterday and this day our Presbytery met for privy censures and ordinary business, and this night is the first spare hour I have had since yours came to hand. As to the Act of Assembly upon the Marrow, I wrote some time since my opinion of the passage that gives the occasion of stumbling, which, I fancy, has been communicated to Mr Boston, and other brethren in the South. If we had not unhappy mutual jealousies, and still endeavour to put the harshest constructions upon things, when capable of better, I persuade myself such who are one at bottom would agree better. You have done good service in endeavouring to prevent a new paper war upon that score. I see nothing to hinder your writing to the leading men at Edinburgh, for a calm conference, which I do not think they will decline. I heard not one syllable upon that score at Edinburgh. Your election to the Assembly, February 20, was passed long ere I had yours; and I see no strait of your coming to the Assembly, and acting

according to light. I was never for bringing in Non-jurors to any thing as a party, and the fore-edge I hope is much off. We ought, indeed, to use all prudence that we give no needless irritation; but, when duty comes in, he that walketh uprightly walketh most wisely and surely.

In your last letter you press me to give my defences as to the Overtures, which you intimate your dissatisfaction with in the other. Had you stated the objections against them, I should have had the easier work; but, it seems, in your country it's a great fault to be for them, and sufficient to put one to be on his defence, and need a second, too, without anything said against them but loud outcry of danger, prelacy, &c. But to waive jesting in this matter, that, I'll own, is in its present situation very melancholy, and looks like somewhat worse than I am willing to express, I was upon the Committee who collected the Overtures from the old ones, and the remarks of Presbyteries before us. I did, indeed, expect some opposition to what relates to general sessions; but, as to what is since termed the negative, even in the first way of expressing it, I never had one thought that a minister in the Church of Scotland would have had any difficulty about it; and I am yet more stunned to hear that the restriction of it, as transmitted by the Assembly, is as little pleasing as it was. Indeed, I could not foresee that it was to be made a handle of to raise a cry against the general sessions, which, I know, was the only thing that stuck with my old friends at Glasgow; and Mr Anderson, at the last Assembly, came in upon the matter to what was transmitted about the negative, and he and Mr Clerk both owned as much as I have said above to myself. The spring of the apprehensions and jealousies that are taken up against both, (for, I suppose, there is no other thing save the negative and general sessions objected against,) was this:—Mr Anderson took a suspicion these two were levelled against him and his call to Glasgow, which, I can say for myself, never came in my mind, neither could it, for this reason, that Mr Anderson had the general session for him as well as the particular session, and that par. 8th had no relation to calls, which

expressly afterwards are lodged in elders and heritors. As to the last, I want not my difficulties about them. This suspicion, though founded upon a plain nullity, led him to publish his letters last year, in a style and with airs I shall say nothing of. But, if we had taken that method of appeal to the people upon the oath, or if the brethren for the Overtures had made returns of the same nature, what a pitiful plight would the country have been in. This winter, the same methods, (bating that of printing,) and much worse, have been taken to raise a flame and fire, and country elders have been drawn to sign untruths, and many other ways used, I am really confounded to think upon, in persons professing godliness; of which I shall be more particular when we meet. Forgive one who has facts and history in his head, to have digressed a little on this unhappy history.

As to argument, if I know myself, I lie as much open to conviction as if I had not been at the framing of the Overtures. I have carefully and impartially read Mr Anderson's letters; I heard the reasonings at the Assembly, and in our Presbytery last week, save one, where we had eight ministers for the debated Overture, four against it, who, with the elders, (yet not all either,) dropt it; and, after all, I have not yet heard anything that affords me a reason to alter my opinion, which yet I am very willing to do on better information.

That which has been very injuriously called the negative, is what I hear is most objected against; and I shall begin with it, and with all frankness, as I still do to you, give my sentiments. To rid marches in the powers of the different officers of Christ's institution, in all supposed cases, in my opinion is not the work of laws ecclesiastical, and, therefore, came not in upon the Overtures. All that ever I understood to be in par. 8th was a sist in case of heats and debates in a session, till superior judicatories took up the differences. We did not at all offer to determine the weight of elders' votes, and, whether a minister's vote was only equal to one of theirs, or he should be concluded by his elders. These are questions cast up since by others, which we had not in our view to de-

termine, any further than we thought it safest nothing should be concluded in a heat and hurry, and against the minister's light and conscience, till it came to superior judicatories. But now that the questions are put, and appeals full of misrepresentations are made to the people, and many filled with idle and groundless surmises of altering the constitution, and I know not what, it's not unreasonable that people should be informed of the powers lodged by Christ in his ministers' hands, and those lodged in elders. It is, and still was, my thoughts on this many years since, that the ruling power in the Church of Christ was lodged in the hands of ministers and elders equally, so as none of them could impose upon the other. I am sure the New Testament runs entirely this way, and if we quit this balance, as far as I can see, we throw up the rights of the ministry, and go entirely off the Presbyterian and Scriptural bottom. This, I see, was the principle that was taken up by our reformers from the Scripture, and maintained all along by Messrs Calderwood, Rutherford, and other worthies. Yea, they went further than now can be borne, as I can vouch to you, that in meetings where there were more elders than ministers, such as sessions are, nothing was to be concluded, but only prepared and remitted to the Presbytery; and merely upon this foot, that the ruling power was in ministers and elders in a parity, and in no case could their votes conclude him, till he came to a court where ministers and elders were equal in numbers. And the reasoning in the vindication of the overtures, as far as I see, is unanswerable, that if, in sessions, every elder's vote goes as far as a minister's, it's an usurpation upon the elders that they are not admitted to vote every one in Presbytery and Synods. Indeed, I think that the 1st paragraph of Sect. 1 of the Overtures, that a minister or ministers are constitutive members of a session; and paragraph 2d, that the minister is moderator *ex officio*, which are both approved by the whole presbyteries of this Church in the old overtures, are the premises from which the 8th paragraph, so much debated, now follows, necessarily, as a conclusion; and, till within this year, I never heard the premises questioned by any that understood our constitution. And this is the answer that may

be given to the popular clamour, how came this to be cast in in the Overtures? Besides that it was, indeed, in papers before the Committee, it was a necessary (and I still think an innocent) consequent of the old overtures, and really in them. But still I must complain that this is a debate superinduced, and consequences raised upon what was not in our mind to determine, though really the noise that is now made against our office, which we ought to maintain, as well as that of elders, makes a particular determination necessary, as soon as it may be done with edification.

We seem now to be brought *in casu confessionis*, as to our holy office; and as soon as the idle surmises of prelacy, and such popular cries, and the spirit of jealousy, so artfully infused among people, are lessened, and they informed of the true nature of our government and constitution, it appears to me necessary that marches be rid, and it be put out of the power of such who would claim a negative upon the minister, and give both the loud cry and the stroke, to turn us out of the liberty and rights Christ hath invested us with. I shall, as much as any, be willing to bear with the infirmities of misinformed and misled people; but to drop any part of the trust I think committed to me, or give way to any usurpation over the servants of Christ, I hope neither you nor I shall ever be left so far of our Master.

The Assembly's limitation of the overture, I imagined, would have removed all the dust that was raised; and I am sorry it has not. For my share, I cannot see any thing that can be said against it, as now transmitted, unless we allow that ministers must go on implicitly to act upon the sentiments of others, when they have not clearness themselves. Two things are pretended, that they may appeal, and that the flame is now so great, that no determination can be made without the utmost hazard. As to ministers appealing, I could never understand it, in the case of sessions. That they may, and ought, if they have no light in a matter of their practice, and which belongs to their office, sit and suffer a complaint to be made of them, and then defend themselves as well as they can, is, indeed, very competent to them, yea, even to complain,

if the matter be of importance ; but, I think it's evident this is not the method that is to be chosen in this supposed case, and is liable to many inconveniences. But, for an appeal, it involves an owning of the elders' judicative power alone, and without the pastor, which, to me, is perfectly anti-scriptural, and will run us entirely to the Congregational way. As to the flame that is raised, and the stumbling that a determination will give, if the principle I have laid hold, it's offence taken, and not given. And this, at furthest, will only plead for a delay, till people be reasoned and prayed out of their jealousies and suspicions. And, as to that, if the Church of Scotland quit not her principles, which I take to be Scriptural, and essential to our Presbyterian constitution, I shall be as easy, and as much for forbearance as any man, providing the rights of the ministry suffer not. But it affords me, among other sad things, a very melancholy prospect, that our people are so little acquaint with the principles of our reformation, that they are ready to be inflamed by appeals to them, in matters where they are very ill judges ; and no more needs be done, but to take a little pains to represent matters, and then jealousies and fears are raised, and these must be the rule of our procedure. What shall the end of these things be ? It was said and printed, that the framers of the overtures had raised the flame ; but, were not I a party, I would wonder how this came to be suggested, since, had matters been kept in their proper channel, Church judicatories, though there had been real evils in them, how could the flame have risen ? much less, when nothing was in the overtures but what the Church had approven in the former overtures, and what I think is our principles and daily practice. Such who spread jealousies and hard names, and wrote in a manner I shall not now describe, are to blame in this matter ; and when our heats and misapprehensions are over this will be seen.

No doubt you are wearied, and so am I, by this time ; but I shall not readily again enter upon this subject. You are the only person ever I wrote to upon it, and you may thank yourself. I shall, therefore, only add, that the whole strain of our acts and practice since the Reformation, seems to run upon the principle I laid down,

of the balance betwixt the body of elders and ministers, and none of them having the negative on the other. Without this, I cannot see why adulteries, excommunication, and the like, are not left with sessions, as well as lesser things. Without this, I should be of Mr Anderson's and Mr Telfair's mind, in their reasons of dissent lately given in, that two or three elders may be delegate to the Presbytery; yea, that all, *ex officio*, should be there, as well as in a session, and act and vote, wherever the body of ministers votes; and certainly, at this rate, we have been very injurious to sessions and elders, that allow them to act only in the small matters that come before sessions, and cut them off in matters of importance.

I should now come to the other clause about general sessions; where, indeed, I have little to add to what is in the vindication of the overtures. Edinburgh, I hear, is come to a full harmony as to this, and, save my neighbours at Glasgow, there is nothing but General Sessions through all the collegiate charges in the Church; and the influence of our good town will be very great, if they, for their own sake, shall get all the collegiate charges divided through the kingdom. Much of what I have heard against this part of the overtures is either *lis de voce*, or depends on facts which will very soon now appear in their due light. If the Gospel way of calling pastors to burghs be secured against Erastianism, I shall be very easy.

After this, never complain of my short writing to you. Do not straiten yourself with Waterland. I am longing for the Widow's Mite. May it bring us back from our unhappy contentions, and stir up many to mind their main concerns! I am, Dear Brother, yours most affectionately.

March 15, 1721.

LETTER CXCI.

OVERTURES ON KIRK-SESSIONS.

*John Warden to Wodrow.*¹

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Yours of March is come to hand yester night; and though my temper leads me not to debate, but cry for unity, yet I cannot say that your vindication of the overtures has removed my difficulties. For, *primo*, if, *jure divino*, the elders have, *virtute officii*, a power of ruling, I cannot see how the exercise of this power can be stopt, *pastore non consentiente*. Especially, *secundo*, when it is considered that our constant principle is, that though in the Church of Christ there is a superiority and inferiority of offices, yet, in acts of one and the same office, there is a positive equality or parity; *i. e.* though the pastor, *qua talis*, is a superior office to the ruling elder, yet when the pastor comes to exercise acts proper to the ruling elder's office, here is no superiority at all. But, in case of his negative, the contrary will, I think, follow. For, *tertio*, What is the true nature of a negative, but some one person or another having power to stop procedure *illo renitente*? Nor do I think this will follow from his being an essential constituent member of the session; for, *primo*, So the ruling elder is *virtute officii*, must it therefore follow that the elder, as elder, have this negative? *Secundo*, The overtures say that deacons are so; and if your argument be good, if they consent not, nothing must be done either, when yet they have no concern in ruling. And as to his being moderator *virtute officii*, this will never bear the weight of such a conclusion; for, granting this as every way most reasonable and decent, yet what then? For is not the President of the Session so?

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xv. Nos. 46, 53.

But though he consents not, do acts stop? The case is the same, if the parity above noticed be considered. What is of most weight is the balance you mention. But let me observe to you, *primo*, Do you not lay in one scale the minister against the whole eldership in the other, which determines more than you seem to incline to? *Secundo*, You must certainly carry this further, even to presbyteries, that so the elders, with three or four ministers, carry not an affair against eight or nine ministers, of which you give me an instance. That the elders' vote should determine the minister to execute a sentence against his conscience, no good man will say; yet that an act formally authoritative shall not pass if the minister consent not, is an inference too much. For you well know that though a presbytery, yea, a General Assembly, should command me to do against my own light, I am not to obey, yet the act appointing this cannot be hindered, if I consent not to it. And, indeed, I think the minister may either advise with the presbytery, by representing the affair to them, or, in case of necessity, appeal, wherein I see no absurdity, whatever inconveniences may be, as are common in all appeals. You speak not much of general sessions, neither shall I, but only tell you I do not understand them as in the overtures. I am sorry you and I should not think the same way, and am wearied with this affair; only adding, that there is a positive necessity they be now laid aside, considering the flame, the consequents that may follow, and lest we should be diverted from affairs of greater moment that now call for our attendance.

You may know that some two or three brethren met the Tuesday before the last presbytery, about the paper I wrote of. I was not with them; but they forbore all until the Wednesday, when it was agreed Mr Hamilton should write to Mr Mitchell at Edinburgh, proposing a conference; yet I understood the brethren who met at Edinburgh the time of the Commission were not pleased with this. And truly they run so fast, especially Mr M. [Muir] at Stirling, that I believe it shall not be in my power to keep within sight of them. Doctrines and propositions are advanced I understand not, viz., the sins of believers make them not, according to

the law, liable to wrath, consequently no praying for pardon but with submission, for in law they are liable to no more than fatherly chastisement. To press holiness upon hearers, by threatenings of wrath and promises of glory, is legal, and the covenant of works. In no sense does the Scripture make a promise of life to holiness. But I cannot insist. Let me know what you will do about receipts for the second guinea. Mr Muir and I, with Brigadier Bruce, should go to the Assembly. The Mite, I hope you will have it very soon. I am much broken and wounded in soul upon many accounts, confused, perplexed, and uneasy. Fail not to write to me. I desire always to mind you in prayer, when I can pray. But, oh! where is the spirit of prayer gone? Old Boquhan was buried here Monday last. Divisions, and terror about them, lie heavy on my spirit. I ever am, my Dear, Dear Brother, yours, in the most sincere love.

March 22, 1721.

LETTER CC.

REPLY TO FOREGOING.

To Mr John Warden, Minister at Gargunnoch.

DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 22d, which is very acceptable, and you shall find me as little for debates as any; neither can I pretend to inform you upon the subject you led me to, and should not so much as offer to take [notice] of the difficulties that remain with you upon this head, if you did not again require me to write without fail. I have neither leisure, being in a hurry with indexes, preface, and other appendages to the History, nor time to consult our writers upon the office of the ministry, and that of ruling elders, or to dip upon this subject. It's upwards of twenty years since I considered our constitution, any further than

the debates lately cast up led me very transiently to do ; and what I now write is just what offers to me from what I take to be the Scriptural account of our constitution, and the power of ruling, as there entrusted to ministers and elders, and the native consequences of it, under your correction.

That the elders have, *jure divino* and *virtute officii*, a power of ruling, in a joint way, with ministers, I agree with you ; but then two things offer to me, that the pastor is, *virtute officii*, and by Christ's institution, the chief ruler, and an officer of a higher degree, to whom the power of ruling is, in the first place, committed, and to whom, if I may use the style of our reformers, the elder is associate, assumed, and joined ; but not so as to have a negative or superiority, and the pastor, the chief ruler, made a cipher, a mere president, who comes only to have a voice when matters are *in equilibrio*. Which brings me to add, that all the difficulty in this matter seems to run upon a supposition, which, I own, I cannot perceive in the Scripture, that there are, by Christ's institution, more elders than pastors. That we are now under a necessity to have it so I acknowledge ; but then, when brought under this necessity, we must not give up our ruling power to be overbalanced with their separate votes, but consider them in the Session as one body, to whom the rule is committed, and the pastor or pastors are the other, acting in a parity, as it's in Presbyteries and Synods. Without this, I cannot help thinking that we give too much way to the Independent scheme.

The principle you next lay down, that in acts of the same office there is a positive equality between the pastor and elder, in my opinion strengthens what I said just now, and it's the parity and balance betwixt minister and elder that I all along run upon. So it stands in our Presbyteries and Synods ; and the necessary multiplication of elders in sessions hath led us into this debate ; and there, if you allow the vote of every elder to go as far as that of the pastor, the parity fails, and the chief ruler has, in debated cases, no rule at all, but the associates have the whole in their hands ; and the pastoral rule is as much swallowed up as Scotland at pre-

sent is by the Union. This difficulty is only in Sessions; and, therefore, I think, in a consistency with Scripture, to save our constitution, and to make it of a piece, we, who collected the overtures, without determining this point were for a sist, in case of a question or debate, till the matter came where pastors and elders were equal in numbers. But, as far as I can see, to bring this principle, that acts of the same office are equal, to the case of judicatories where there are ten more of the inferior than the superior, is to destroy the parity, and give the ruling power, in fact, to the inferior officer.

I shall not enter upon your third remark, of the import of the negative. It's a word that has done much service of late to inflame this poor country; and, save in the Acts of the Assembly 1638, and the case of prelates, I do not mind that it hath been used till of late. The power of the prelate is positive as well as negative, and, by our constitution in Scotland, as he derived from the magistrate, so meetings for the exercise derived from him, yea, had a commission to meet, and their instructions from him. The Act, Sess. — 1638, is, in my opinion, only relative to general sessions, as the tenor of that overture in what follows makes plain, and relates to the consent of the collegiate ministers in that session, as well as the elders, and was framed to curb the constant moderators, as is plain, I think, upon the very reading of it. I shall not debate your description of the negative by the Presbyterian constitution, as I understood it. The plurality hath the determination of what comes before judicatories that are constitute in a parity of ministers and elders; the application of this to sessions is what breeds the noise at present. Mr Calderwood and others foresaw this, as I can let you see in original letters to our Assembly of Divines, and are very plain, that parochial Presbyteries can only prepare matters for classical and synodical assemblies. I do not yet see that we need go this length. Where matters are harmoniously carried on, and no *lis* falls out, that cannot be compromised among themselves, which I hope will generally be our case, they may go on; but when the two co-ordinate offices, I mean in point

of ruling, cannot agree, then I think the matter ought to come to superior judicatories. Though I want not a strait with myself, when I consider the Independents' reasonings, as to the power we give to sessions to act in smaller matters. When the parity and balance is broken between ministers and elders, (except upon the principles I have laid down,) it's hard to refuse them the power of excommunication, and all other cases, and yet harder to hinder elders from overbalancing entirely in Presbyteries and Sessions. The matter of delegation I still thought one of the most difficult points of our constitution to defend as to adversaries, though I think it's a necessary consequent of our present state.

I urge the argument from paragraphs 1 and 2 to paragraph 8 of section 1 no further than this, that the elders, who are also constituent members of judicatories, cannot have a negative or overbalance on the pastor, who is first ruler, and *virtute officii* superior, and not by choice, their president, or moderator rather, and that, as has been said, he be not made a cipher. And I think, indeed, in matters that relate to the deacon's office, the minister is to be concluded by a plurality of elder and deacon, if they happen to differ; but never to take the deacons to have any share in ruling. But the dichotomy¹ of the rule betwixt ministers and elders makes me of opinion, that none of them can conclude the other in a session, till they come to superior judicatories.

After this, you will see that I do indeed lay the minister in the one scale, and the whole elders in the other, in sessions, because they are so in Presbyteries and Synods, and because I take the power of ruling to be committed to them as two joint bodies, and plurality are to determine, and the moderator to have the casting voice in *equilibre*. And I am not yet aware of any ill consequents of this; yea, I still took it to be one of the chief things wherein Presbytery and Independency differed. In Presbyteries and Synods where this parity is kept, and equal number of pastors and elders are, or should be, the plurality undoubtedly determine the matter. In the possible cases, you cast up the three or four ministers, or

¹ *Dichotomy*,—the distribution of ideas by pairs.

one minister, with the elders, may be a formal authoritative act, I make no doubt; because, there the elders are acting in the way that Christ hath appointed them, in a parity with the minister; but the consequence is not the same as to sessions, where the pastor may be still swallowed up, as matters are with us. I am perfectly of your opinion as to the effects of this judicative act, that in order to active obedience and subjection, personal light is necessary, and no human fallible power can impose either upon the conscience of minister or elder in matter of practice; but that is not the question before us. But, in case of session, our subordination of judicatories provides a relief of appeals, and these must be a last resource, and since our present state makes this to be a delegate judicatory, I cannot but think, till we have our elders better instructed, and more equal for the great trust committed to them, the delegation should be a little upon the pastor's side. But this subject of the delegation and the last resort would lead us to dip further than at least I have time for.

Upon the whole, I must insist, as in my last, that these debates are cast up upon the Overtures, and no determination made by the 8th paragraph, section 1, of the weight of votes, but only a necessary provision made against ministers being imposed upon by the inequality of numbers of elders' votes; and, therefore, I am still of opinion it ought to pass, though I shall not be against delaying urging this.

The affair of doctrine, I own, is yet more important; but [if] elders' power be too much enlarged, I want not fears that it have influence on doctrine too; government and discipline being a hedge of Christ to doctrine. The propositions you acquaint me of, I conceive you and I understand to be plain opening of a door to licentiousness in practice, and slothfulness in the people of God. But what shall be done I am at a stand; for I see, till the Lord give us a better temper, no determinations can be borne as to doctrine, or rules for ecclesiastical procedure, without heats and rents, and then these are made arguments against doing any thing in judicatories about them. Our government and discipline are like

daily to grow weaker and weaker, till we be sent to furnace ; but I hope the night will be but short, and the morning bright. Blessed is he that watcheth and cometh to the 1335 days. But who shall live till God do this ? I am, Dear Brother, yours most sincerely.

March 27, 1721.

You shall have accounts at the Assembly.

LETTER CCI.

DEDICATION OF THE HISTORY TO THE KING.

To James Fraser, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—This moment I have the honour to receive, through your most obliging care, his most excellent Majesty's gracious allowance to dedicate my book to him. I have not time, being necessarily called abroad, to make you the acknowledgments so singular a favour deserves, and, indeed, I cannot express my sense of the King's goodness and condescension to one of the meanest of his subjects ; but one who will yield to none in point of sincere affection, duty and loyalty, in my small sphere.

In a post or two I'll send you up a rude draught of a dedication ; but I am so much convinced of the inequality of my pen for such a task, that I humbly propose you, and my friend with you, may, as soon as your leisure can allow, think upon something that may be in some measure worthy of so great a patron ; for I am fully sensible any thing I can say must be flat, and much below a public address to the head of the Protestant interest, and the greatest and best King in the world.

In order to show my willingness, had I ability, I shall very soon shape something, and send up ; but being loaded with your kindness in this matter, I am turned almost impudent, and must humbly

beg you'll add to all your favours this, of sending down a draught as soon as may be.

The heads that occur to me proper to be touched, had I qualifications to express them, are the sufferings of his Majesty's royal progenitors for the Protestant interest ; his father's joining interests with the Prince of Orange for bringing about the glorious Revolution, which put a stop to the sufferings I describe ; the completing of the Revolution by the settlement of the succession ; our danger of such times as I describe at his Majesty's seasonable and happy accession ; his noble appearance of late for the oppressed in the Palatinate ; his affection to the Church of Scotland ; with some lively touches on the blessings of liberty, and the opposite miseries of tyranny, and a spirit of persecution and imposition ; our happiness under his Majesty's government, and the proper compliments to his person and family. By all means let it be short and pithy. Forgive this new trouble, and take it not ill from one whom you have made by so many ties, Dear Sir, yours most affectionately.

April 3, [1721.]

LETTER CCII.

DRAUGHT OF THE DEDICATION.

To Mr Fraser.

DEAR SIR,—According to my promise, I send with this a rude draught of a Dedication. It's just as it falls from my pen, and if you have not before this favoured me with another draught, I entreat you, and friends with you, may read this carefully, and make such amendments as may render it some way tolerable, and send them down as soon as may be, since it must now be very soon printed. I'll be impatient till I hear you have received this, and have your

opinion. Consider if the inscription, *To the King*, shall continue, or if I shall set down his titles, and then you must send them. Some tell me that *Servant*, at the close, ought not to be added, being used only by such as have Commissions ; but I doubt of this. You are best judge of these circumstances. I have now given over apologies for the vast trouble I give you ; and am, Dear Sir, in the greatest sincerity, yours most affectionately.

April 10, 1721.

LETTER CCIII.

LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1721.¹

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 1.

Edinburgh, May 4, 1721.

MY DEAREST,—I am longing very much to hear from you. I have no news. The Synod meets this week here, but have little before them. Mr Russel, a minister in Biggar, is suspended for not praying for the King. The members of the Synod at the Assembly are appointed to move for a fast, in case the Assembly find cause. I can give you little news from England, but what you have in the letters. Things are certainly in no small confusion there with the South Sea. I long to hear how Lady Anne is, and give my kindest respects to my Lord, and all the family. Be not surprised if you hear not from me some posts ; for I may be out of town next week. It was well I came in so soon, otherwise my work had not been ready next week, as now I hope it will. I am extremely throng. With my respects to parents, I am your own.

¹ *Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xv. Nos. 46, 53.

LETTER CCIV.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 2.

Edinburgh, May 8, 1721.

MY DEAREST,—I long much to hear from you by Mr M'Kellar. A thousand things fall in upon my book, which keep me close at work. I am to bind a copy here for the King, and send it up by the carrier. I hope the book will be ready against Thursday. I have no news. You'll see what's in the letters, that the seven millions is given to the annuitants, that it's thought Alberoni may be Pope, which will put all Europe in a flame. The Episcopal meeting-house here is at a stand; the person who disposed the ground not being able to make his right to it good. What will come of this matter I know not; I wish it be wisely managed. I find some books are come west by the carrier to me from George Stewart. Cause open any letter that comes with books, and if from him, send it over to Mr Maxwell with the book. I see it will be the end of this week at soonest before the book be printed off; but I hope then it will be ready. The neatness and handsomeness of the title-page requires more time than I thought of. I bespeak you to take a care of yourself, as you would have me to do; for I have nothing that vexes me so much as the fears of your negligence of yourself, and giving way to damps.

LETTER CCV.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 3.

May 10.

MY DEAREST,—I had yours yesterday, and had not time to answer it. It's a great satisfaction to me to have any thing under your hand; but I would not buy it at the expense of hurting any way your weak eyes. Let Mr John still write to me how you are all. I am at no charges in consulting here, and though I were, that ought not to trouble you. I am in perfect health. I wish Lady Anne a happy hour. We want not fears about this Assembly; but I hope the Lord will direct and help. For public news, I have nothing to add to the prints, save that Mr Walpole and Mr Hutcheson's scheme about public credit are both rejected, and Mr Lechmore's gone into unanimously; but what that is I cannot tell. The Commissioner¹ is not well; his instructions are in common form; and it's probable Mr Mitchell will be Moderator. I shall write what offers to-morrow. I am got through the difficulties in my title-page, and the book will be ended to-morrow or next day.

May 11.

I have little from the Assembly. The King's Letter and Commissioner's speech were in common terms, and very kind. Mr Mitchell was designed to be Moderator, but Mr Thomas Black of Perth carried it by six votes, which some think odd. We need many prayers. I remember parents and all at Pollock. Pray take care of yourself for my sake. I am upon the committee for preachers, and will take a care of myself.

¹ John Earl of Rothes.

LETTER CCVI.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 4.

May 13, 1721.

MY DEAREST,—I am now in a perfect hurry, and it's only to let you know I am perfectly well I write this. I forgot to tell you Mr Hamilton's text on Thursday—"Let your light so shine before men," &c. The Moderator's choice was only by six votes. Mr Mitchell came very near. Messrs Hart, Cameron, and Semple, had no votes almost.

Yesterday we had the prayers in the forenoon; and in the afternoon the Answer to the King's Letter was transmitted unanimously. It's not so lively as I wish it were. We want Mr Carstares. I am on two committees, and will be on a third this day; and be not surprised though I should miss a post. Pray deal with yourself as one in whom my comfort is bound up, and take a special care of yourself. I am longing to hear from you. This day we shall have little before us. I am your own.

Afternoon.

This day the Answer to the King's Letter was read in the Assembly, and approven unanimously. There was little more done save the appointing persons to revise the Synod books. A collection is appointed for erecting a new church in the parish of Durness, fifty miles long. My Lord Reay offers very generously 400s. per annum, stipend, kirk, and manse, and he is sole heritor. This was approven. A return was read from the ministers of Lithuania, with thanks for our contribution. There is a warm petition presented about the Marrow of Modern Divinity to the Committee of Bills, which is not yet come to the Assembly. I am impatient to hear how Lady Anne is, and give my service to parents and all at Pollock.

I have yours this night. I bless God for his Providence, and am well. What is further needful I shall write. I am yours.

LETTER CCVII.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 5.

MY DEAREST,—I wrote this morning, and sent it up to the post-house, and find it not in the post-house ; so I write this in case the other come not to hand, to tell you I am well, and had yours. This afternoon, the Committee of Instructions gave their opinion unanimously upon the Overtures, and have determined, because the plurality of Presbyteries have not agreed to them, [that] they cannot at this time be turned to acts ; and before a subsequent Assembly take them up Presbyteries are to be acquainted. This being unanimous, though, with a struggle, only with three or four, I believe will calm the country. The Commissioner continues very indisposed, and I hear at eight of the clock that he is bedfast. I fear he scarce be able to attend to-morrow, and we have appointed a committee to name the Commission to-morrow, when many think we will rise if the Commissioner continue ill, and the Commission will sit down. I cannot write for my horses positively ; but if I hinder not next post, let them come off on Monday, and come in at night, or Tuesday early. I am your own.

Edinburgh Post-Office, after Eight,
May 16, 1721.

LETTER CCVIII.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 6.

Edinburgh, May [16,] 1721.

MY DEAREST,—I am longing to hear how you are all. I fail not to write every post, but be not surprised if I slip one post now; for I am in a perfect hurry, with several committees I am upon. The Assembly is, they say, to rise Saturday or Monday. The Commissioner is really ill, though he still comes out; he has a most violent cough, and is turned blue and ill-coloured. On Sabbath we had a very good sermon from Mr Willison in Dundee. He lectured upon Amos iii., and preached on “not receiving the love of the truth,” in which I noticed a Providence which I shall speak of when we meet. It was a most seasonable sermon. In the afternoon a young man preached very neatly, Mr David Brown of Gordon, on Isaiah lxii. 8,—“Ye that make mention of the Lord keep not silence.” I have been these two days classing our Instructions. The chief things before the Assembly are a fast, the grievances about Patronages, &c., the Overtures, and a petition for repealing the last Act of Assembly on the Marrow, from Mr Hog, Mr Boston, the two Messrs Erskines, Mr Kid, Mr Bathgate, Mr Wardlaw, Mr James Hunter, Mr Williamson, and three others;¹ which contains expressions which some think will infer censure, containing positions tending to support Antinomianism.

Yesterday the Assembly met at ten, where we had the affair of a settlement in the Presbytery of Auchterarder, and the Presbytery's and Synod's procedure was unanimously sustained. In the afternoon the Overtures met upon that petition of the twelve

¹ The other three were Gabriel Wilson of Galashiels, Henry Davidson of Maxton, and John Bonar of Torphichen. The first draught of this representation was the work of Boston. It is printed in Brown's “*Gospel Truth Illustrated*.”

ministers, and read it. It's very long, and is transmitted to the Assembly. They had a conference allowed them, but would not crave it. What the Assembly will do I know not. At night the Instructions met, and we had a fast before us, which was sub-committed. All agree upon the causes and call; but how to have the civil sanction is the difficulty. The Synods of Fife, of Ross, and Moray, have had a fast lately. We had a long representation from the elders and deacons of the Presbytery of Penpont against the Overtures. Most part of the Instructions are for delaying the Overtures at this Assembly. This is all I mind this morning. My book is finished; but the sheets are yet wet, and scarce for binding. If I write not on Thursday's post, you may send in the horses on Monday, that they be here at night, or on Tuesday by twelve. It will be Thursday probably before I get off. Pray take a care of yourself.

This day, about eleven, the Commissioner came out a start to the Assembly, against the opinion both of ministers and physicians; [we are] only to name committees against to-morrow, if he grow worse. Some think him a-dying, and that we will rise to-morrow. We have appointed a committee to choose the Commission. The Commission will sit down, and all matters referred to them, if the Commissioner turn ill.

LETTER CCIX.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 7.

Edinburgh, May 17, 1721.

MY DEAREST,—This morning the committee for naming the Commission met, and named them, with their Instructions. They go in form, save that the Commission has all matters transmitted by the bills to the Assembly referred; in particular, the twelve ministers' petition about the Marrow, and the case of Inglish of Kil-

spindie, and all, in short, the Assembly could not overtake. The Commissioner ventured out, to be present at the Assembly's naming the Commission; the names and instructions were read, and agreed without a vote or calling the rolls. The overture I wrote of yesternight upon the overtures was agreed to, and a committee appointed for revising the minutes. And then the Moderator had a short speech signifying the Commissioner's illness, and adjourning the Assembly in the ordinary form, and then turned to the Commissioner, and expressed the Assembly's sense of his heavy distress, and sympathy with him. The Commissioner spoke a very few words, but was not able, signifying that he never used to straiten the Assembly for time, but now was not able to attend, thanking them for their dispatch, and hoped they would be at no loss by referring matters to so numerous a Commission, and adjourned them as the Moderator had done before. I find some dislike our rising thus, without asserting our power to sit without a Commissioner; but others see no ground for such an assertion, when Providence cleared our way by laying affliction on him. It had been cruelty to have pressed his being with us any longer; and it's a mercy we have a King who countenances us and a Commissioner so long. There was not the least motion of this in public.

I am upon the Commission against my mind. We shall have work enough this week and part of the next. However, let the horses come in on Monday. If the day be good, let Barnet start early, or if ill, let him be in Tuesday morning. Let me know what barley you want, and any other thing for you, the bairns, or Mr John. It's probable it will be Wednesday or Thursday before I get off; but I'll come as soon as may be.

Edinburgh, May 18.

This day the Commission sat down, and the forenoon was taken up with the commission and instructions to them. The twelve ministers' petition for the Assembly's rescinding the Act about the Marrow is to come in afternoon. The growth of Popery in the North is referred to a select committee, who meet at night; it's very

great, and things grow worse every month. I write this at dinner, because I'll not get down to the post-office in the afternoon. I have nothing from you this post; but I hope you are no worse. I am to send a hundred copies to Glasgow as soon as possible. Pray take a care of yourself. It seems I may be in time for Lady Anne. The Lord grant her a safe and comfortable delivery! Send all your desires next post; for I'll endeavour to come off on Wednesday or Thursday at furthest. My respects to all with you. See if your father wants any books. Mr Williamson promises the extracts on Monday. He is throng about his book. Great grace be with you. I am your own.

May 19, 1720.

My Dearest,—The Commission yesterday had the affair of the twelve brethren I wrote of before under their consideration. There are subscribers besides what I named, Mr Bathgate, Mr Henry Davidson, Mr James Simson, and Mr Bonar.¹ Their paper craves the rescinding of the Act of Assembly against the Marrow, and reflects upon the Act of Assembly for Catechetical Doctrine,² because *righteousness* is not added to surety. They speak of many things they have to complain of besides what they have said. There were many very good speeches in their presence, for three hours, by Messrs Mitchell, Hamilton, Professors Haddow, Blackwell, Messrs Logan, Linning, Hart, Millar; and none spoke in their defence. The clause they object against was plainly shown to be a citation, which, in the sense of the Marrow, proves what it's brought for, and does not consider believers, as such, to be under the covenant of works, as to its condemning power. The tendency of the Marrow to Antinomianism was fully shown, and their principle of persons being under the law of Christ, and that law having no promises or threatenings was exposed, as what made believers' sins to

¹ Wodrow is mistaken here. See p. 581.

² This refers to an "Act for preaching Catechetical Doctrine, with directions therein," passed by the preceding Assembly. The expression in the Act alluded to is, "free justification through our blessed Surety, the Lord Jesus Christ."

be no sin, no guilt following on the breach of that law they are under. I observed nothing answered, but that the expressions in the Marrow were the words of Luther, which ought not to be condemned. It was observed, that they themselves did not approve of the book in many of its expressions; that the attack they had made upon the truth, and the authority of the Assembly, looked ill, and seemed to flow from the regard they had to one of their number, Mr Hog, his recommending that book, and by such a paper they went about to distinguish themselves, and form a party in the Church, especially when, without any connection, or *ad captandum populum*, they brought in the overtures. Mr Boston and Mr Ebenezer Erskine spoke with some modesty, and many distinguished them from several others among them. The last owned his willingness to retract any thing in the paper when convinced that it was contrary to the Confession of Faith and Scripture; and the former declared he had no jealousy that the Assembly designed any thing against the truth, but thought that clause about the covenant of works might be misimproven in time to come. There are positions in their paper, that believers' guilt is of a different nature from that of others, that are excepted against. A large committee is appointed, who meet this morning, and the sense of the Assembly's act will be vindicated, and some notice taken of their exceptionable things in their paper.

This day the Commission met at ten, and indeed we have the Assembly's work before us. The report of the sub-committee about the Marrow was, that they had conversed with the brethren, whom they interrogate, what they meant by the many other things they had to except against. This they gave different answers to, but at length came to agree to retract that part, and restrict themselves to what they condescended on; and a sub-committee was appointed to bring in an overture for vindicating the Assembly, and stating the doctrine of this Church as to the believer being free from the covenant of works, and the doctrine of Christ's Suretyship, and they report upon Monday.

We had a representation from the Synod of Fife, about Mr

Scrimgeour, Professor of Divinity in the Old College of St Andrews, with a long memorial, proving he could not be a Professor of Divinity unless he were a Church officer, and taking off his defence of being made Doctor of Divinity by the Jacobite College of Aberdeen. He is suspended by a royal visitation, and there it stands. The Synod move that the libel as to Jacobitism, intrusion on the office of teaching, and Arminianism, be considered, and he cited before the Commission. The difficulty was plain; the matter was before a royal visitation. He was put in under Queen Anne's reign, and is now suspended. The Commission came to this opinion,—that the Earl of Rothes, who is no worse, but still ill, and the Advocate, with three or four others, meet, and it be given as the mind of the Commission to the Earl, who has power to call the Commission for visitation, that they meet and bring the process already begun, by sustaining the libel, to an issue.

The great matter we have before us is the terrible growth of Popery in the North. We met on that Committee from three to seven this night. The accounts are most lamentable. Several ministers are under a state of open persecution. Some parishes, where there were not long ago few Papists, have seven or eight hundred. One meeting-place has fifteen hundred hearers every Lord's day. Bishops, priests, and Jesuits, are exercising openly their functions; seminaries and schools are openly set up, and multitudes sent abroad and coming home from Popish seminaries every three or four months. Representations have been sent up, and orders came down, and multitudes were put in the Porteous rolls; but nothing is done. The Sheriffs and under officers have put informalities in the summonses, and nothing is done. After long reasoning for delaying an address till the Parliament meet, for new laws against them, which is absolutely necessary, it was agreed that an immediate Address be made to the King just now by the Commission, and a committee appointed by us to draw it against Monday.

We are likewise to sit some days next week. We have no account that a separate peace is concluded between the Czar and

Sweden, exclusive of our King's dominions of Verden, &c., which is surprising a little.

May 20.

I have Mr John's this day; and I am grieved for Lady Anne, but glad she is recovering. The Commission did nothing of importance this day. There is L.120 of debt on the Church, and the viaticums are stopped, and the Synod of Perth empowered to visit the bounds of Dunkeld, and divide people that lie wrong as to their parish-kirk from it *quoad sacra*, with consent of heritors.

LETTER CCX.

PRESENTATION OF THE FIRST VOLUME OF WODROW'S HISTORY TO
THE KING.

To Mr James Fraser.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote to you some ten or twelve days ago, and since that time my book is published. I have sent up with the carrier ten copies for you; one of them in fine paper for your own use. I have not sent up a copy to the Prince and Princess, because I have not yet heard from you upon that subject.

I have bound his Majesty's copy here, that he might have it altogether of Scots extract, style, printing, and binding; and though I well know that in style and method this History falls short every way of the English beauty, yet I am told we bind fully better here than at London. It comes up in a box, and I hope shall be safely conveyed to your hand, and that you will do me the honour to present it to the best as well as the greatest of Kings. They tell me here, that addresses made to his Majesty are ordinarily put in French, and your singular goodness to me emboldens me to beg you may, if you find it proper, turn the dedication into French, and put it in the King's hands, with my most humble and sincere

acknowledgments, for the honour he has allowed me in inscribing it to him. I'll be impatient till I hear by post that you have received the copies, and presented his Majesty's book ; and I hope you [will] write as soon as may be, when they are come to hand. The second volume is printing, and will be finished in nine or ten months. I have long since given over expressing my sense of your kindness to me in this matter ; it being, indeed, beyond what I can put in words ; but I shall never forget the obligations I am under to be, Dear Sir, yours most sincerely.

Edinburgh, May 22, 1721.

LETTER CCXI.

MEMOIR OF WILLIAM GUTHRIE.—BIOGRAPHIES.

Lord Grange to Wodrow.¹

[The Honourable JAMES ERSKINE of Grange was the second son of Charles, tenth Earl of Mar, and of Lady Mary Maule, eldest daughter of George, second Earl of Panmure. He "was admitted a Member of the Faculty of Advocates, 1705 ; was constituted a Lord of the Session, 18th March 1707, and held the office of Justice-Clerk for the three last years of Queen Anne. After sitting on the Bench for twenty-seven years, he resigned his gown in 1734, that he might be enabled to go into Parliament, and join the ranks of opposition against Sir Robert Walpole, expecting the appointment of Secretary of State for Scotland. He was chosen Member of Parliament for Stirling, &c., at the general election, 1734 ; took a great share in the debates ; held the office of Secretary to the Prince of Wales ; appeared at the bar of the Court of Session as a pleader, but soon gave up practising there, and died at London on the 24th of January 1754, in his 75th year. He married Rachel Chiesly, sister of Major Chiesly of Dalry." —(*Douglas's Peerage of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 219.)—ED.]

SIR,—I would have returned your MS. History of the Assembly, 1638, with the carrier, but judged it would be safer by Lord Pollock's servants when they return with his horses ; and my Lord

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xv. No. 58.

having allowed me the favour to send it with his servants, you will be pleased to receive it from them. I hope it is nothing the worse of the use I have made of it, and I render you hearty thanks for your favour in allowing me to have it so long. I have read the declamation or harangue, which, under the title of Mr Guthrie's Life, is prefixed to the new edition of his excellent book.¹ Perhaps it will have the same effect on others it had on me, which was to increase my desire of knowing the particulars of that worthy man's life, from which that writer has drawn the several general characters he gives of him; for he is extremely sparing of particulars. I humbly think that this way of writing lives is liable to some pretty considerable objections. One who knows how to describe what a man ought to be, can say such general things of any body he pleases; and the performance is rather an instance of the author's manner of writing, than a representation of the life and qualifications of the person he writes of. Next, the same general characters may, with justice, be applied to divers persons; whereas the particulars distinguish and appropriate to each what is peculiar to him, and that in a more lively manner than it is possible, almost, for any description to reach. Then as to the usefulness of the history of the lives of excellent men, I have always reckoned it very great, as for other reasons, so for this chiefly, that a real example leads more nearly and directly to practice than any precept, direction, &c., whatsoever, and comes nearest of any thing to intimate conversation with a knowing, experienced Christian friend. There is something in it which goes to the heart, and leads one as it were by the hand, beyond what any direction or prescription can do; and I have often thought [that in works] so written, one meets with things more special and touching than even in other practical books. But the way which this author has pitched on is more general than commonly any of our practical books are. There is a force in particular instances, both for convincing and instructing

¹ By the Rev. William Dunlop, Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh. See vol. i. p. 23. A subsequent edition, in 1755, contained some additions from Wodrow's History.

the mind, and for touching the heart, which this general way has nothing of, and thereby is rendered more sapless and unsavoury. What instances are fit to be condescended on in print, will be determined by the discretion of the writer, in which his peculiar taste, and the measure of his knowledge, and experience of these matters, (whatever they be,) cannot but go far in influencing his choice. But I would humbly think that the scorn and mockery of the profane atheistical world can seldom, or rather never, be a good reason for concealing a particular, which real and judicious Christians can solidly lay hold upon, and find edifying. I cannot see that this general way of writing (or speaking) is justly vindicated by a pretence of elegance and politeness; words that seem to me as much misunderstood and abused by some scholars in our days, as the words *genteel* and *polite* are by the beaux and pretty fellows. Beside that elegance and politeness, when in the least hurtful to real usefulness, degenerate into trifles unworthy of a man, they are not confined to one way of writing or speaking; and he can lay claim to little masterliness in eloquence, who knows not how to handle his subject elegantly in many different ways. But I forbear to trouble you farther, and submit what I have ventured to say to your better judgment and correction; and I am sincerely, Rev. Sir, your most humble and faithful servant,

JAMES ERSKINE.

Edinburgh, June 8, 1721.

LETTER CCXII.

REPLY TO THE FOREGOING.

To the Right Honourable my Lord Grange.

MY LORD,—I have the honour of your Lordship's of the 8th, with the MSS. relating to the Assembly, 1638. It's a satisfaction

to me that I have any thing that your Lordship has any use for; and you may command any thing in my collection.

You have favoured me very much in allowing me your sentiments upon the account of my wife's grandfather's Life. I think I acquainted your Lordship that I sent in the materials to Mr Watson, and they were judged a little too long for so short a book. I never saw this preface of the publisher till I got the book. I have not yet collated it with my papers; but upon an overly view, I do not observe much material, as to facts, left out. Mr Guthrie left nothing behind him under hand that could help to make any distinct account of his Life; and all I could do was to gather up some few hints from his relations, and ministers of his acquaintance, which I had reason to believe were certain. Of these, I have by me a rude draught of his Life, that would have been much larger than this, and from which I formed what I sent in. The publisher has put my shortest draught in his own style and phrases.

I perfectly agree with your Lordship in your observations upon the manner of writing of great and good men's lives. [It is] because I want these flowers and embellishments in writing, that I don't use them in any draughts I have made of the lives of our ministers and Christians. But though I were master of them, I own it's plain facts, as I find them, that please me most, and I don't think a biographer ought to mix much of his own with them. I humbly thank your Lordship for your solid remarks upon this head, which will be of use to me if I go on in my design of giving a beginning to a Scots Biography.

When you have leisure from your more important work to look over the History of the Sufferings, it will be the greatest kindness in this matter you can do me, to allow me your remarks upon it. I have in the preface frankly told things as they were, in my composing this work, and the freedom my friends use with me will enable me the better to deal with adversaries, if attacked.

I'll be fond to have your Lordship's commands, and to hear from you at any spare hour, and to know if my Lord Polton has any of Mr David Calderwood's papers, or the autograph copy of his

large History. Forgive this trouble; and allow me to subscribe myself, my Lord, your Lordship's most humble and obedient servant.

June 9, 1721.

LETTER CCXIII.

WODROW'S HISTORY.

To Mr James Fraser, at London.

July 5, 1721.

DEAR SIR,—You'll believe yours of the 27th of June was most acceptable, since it comes from you, and bears the account that the first volume of my History was presented to his Majesty, and so graciously received. I am sorry for the blunder in the stitching up of part of it wrong. There is no help for it now. You are in some mistake in what you write about the large paper. The two different papers are of the same size; only one of them is some whiter and finer; of that I am sure the King's copy is, and I ordered one for you of the finer paper, and desired Mr Taylor to carry up one copy to the Prince, and another to the Princess, either bound or in sheets. He'll tell you at meeting what he has brought.

If his Majesty take any notice of this trifle, I am fully assured you'll let me know. It would be a great pleasure to me if I knew that the King would be able to read it, because I am told it is uneasy to him to read English. If the copies be come up for the Prince and Princess, you'll take care to present them with my best wishes, and asking their pardon for presuming upon their goodness in sending them a copy.

As to what you notice, my want of the names of the Committee of Estates, the reason was, that I wanted a list of them; but lately, in searching the warrants in the Parliament House, I have got a

list, and some particulars of their procedure I had not before, which, if there happen to be either another edition, (for I have but printed 700 copies,) or if I make any additions and amendments, and cast them to the second volume, I shall take care to insert it; which brings me in mind to beg it of you to send me your remarks with the utmost of freedom upon the first volume, and the observes of friends at London upon it, that I may candidly acknowledge and correct them in a preface to the second volume; for I have nothing but truth and the exposing of tyranny, persecution, and arbitrary power, in my view. I'll be impatient till I hear from you, and though the parliament members be come off, write to me by post without franking. I am very fond to hear if his Majesty be any way entertained with this new subject.

I have your bill from the Countess of Kilmarnock, and this post I am to acquaint her further of it, and you shall hear afterwards of it. Meanwhile, I return you my humble acknowledgments for all your favours; and am, in some haste, Dear Sir, your most affectionate, and very much obliged.

LETTER CCXIV.

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION.—PRESENT OF HIS HISTORY.

To Dr Cotton Mather.

REV. DEAR SIR,—I was never so long silent since I had the happiness of your much valued correspondence. Last year I had your letter, but the ship went off sooner than I expected, which was not a little grieving to me.

The bearer hereof is a nephew of our dear friend, Principal Stirling, and I know he needs no recommendation from me to you. Your value for his worthy uncle might supersede any thing from me, were it not that the Principal probably will not write that which I

can with pleasure signify to you, concerning this youth his excellent father, Mr James Stirling. We have few, I had almost said none, like him in this Church; in preaching and in praying he is mighty by his Master's assistance, and has been, and is honoured to do much for souls. This is his only son, a son of many prayers and tears, who has, indeed, distressed his father by not following his studies; but I am never for making people scholars against their will. Bating this, I know nothing to the youth's disadvantage. I am glad he comes to Boston, where I am sure he will have your advice and prayers.

The first volume of the History of our Sufferings is now published, and I have a copy of it to send you. It would have come by Mr Stirling, had I not engaged to send it with Mr M'Carter, before I knew of this occasion. With him I design to write at greater length, and shall only now beg that I may hear much from you; and, by this, give my most affectionate regards to your venerable parent; and am, Dear Sir, yours most affectionately.

Eastwood, August 6, 1721.

P.S.—When I had sent in this to the bearer at Glasgow, I am pleased to find he is not to sail for some days, and is desirous to have the first volume of my History to present to you. Accordingly, I have called for this letter, and opened it to signify so much. I am glad of this opportunity to send you this small return to the many valuable presents I have received from you; and if it be worth your venerable parent's looking into, I know you'll communicate it with him.

You will easily see this work has cost me some labour. I pray the Lord it may answer so much toil, and be of some use to the general interests of religion, and to expose the vile Antichristian spirit of persecution.

When you have looked over it, I'll be glad of your remarks upon it, with those of your dear and venerable father. Our prelatists and Jacobites, I hear, are much chagrined, and no doubt I may expect rudeness from that quarter; but I am persuaded the facts

can never be disproven ; and however they may nibble at the style, method, and some things that may have escaped me in so large a work, the proofs I have given of their severities must stand.

I have very little to acquaint you with from this country. Our heats and divisions have much eaten out the life of religion ; state and civil parties are like too much to find room where they ought not to enter ; though, blessed be the Lord, the body of the ministers are joint and unite.

It will be very satisfying to have the state of things with you, and all the hints you can give from your valuable correspondence, especially from the Danish Missionaries. In your last I was made to hope for the substance of your correspondence with the Royal Society. If that seasonable book be published, your bookseller has sent none of them I hear of to Glasgow.

The pestilence is raging much in France, and we are not out of hazard. Some great thing seems to be on the wheel. Pray send me your thoughts upon the present state of things. Your former letter (and your worthy father's last) did much refresh me, and I long to hear from you both. My Lord Pollock gives his most kind respects to your parent and you this day, when I told him I was to write. May I once more (oftener, if possible) hear from your parent, now, I believe, the eldest minister almost in the Reformed Churches. May great grace be with him and you ! I am, again, yours most sincerely.

August 10, 1721.

LETTER CCXV.

MARROW CONTROVERSY.—IRISH DISSENTERS.

To the Rev. Mr Benjamin Colman, Minister at Boston.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I am now in your debt for two letters, one last year about this time, and another by Mr Erskine since, and I return you my hearty thanks for both, and the valuable papers you sent with them.

The first volume of my History was published in May last, and I have a copy for you, which should have come by the bearer, had I not, before I knew of him, engaged to send it by another ship, Captain M'Arthur, master.

This comes only to recommend the bearer, Mr Alexander Stirling, in a most particular manner, to your favour, counsel, and advice. He is the only son of a dear brother of mine, Mr James Stirling, minister at Barony, of whom I could say more than of many, I had almost said any, I ever knew. He is truly a Nathaniel, and a servant highly honoured of his Master in conversion, and a great favourite, and mighty wrestler in prayer. This is a son of many prayers, the seed of the righteous. His mind did not lie to his books, and he now comes over to New England, and I am glad of it, and heartily recommend him unto you.

I hope in a week or two to write to you at some more length. Meanwhile, I earnestly beg you'll miss no occasion of letting me hear from you, and of the state of religion and learning with you, and every thing that is agoing. I beg a share in your prayers and sympathy, and wish you much of our Master's presence. I am, yours most affectionately.

Eastwood, August 6, 1721.

P.S.—I am pleased to find that the bearer hereof sails not for a day or two, and therefore I have sent orders to my bookseller at Glasgow carefully to put up a copy for you, which the bearer will bring with him. It's a small return for the many valuable packets I have had from you ; and I'll be fond to have your remarks upon it, with all the frankness that ought to be among brethren and friends.

Very little offers from this Church. We had some debates last year about the power of our ruling elders, and other points of discipline, too much heightened by state views and parties, which ought not to mix in among Church officers ; and when these were quashed by our last Assembly in May, we had a new flame threatened about some doctrinal points. A book, wrote in Cromwell's time, the Marrow of Modern Divinity, was reprinted and recommended by one of our Ministers ; several points, plainly Antinomian, were extracted out of it, and condemned. Now, some ten or twelve ministers have espoused the quarrel of the publisher, and have given in a Representation, some expressions whereof seem to tend towards Antinomianism. This matter lies before the Commission of the General Assembly. I hope the Lord will guide us through this new difficulty, so as truth may not suffer.

We have very lamentable accounts from Dissenters in the north of Ireland. The Bishop of Bangor's loose principles, and the notions of the Non-subscribers at London, have got in among too many ; yet a vast plurality voluntarily renewed their subscription to the Confession of Faith at their last Synod. We have many tokens of the Lord's displeasure in the looseness of principle and horrid impieties breaking out in these islands, and that even when the terrible pestilence is hovering over us, and spreading in France. We have much need of your prayers. I again beg I may hear much and often from you, and commend you and the interests of our Redeemer to his wise and powerful blessing ; and am, in haste, Dear Sir, yours most affectionately.

August 10, 1721.

LETTER CCXVI.

WITH A COPY OF HIS HISTORY.—HOLLAND.

To his Excellency Mynheer Hornbeck, Grand Pensionary of Holland.

MY LORD,—I know the burden and fatigue your high station brings you under, and the multiplicity of addresses daily made to you, so well, that it was a strait to me to think of doing myself the honour of writing to you, when I transmit the first volume of my History of our Sufferings in this Church.

All the apology I have to make for my presuming so far is, that I could not prevail with myself not to signify the grateful sense I have of the honour you have done me, in allowing your name to be insert among the encouragers of this work.

This I owe to your regard for my dear and much valued brother, Mr Black, who does me the favour to present this, with my book, to your Lordship; and I cheerfully own your goodness and condescension in it.

My own disproportion to this work I have been drawn into, and the many failures and weaknesses in putting it in the frame it now appears in, I am more sensible of than is worth while to take up your time with.

But the subject itself is not unworthy your notice, when your more important businesses allow to look upon histories of this nature.

It contains some account of the wonderful appearances of Providence for the Church of Scotland, during one of the darkest nights we were ever under, in preserving a great number of his ministers and people untainted in a very evil time, and strengthening considerable numbers of persons of all ranks to witness a good confession, and enabling not a few to seal truth with their blood;

and gradually disposing matters for bringing about that wonderful deliverance to an oppressed nation and Church at the glorious Revolution, in which their High Mightinesses, the Estates of Holland, had so great a share.

Indeed, Holland was a little sanctuary, where our sufferers had a refuge in that dark hour; and the kindness shown there to our common Lord's suffering members had even its temporary reward in the honour Providence put upon them, in allowing them to be employed, in so vast a turn, for the advantage of religion and liberty.

I flatter myself that the matter here collected may, through the blessing of God, be of some use to strengthen the interests of liberty, and expose the Antichristian temper of tyranny, imposition, and persecution for conscience sake, which is a scandal in Protestants, and one of the worst ingredients of Popery.

Liberty, next to religion, is our most valuable blessing, and is, when right managed, of great use to the higher interests of real religion. May it never be turned to a looseness and licentiousness!

But I forget to whom I am writing, and how valuable your precious time is. Forgive this rude address to a person in so eminent a station; and allow me to bless the Lord for advancing one to it whose character is so bright and amiable to the lovers of religion and liberty, at such a time as this.

May He, in whom dwell all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, abundantly furnish you with all necessary assistances in it! May your father's God, who made him so eminent a light to the whole reformed Churches, establish his covenant with you, and enable you, in this elevated capacity, to do much service to Him and his people! May you be long preserved to be singularly useful to the interests of pure and undefiled religion in the Church of Holland, and every where! Permit me to subscribe myself, my Lord, your most sincere, obedient, and humble servant.

Sept. 1, 1721.

LETTER CCXVII.

WITH COPIES OF HIS HISTORY.

To Mr Robert Black, Minister at Rotterdam.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have been waiting an opportunity to send you the eight copies of my first volume. Last post I wrote to Mr M'Ewen to pack up eight copies for you, and send to Borrowstounness, bound and titled; and I hope he will do it. But in case he should miss the ship, I choose to send with Mr John Carmichael, Mr Gersh. Carmichael's son, a copy for yourself, and another for the Grand Pensionary. I have presumed to write to that great man, and enclose it in yours.

I need not recommend the bearer to you. His coming from Glasgow, and his worthy father, will do it; and he is, for any thing I know, a very deserving youth.

I had yours, with the journals, and *Basnage Republique*, by Mr Tate's son. I thank you for them, and beg you'll continue to send the journals, and any thing that I wrote for, and any other thing new and curious. I can have none of those books here; and at auctions, or from booksellers' shops, you'll get them, and keep an account of all that you send me.

I am straitened in time, being to write to the Pensionary and your colleague, to whom I shall give any hints of our news that offer to me, which he'll communicate to you. If Mr M'Ewen sends eight copies to you, you'll have two more than have signed, and you and I shall account for them to the subscribers. They are half-a-crown the binding. I got the second guineas advanced at the delivery of the first volume here, and you'll order these with you at your convenience. You'll deliver to Pensionary a copy with the letter, and my most humble duty to him, and send all your

news; and write much and frequently to yours most affectionately.

Sept. 1, 1721.

LETTER CCXVIII.

PRESBYTERIANS IN IRELAND.

To the Rev. Mr Thomas Hog, Minister at Rotterdam.

REV. DEAR SIR,—I had yours of the 22d of April, and was so far from thinking you inexcusable for not writing sooner, and so seldom, that I reckon it a very great favour to hear from you at all, and never could presume to desire you to write to me, save when your health and more pressing affairs allow you. My Athenian temper, and I hope somewhat of a care to know how it's with our sister Churches, made me trouble you with prolix queries upon a great many heads; and still presume to hope, that as your leisure permits, and as you have informations, you'll now and then give me the satisfaction of hearing from you upon these and other heads which will occur, the longer the Lord pleases to continue us; and I heartily thank you for the hopes you allow me of hearing from you upon them as opportunity offers.

Your comfortable accounts of your children give me occasion to bless the Lord on your behalf, and to beg you'll be concerned in mine that they may be useful, if the Lord see fit to preserve them, for his service. The Lord has blessed me with five sons and four daughters, and they need many prayers to be put up for them. If your son come to Scotland, I'll reckon myself at a great loss if I see him not. My Lord Pollock and Mistress Liliass are here; and, yesterday, she bade me tell you she saw your daughter, very well, lately at Edinburgh. That worthy family has sustained a great loss lately of Lady Anne Maxwell, who died after childbirth.

No doubt, you have accounts of our affairs in Scotland from your brother, and others, sooner and more distinctly than I can give, otherwise I should very willingly give you larger details of them. And I remember nothing of importance since the General Assembly's short session, and the meeting of the Commission, which, I reckon, you have full accounts of.

Our accounts from Ireland are melancholy enough; and, in case you have not had letters thence since the meeting of their general Synod, I shall give you an abstract of what I had lately thence. You'll have heard what passed last year about subscribing the Confession of Faith, and the amicable act they came into. Mr Halliday's settlement at Belfast followed after the last Synod; and he still continuing to refuse to own the Confession of Faith, as the confession of his faith, a good number of the Presbytery protested against his settlement, and the Synod of Belfast rebuked the Presbytery for his settlement. Matters were in no little ferment when the general Synod met June last; and when the Synod entered upon a declaration as to the proper equality of the Son, the Anti-confessionists opposed this, and likewise a voluntary subscription to the Confession of Faith, which, however, was carried, and all the members signed it save about twenty. When the reports spread, the people began very much to resent the carriage of the Non-subscribers, and threaten to withdraw from their ministry. Wherefore, the Synod, after they had called the Non-subscribers to give their own declaration of their adherence to all the important truths professed in that Church, and subjection to their brethren in the Lord, came to the declaration of which I send you a copy enclosed.

Mr Halliday, having owned his approbation of the Confession of Faith when licensed and ordained, was pressed to homologate what he had done; but he positively refused all human tests. The Synod have declined doing anything about his settlement; but the people of Belfast are withdrawing from him, and building another meeting-house.

I long to hear from you; and I hope you'll favour me with the state of things with respect to religion and learning, and begin, when other things more important permit you, to gratify my curi-

osity in my queries. Lay your commands upon me in this country, and give my kindest respects to all your sons. May the Lord preserve you long, and support you, and remarkably countenance you, in every part of his work! I am, Rev. Dear Brother, your most affectionate and humble servant.

Eastwood, Sept. 1, 1721.

LETTER CCXIX.

WODROW'S HISTORY.

To James Fraser, Esq., at his Lodgings, Suffolk Street.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of the third of August came seasonably to hand; and I had soon returned you an answer by post, but I waited a return from Edinburgh, which I had only last post, when I find my bookseller, Mr M'Ewen, is coming up himself to London, and with him I send this; and by him you may expect the other six copies you desired; and it's ten or twelve days since I wrote to him to collate them, and send them up to you by the first ship.

I know not if, by my last, I acquainted you that I had the eleven pounds from the Earl of Kilmarnock's doer, and very prompt payment. I shall send you the second receipts as soon as I am with any of our members of Parliament to frank the letter. Meanwhile, by this I acknowledge the receipt of the second subscription money for ten copies, and oblige myself to deliver them as soon as printed off.

Your obliging care in presenting the Prince and Princess with my books, is an addition to the ties I am under. Their Royal Highnesses do me a great deal of honour in accepting so mean a

present from me, and I presume to return my humble acknowledgments for their gracious condescension.

I'll be fond to know that her Royal Highness is any way entertained by it. In the greatest sincerity, I protest to you that I never had any gratification in my view from his Majesty or their Highnesses, in sending my book to them. When I was admitted to the honour of dedicating it to the King, I presumed it was my duty to send a copy to the heirs apparent to his Majesty, and ventured upon their goodness; and have a great deal of pleasure that anything from so mean a hand is in the least agreeable to them.

But I am extremely in your debt for your obliging essays in my behalf, and shall never be able to express my sense of your kindness in the whole of this matter. And, were I not very sensible of my own insufficiency and disproportion for this work, I would be tempted to think better of this performance than I have reason, when I have so favourable an opinion from one who is allowed by all to be one of the best judges of books in this age. You'll, I am persuaded, observe many things, upon your second reading, which will be of vast use to me for amendments and corrections, and I'll be impatient till I have them.

I could not mention the debates 1661 on the constitution of the Parliament, though they had not done those things made essential to their acting, because no debates were, as I am informed, allowed in open Parliament. Any thing had with relation to that odd step, with my remarks, you have in the History.

Mr M'Ewen, my bookseller, comes up to London, and will wait on you and deliver this. I have desired him to bring up six copies more for you, and twenty or thirty to dispose of. I have insert in the second volume the instrument of government, and our claim of right to preserve it.

Pray haste down your remarks on the first volume, and write to me frequently by post, for I do not grudge the postage. My printer goes on in the second volume, and sends me six sheets a-week. He says he will finish it this year.

It would be a great pleasure to me to know if I be able to make

you any returns from this country, to the multitude of obligations you have heaped on me. Let me hear what you have lately from the school in Halle, and the missionaries in the East Indies. My Lord Ross, with whom I was last week, hath you kindly remembered. I am, with my sincerest wishes, Dear Sir, yours under inexpressible ties.

Sept. 4, 1721.

LETTER CCXX.

QUERIES.

To Mr John Carmichael, when going to Holland.

DEAR SIR,—I send you enclosed Mr Black's letter, which you'll take the trouble of, and of two of my books, (one to him, and another to the Pensionary.) I'll be fond to hear from you when in Holland, and to have an account of the most considerable books lately published; of the present state of the Universities and learning there and elsewhere; how the affair of the Palatinate and constitution stand; and as much as you can learn of the state of the Protestants in Lithuania, Silesia, Bohemia, Hungary, and Transylvania, and the Valleys of Piedmont; and everything as to their doctrine, worship, government, and discipline. Let me know the state of the Lutheran Churches, their worship, and the nature of their bishops and superintendents; and everything as to religion and learning you can gather.

I wish you would inform me of the best journals published in Holland; and what you can learn of the machine at Cassel, which Professor Gravesande at Leyden has been seeing, as written lately about to Sir Isaac Newton, as what he takes to be the *perpetuum*

mobile; and other new discoveries; all you meet with as to the endeavours of the English clergy to spread their worship and ceremonies among the foreign churches. I would likewise have the sentiments of the learned in Holland on the debates among the English Dissenters, and the revival of Arianism.

These are but hints. You'll have abundance of matters every day offering, and you'll oblige me much by writing at full length, by slips, and now and then by post; for I'll be far from grudging the postage. I heartily wish you a good voyage and safe return; and am yours, &c.,

R. W.

September 4, 1721.

LETTER CCXXI.

WODROW'S HISTORY.

To the Honourable George Baillie of Jerviswood, one of the Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, London.

[GEORGE BAILLIE of Jerviswood was the son of Robert Baillie of Jerviswood, who suffered martyrdom under the vindictive tyranny of Charles II. He was born at Jerviswood on the 16th of March 1644. He intended to study for the law, and with that view was prosecuting his studies in Holland when his father was thrown into prison; but being then sent for, he returned to Scotland, and was prevented from following that profession. At the age of nineteen he witnessed the execution of his excellent father; and it was said "by his mother and aunts, that it ever after gave that grave silent thoughtful turn to his temper, which before that time was not natural to him." After his father's death and the forfeiture of his estate, he went over to Holland, where he continued for three years, and returned with the Prince of Orange at the Revolution. His estate was then restored to him, and he was a member of Parliament for many years. In the reign of Queen Anne he was appointed Treasurer-Depute, and one of

the Privy Council of Scotland ; and after the Union one of the Commissioners of Trade, &c. Upon the accession of George I. to the throne, he was made one of the Lords of the Admiralty, and soon after one of the Lords of the Treasury. Mr Baillie was married, September 17, 1692, to Lady Grisel Home, daughter of Sir Patrick Home, afterwards Earl of Marchmont, who had maintained an early and intimate friendship with Mr Baillie's father, founded on the agreement of their political and religious sentiments. Mr Baillie died at Oxford on the 6th of August 1738, in the 75th year of his age ; and his lady died at London on the 6th of December 1746, in the 81st year of her age. Mr Baillie was distinguished for high excellence of character. "At one and the same time he was a most zealous patriot, a very able statesman, and a most perfect Christian, that this or any age has produced. He continued steadily in his own Church and principles when at home and in this country. Having been bred in the school of affliction, his compassion was never denied to those who were in distress, even by their own indiscretion. He spent the last twelve years of his life in constant meditation, contemplation, and prayer ; it was truly a life hid with Christ in God. He passed through several states of purification and severe trials, unknown to common and inexperienced Christians. During all the times of his great and arduous employments he never failed, morning and night, to retire a considerable time to his closet, and prostrate himself before his Maker. His private charities were as great and extensive as they were secret and constant."—(*Murray's Memoirs of the Right Honourable George Baillie of Jerviswood, and of Lady Grisel Baillie.*)—ED.]

SIR,—I take the liberty to send you that part of the second volume of the History of our Sufferings which relates to your excellent father. I was unwilling to publish it till you saw it, and having acquainted Mr Baillie of Monkton with my design, and had your allowance, I do myself the honour to transmit it by post.

After you have looked over it, please to return it by post direct for me, to the care of the Postmaster at Glasgow, with what amendments or additions you would have made on it, which I shall take care to insert.

I make no apologies for the lameness of any accounts I can give of so valuable a person as Jerviswood was. I kept close by the records and the accounts I could get here, and subject them to you.

Allow me to profess the esteem I cannot but entertain of the

son of so excellent a father, and the humble regard I have for your honourable family ; and with the greatest sincerity to subscribe myself, Sir, your most humble and obedient servant,

R. W.

September 11, 1721.

LETTER CCXXII.

WODROW'S HISTORY.

To Mr Nicol Spence, Agent for the Church of Scotland.¹

DEAR SIR,—Last week save one I had a letter from Philipston, which I did not answer, hoping to have been at Edinburgh this week ; but sickness in my family, and other things, hindered me. Probably he is now in the country ; and I know it's all one whether I write to you or him upon the subject he favoured me with in his.

The remark he makes, that most of the persecuting families, from the Restoration to the Revolution, are ruined, and that the persecuted are bettered, even as to their means and estates, will hold ; and I have given several instances of it in the first volume of my History, and more are coming in the second. I cannot indeed say that I have sufficient materials to make a balance 'twixt the persecuted and persecutors through the shires up and down ; but I shall try it in this country ; and if Philipston and any other friends will labour to get informations from other places in the East and South, it may very well come in yet in the second volume, where, in the Appendix, I have a mind to give a general estimate of the fines, in every shire through the nation, as far as I can gather them ; and this would come well in with it. I have once and again made the re-

¹ Mr Nicol Spence was for many years Agent for the Church, and Sub-Clerk to the Assembly. He died early in 1743.

mark in the general, and I wish such a balance as he proposes could be formed, and shall do what in me lies towards it; but I fear it be a work of some time.

I'll be glad to hear from him and you upon it, and what help I can expect; as also the opinions of those who have read the first volume. I am told an answer is preparing by the other side at Edinburgh. What truth is in it I know not. The style, method, and some mistakes in names and dates, they may probably have advantage against me in; but for the material facts, it's impossible they can disprove them, and recriminations I will not reckon any answer at all. Pray let me hear all that is a-going. I should be glad to know what was done at the Committee for Purity of Doctrine this week, with all your news. I give my kindest respects to Philipstoun and your family; and am, yours most affectionately.

Eastwood, September 16, 1721.

LETTER CCXXIII.

BOOKS OF DISCIPLINE.

*Mr Robert Stewart to Wodrow.*¹

SIR,—I would have written to you long ago, but was always expecting you in town. I adjusted your account with Mr Watson when I got your orders first to do it. It is here enclosed. I have compared the paper of the first and second volume of your book. I pretend to no knowledge of these things; but Mr Watson and several others think that when the paper of the second is fully dry and beaten, it will appear as well as that of the first. Indeed, both the paper and types are new, which makes the print appear rough. The

thirty-sixth sheet of the second volume of the Confessions is printed off, which ends at the eighth head of the First Book of Discipline, touching the election of elders and deacons. I was expecting that you would have collated the edition of it printed 1621, with one which you said you had, printed 1640. There is a chronological difficulty which I would gladly have you solve. In the preface, the ministers say they received a charge, dated Edinburgh, 29th April 1560; in the end it is dated the 20th of May 1560. But Knox in his History, a little after the Confession of Faith, says, the Parliament being dissolved, &c., commission and charge was given to Mr John Winram, &c. Now, that Parliament met in July 1560. Please cause look Knox's Manuscript and Calderwood, and give your opinion about it by the first. Please either send in your old book that has the Second Book of Discipline in it, or cause transcribe it exactly. Look to the Short Sum of the Book of Discipline, which is in that same old book. There is a word or two which I could not read in the end of the article of Discipline, a little before the article of Marriage. The paragraph is, "Commentary of horrible crimes worthy of death; if the civil sword spare them, they should be holden as dead——and cursed in their facts."——

Please send with the first this paragraph complete. Sir, yours,

ROBERT STEWART.

Edinburgh, September 26, 1721.

LETTER CCXXIV.

ANSWER TO THE FOREGOING.

To Mr Robert Stewart, Professor of Philosophy in the College of Edinburgh.

DEAR SIR,— I have yours only this morning, being abroad yesterday. As to the chronological difficulty you propose, I know no answer to give unless one from the printed Calderwood, page 30,

line 25, and the change of the year in imitation of England. So that the date of the charge 1560 is to be understood, according to the old calculation; but according to the current, it's 1561. My manuscript Calderwood agrees with Knox, 4to, Edinburgh, 1644, p. 283, the Parliament being dissolved, &c. And then, next January 1651, it gives account of the subscribing of the Book of Discipline, as you have in printed Calderwood, page 30, line 12; only it hath the very words of the approbation of the subscription as they stand, Knox, page 284, with this variation, *eiked*, instead of *asked*, which is plainly wrong printed in Knox. Then follows in the manuscript:

"The form and order of the admission of the superintendents is set down before the Psalms in metre, where we have the admission of Mr John Spottiswood, Superintendent of Lothian, who was admitted at Edinburgh upon the 9th of March 1560, or, according to the new calculation, 1561, in form and manner following. Here insert the Election of Superintendents. 2. The section entitled an adulterer in Edinburgh, rescued out of the hands of the magistrate."

What is above in my manuscript is upon the margin, and taken in with a *, after the approbation at the subscription of the Book of Discipline. Then immediately follows in the body of the manuscript, rased as here, this paragraph: ¹

"The preachers afterwards exhorted the professors to establish the Book of Discipline by act and public law, affirming, that if they suffered things to hang in suspense when God had given them sufficient power, they should after sob for it, but should not get it. We have thought fit to insert the book in this part of our History, that the posterity to come may enjoy what worldlings refused, and what was the godly policy which the ministers required, with this advertisement, that the penners wished the posterity, if God granted them occasion and liberty, to establish a more perfect discipline, which was done twenty years after, when some special points of this book, especially about superintendents and readers, were al-

¹ Lines of erasure are drawn across the paragraph.

tered and amended, as we shall see in the Second Book of Discipline."

Then follows the preface to the First Book of Discipline, and the book itself, dated as in the print, May 20, 1560, and then follows the Book of Discipline, and then the order of the election of superintendents at large.

The collating of the edition of the Discipline, 1641, with that 1621, I quite forgot. That 1641 is printed at London, I suppose, from the Dutch edition. However, if you desire, I shall compare them; perhaps it may be of more importance to compare the First Book with the manuscript copy in my Calderwood, which is not in the Glasgow copy.

As to the Second Book, I cannot easily get it transcribed from my copy, but I shall send you in the manuscript itself with my Lord; if you need it presently, let me know how to send it next week. If any correspondents from your Synod be here, I shall send it with them, providing you order me next post, when you'll send your election and news.

The passage you desire from the Short Sum is inserted below. I thank you for your care in the account betwixt Mr Watson and me. I shall examine it, though I need scarce after you. I'll be glad the paper of the second volume answer expectation. Tell Mr Spence I have his this post, and when the Commission meets in November, I shall (if the Lord will) think on dispersing the letters. Meanwhile, I wish Philipstoun and he may get the accounts as far as they can. I don't take ministers to be the proper persons to write to in this matter; they are very negligent in every thing of a public nature. I am, with my respects to your wife and family, yours most affectionately.

Eastwood, Sept. 28, 1721.

P. S.—Having, since I wrote what is above, taken a little time, I have collated the print edition of the Books of Discipline printed

1641, 4to, by Robert Young, his Majesty's printer for Scotland, (now I suppose at London,) with the printed copy, 1621, and find they agree perfectly, even in the very errata which are at the end of the edition, 1621, and not corrected in that of 1641. I wish you may mind to correct them in your edition.

I have likewise collated the 8vo edition of the Second Book of Discipline, printed by Mr Warner at Rotterdam, 1680, which you have. This was printed from an old manuscript copy inserted in the registers of the Presbytery of Haddington or Dalkeith, in the hands of Mr Robert Fleming, then at Rotterdam. You may collate it with the copy 1621, and you'll observe several differences. The most material I have noticed are page 8, line 2, *a fine*. Mutual consent as *brethren*; the quarto is, *of brethren*, page 33, line 18, *civil jurisdiction*, the quartos have it *criminal*. There are several other variations between the 8vo and the quartos; but they seem literal escapes.

In collating I likewise compared the printed copy in Calderwood's History, and find 8vo edition, Second Book of Discipline, page 9, line 5, of Discipline is not in Calderwood, though it's in both the quarto copies; and page 34, octavo edition, line 25 to 29, the whole paragraph, *And again that no other, &c.*, is wanting in Calderwood, though the two quarto editions have it. This is all I have observed. I wish it be of use to you.

LETTER CCXXV.

OF HIS FATHER'S SUFFERINGS.

To Baillie of Jerviswood.

October 30, 1721.

SIR,—I have the honour of yours of the 7th instant, for which please to accept of my hearty thanks. It is very evident, and I

have taken some notice of it in my preface to the first volume of the History of the Sufferings, that my giving accounts of the persecution from the Registers hath some disadvantages with it to those who suffered ; but it seemed to me to be almost the only way left at this distance, and the most unexceptionable method to deal with people who deny there was any persecution save for treason and rebellion.

It will be a peculiar pleasure to me to see the defects and perhaps worse things in the records and printed trial of your worthy father rectified ; and if any thing you think proper this way can be sent me before the second volume is printed off, which I reckon may be about Candlemas next, I shall most willingly insert it in the amendments and additions I design to add at the close of it. Having nothing in mine eye but truth, and a faithful transmitting of facts to posterity, as far as my informations go, it's a piece of justice I am bound to, upon better narratives to make corrections and additions, and of this I shall, I hope, not be ashamed.

I have left out the papers referred to in the appendix, as to your father, as you desire. Upon the receipt of yours, I looked over the copy of the letter I have, and could observe nothing in it, to my apprehension, that could have any ill consequences when published. It is written in a strain of solid serious piety ; and though never designed to be made public, yet many things have been published with advantage, the authors of which never had this view. The meditations, in my poor opinion, likewise breathe forth much seriousness and solidity. But your inclinations and superior judgment make me come over my own opinion in this matter most cheerfully.

Forgive my presuming to give you this new trouble. If there be any thing in this country I can serve you in, lay your commands upon, Sir, your very much obliged and most affectionate servant,

R. W.

LETTER CCXXVI.

NATURAL PHENOMENA.

To Alexander Archer, at Hamilton.

DEAR SIR,—I thank you for your account of the remarkable phenomenon of the inverted rainbow at Laurencekirk. I am rusted in my philosophy; but, I think, I have read of rainbows being seen sometimes with the arch inverted. Whether it be explained by a double refraction, or how, I cannot say. I myself once saw distinctly four suns, the real sun, and three halos in a triangular situation or near it, and the true sun in the middle. The halos were very near equal to the true sun, and to one another in their apparent bigness, but whitish, and a little paler in their colour. Whether it was in the spring 1707, or 1704 or 5, at Pollock, I do not mind, but it was about ten or eleven of the clock forenoon, after a frosty night, when the day was beginning to overcast, and, as we say in the country, when the frost was taking the lift. The real sun was very bright. You have never sent me the accounts you promised me of the remarkable expressions of worthy B. Muirhead at his death. I am, yours, &c.

Nov. 1, 1721.

LETTER CCXXVII.

DR CLERK'S INQUIRY.

To Mr Evans, Student at Glasgow.

SIR,—I return your Dr J. Clerk's Inquiry into the Origin of Moral Evil. Upon glancing it over, I observe nothing but what is ordinarily in the Pelagian system, with some additions borrowed from the Socinians. Such a composure, I am sure, would have been very disagreeable to the worthy founder of those lectures, were he alive; and I am sorry the author of such a book, (which, in my opinion, overturns the whole of Christianity as such, makes the Scriptures a nose of wax, and is so far from removing the objections against religion, that upon his scheme they have a double sense,) I am sorry to see that he can publish himself his Majesty's chaplain in ordinary. I'll be fond to see you here; and am, yours, &c.

Nov. 2, 1721.

LETTER CCXXVIII.

ECHARD'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

To Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees.

DEAR SIR,—I designed to have waited on you at Edinburgh last week, when I had not the pleasure of seeing you at the Commission; but I was sooner called out of town than I expected, and so I presume to give you trouble of this by post.

When I have occasion to look into the English Historians upon the year 1687, I find them very bitter upon your father in the matter of his correspondence with Pensionary Fagel, and as far as I have learned from conversation and otherwise, very groundlessly. Their different opinions about the penal laws being taken off, I have nothing to do with, but misrepresentations as to facts ought to be set right.

I was fretted lately when I found the Archdeacon Echard, History of England, vol. iii. p. 849, after the abstract of the printed letters 'twixt the Pensionary and your father, adding, "What was still more surprising in this affair was, that Mr Stewart positively denied, in a printed letter, that ever he wrote to Mons. Fagel, although the latter convinced him to the contrary, and had his original letters by him. And Mr Stewart came off by a Jesuitical evasion." The just value I still shall retain for your excellent father's memory, and my apprehension it's a falsehood, made me resolve to speak to you about it, and having missed that opportunity, now to write to you.

If you judge it convenient that I take any notice of this in my second volume of our History, as I have fair enough opportunity, having noticed several other blunders in our Scots affairs, committed by Mr Echard and others, let me know, and I shall be under your direction in it, and communicate with you any thing to be insert.

I am this week to receive from Mr Dunlop the one side of that correspondence preserved in original letters by Mr Carstares, who was the canal; and Mr Robert Stewart informs me, you have the other side of it in the original letters. If you find it proper that I take any notice of this, which I entirely submit to you, you'll send me west what you have by you, either the originals, which I shall carefully return, or doubles, and any thing you know of that printed letter Echard talks of. If they be not too bulky, they may come off by post, or if left at my Lord Pollock's, they will come safe every week with the carrier. I give my humble duty to your Lady; and am, Dear Sir, yours, &c.

Nov. 14, 1721.

LETTER CCXXIX.

NEWS.

To the Rev. Mr Mathew Crawford, Professor of Divinity and Ecclesiastical History, at his Lodgings, Edinburgh.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I had yours of the 12th in due time, and thank you for your accounts, though melancholy. I saw the ferment beginning May last.

Any accounts from this will be at Edinburgh as soon as I can write them. Worthy Limlock's death, I think, happened before you left us. You'll have heard of the lamentable burning of Mr James Dick's house at Carluke, and of Mr Robert Pollock, Sir Robert's son, his death, Tuesday last. He had been under sharp and severe exercise of soul as well as sore pain of body; but eight days before his death, he had a solid and pleasant outgate from the first, and much ease from his rheumatism; he continued in a humble confidence as to his eternal state till his death.

We are told Mr Wright had a difficulty to keep the last fast upon a Friday, as being a falling in with the English custom of restricting fasts to Fridays, &c., and that he talked of keeping it on Thursday the 7th; but he came to be better advised, *pro hac vice*, some say upon an assurance from the E. of K. that he would not join. His colleague, Mr Pedin, is very low, and just a-dying, if not dead by this time. As he lived well, so I hear he is under a full gale of the Divine presence, and singularly edifying to all who come to him.

Inchinnan seems to be centering on Mr Patrick Maxwell. Application was made last Presbytery from Heritors and Session for a hearing. He has been there these two Sabbaths, and I hear we are to have an application on Wednesday next for a call. Paisley Heritors decline being active in the settlement of a second minister; but my Lord D. does offer a year's vacant stipend to the intrant upon the five chalder.

You see the insignificant entertainment you are like to have from me. Let me have all that is a-going from north, south, and east, and London ; and concerning Mr Hog and Mr Gabriel Wilson. I am, yours, &c.

Dec. 18, 1721.

[The next Letter, which is addressed to Mr Warden of Gargunock, and which fills nine pages of the MS., it is thought proper to omit. It is entirely occupied in criticising Mr Warden's Treatise on Baptism, and unless the reader had before him the MS. of the work which Wodrow criticised, he could not well understand the letter.]

LETTER CCXXX.

COMPLAINT OF UNFAIR TREATMENT IN WODROW'S HISTORY.

*To Mr John Govan, Minister at Campsie.*¹

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 28th of December two or three days ago ; and if you were commoved, as you say, by the hint given about you in the first volume of the History of the Sufferings, without so much as seeing that account, (for it seems,

¹ " Upon the 18th [September 1729,] Mr John Govan, minister at Campsie since the Revolution, died. He was turned 70, unmarried, and left a heap of money behind him, about which there is like to be debate. He was buried Monday, September 22, and his nephew, Mr Forrester, ordained minister September 23. He had been his helper, and with difficulty he got him ordained. He studied physic, and practised by receipts, but took no money. He lived a retired, monkish life, was useful, I believe, among his people, an excellent preacher, a person of some learning and knowledge, but lived exceeding narrowly, and, save at his sacrament, flesh was not in his house through the year. No wonder he left L.5000 or L.6000 sterling."—(*Analecta*, vol. vi. p. 90.)

by what you write, that you have it only from report,) I cannot but be a little surprised at yours, with insinuations in it not altogether kind and charitable. And were it not that I bear that regard to you that is every way due, I should not have noticed them. It's a little hard you should suppose *that I was determined to have no contrary information*, when you'll permit me to put you in mind, that last time I saw you (as far as I remember) in the Synod, I told you of my design to write the History of the Sufferings, and having heard you had been under personal sufferings, I desired you to write me an account and send it me. Whether I had then met with the hint about you in the Council Registers, I do not remember; as I take it, I had not. And, indeed, if you had given yourself that trouble, what you now complain of had been prevented, and that it is not, is not my fault. Perhaps you expected I should have sent you a double of what I met with relative to you; but, indeed, it was a burden which I could not undertake, to write to every one that came to be named, especially when I had spoke to you to give me your own account. Besides, I did not think it *tanti* to acquaint you with. If ever you give yourself the trouble to look to the History itself, and be not still satisfied with second-hand sayings, you'll see that I have sufficiently prevented mistakes from the Registers, and declared them full of misrepresentations of the sufferers, and yet, in the meantime, the best vouchers I could think of. You'll find many worthy persons giving bond to live regularly, at least the registers bear they did so. And when you come to see the passage in the History, you will find you have not ground of commotion; for it runs, just according to your own account of it, that you were free of the conventicles libelled. How to console what follows, farther than is already done by the frequent remarks I have made, that the sufferers were frequently misrepresented, I cannot say. For if it's scarce to be supposed you could at that time get out without bond to live orderly, and if the clerk has added what was the council's sense of orderly, not going to conventicles, or some of your friends, as was common enough then, has done it, I am not to answer for it; and I find many persons did not scruple even that

in their bonds, reckoning themselves only bound to the penalty, if I may call it so.

If your expression, at the close, relates to me, that the Lord will convince of hard speeches as well as ungodly deeds, I shall not make any return to it, but only tell you my heart does not reproach me with them, especially as to you. But I hope you do not mean me in it.

You needed not give yourself the trouble of attestations to what you write. I know none whose testimony will go further than your own, especially in the solemn manner you are pleased to give it. And I want no others to concur with you, as to facts relative to yourself. Had you been at the pains to have given it in time, as I earnestly desired, it had prevented all; and as it yet stands, whatever you please to desire me to insert in the second volume, after you have read the passage yourself, which is just as it stands in the Registers, I shall very cheerfully do it.¹ Whatever insinuations you make to myself, I take them very kindly; only I am sorry, after all my labour and pains in this work, that I should have the return of being mistaken by my brethren. I am, Dear Brother, yours most affectionately,

R. W.

Jan. 22, 1722.

LETTER CCXXXI.

NEWS.

To Mr Mathew Crawford.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 9th. The presentation for Mr P. M. [Patrick Maxwell] to Inchinan was sent me on Saturday last. Paisley affair stands as it was. The heritors and session are acquainted with the Presbytery's design to settle a

¹ Wodrow gave a fuller explanation of Mr Govan's case in the Additions to his second volume.—*Hist. of Sufferings*, vol. ii. p. 482. Burns' ed.

second minister, and desired to have their thoughts on a fit person. Some are moving for Mr Tob. Martine. You would hear of worthy Mr Glasgow's death in the end of December. In Glasgow matters are at a stand. The vacant session voted Mr James Anderson¹ to be called; the ministers were acquainted with this, who declared they wished they had been talked with before it had been concluded, that they could not be for him, but owned the Session had kept the concert in acquainting them. About a fortnight since it was tabled in the Council, but delayed because the extract of the Session's procedure was not in write. It's said the generality of the Council would have been for him. He is presented to Rose-neath, and they say a call ordered to be moderated. Whether this will hinder his being pushed at Glasgow I know not. Mr John M'Laren has been much at Glasgow of late, and preached several times. The ministers declare themselves pleased with him, if his voice reach the kirk. I am, yours, &c.

Jan. 22, 1722.

LETTER CCXXXII.

FOREIGN ADVERTISEMENT OF WODROW'S HISTORY.

To the Rev. Mr Robert Black, Minister at Rotterdam.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 22d last past, for which I thank you. When that mank² volume comes over, I shall send one complete, with another to that gentleman you speak of, whose name I wish you had given; and if it come before March or April, it shall be insert among the subscribers.

¹ The son of Rev. John Anderson of Glasgow, and father of Professor Anderson, the founder of the Andersonian Institution, Glasgow.

² *Mank*, mutilated, incomplete.

I am very desirous to have the History insert in the Leipsic journals. But I am most unfit to give an abstract of it in Latin, though I had time, as I have not, being abundantly busied with the second volume, which will be ready against May, if not sooner. I don't think, though I had time, the abstract would come so well off my hand. So I must entreat you may think on somebody with you who will, upon reading it over, form a short abstract in Latin, and if they will take any money for doing it, give them what you think proper; and, by all means, send a copy up to Leipsic, to the undertakers of the *Acta Leipsiæ*, who I imagine will form their own abstract of it, and give it the more willingly that they have not many books from this country. I shall, as soon as a ship offers, send over a copy; but, in the meanwhile, I wish you would get any of the copies that are with you, and give them your incomplete one, till I get another sent over to you. I hope your colleague, Mr Alexander Cunningham, at the Hague, Mr Millar at Leyden, to whom I give my humble duty, or some others of our countrymen, will give you their assistance in this matter; and I leave it to your care. People here are desirous that the History be inserted in the most known journal, which I think the Leipsic is, because it concerns our Church, the circumstances of which are but little known.

I have not yet heard of William White, but shall cause inquire about him; and as soon as I receive what you send, you shall hear from me, have my thoughts on the journals, &c. I have seen Larrey¹ and Fabricius. Pray continue to give me all your hints about books, and a larger account of the bitter Lutherans at Hamburg,² and what comes of it, and your other news.

Give my service, and my wife's, and Mr Warner's, to your wife and Mrs Muir. I shall write by the first occasion to your worthy

¹ This was a work then printed, entitled, *Histoire de France sous le Règne de Louis XIV.*, in nine volumes, by Larrey.

² "There is an accident at Hamburg that makes a great noise here. Some of the Professors there have written most furiously against the Calvinists, which the King of Prussia hath resented in a letter to the magistrates, in which, I hear, he is backed by King George's minister, as Elector of Hanover."—(Black to Wodrow.)

colleague, to whom I give my dearest respects. I earnestly entreat his remarks and additions to the History, and I beg he may dash down all that offers upon Mr Smith, and other particulars.¹ My kind respects to Mr Erskine, the Colonel's son. I long to hear from him. I haste this away that it may come this post; and am, Dear Brother, yours, &c.

Jan. 24, 1722.

[A Letter of Wodrow to Sir Robert Pollock, relating to Sir Robert's election to Parliament, and which occupies two pages of MS., is here omitted.]

LETTER CCXXXIII.

WODROW'S HISTORY AND THE JACOBITES.

To Mr James Fraser.

DEAR SIR,—I was promising myself, before this time, the satisfaction of hearing from you, upon your looking over the first volume of my History, which you were so kind as to make me expect in your last. But I have heard nothing from you since August last, though I wrote to you, and sent up by Mr M'Ewen six more copies of the History, as you desired. I pray God you may be in health, and have ventured to send this to you under my Lord Ross his cover.

The second volume I hope will be ready in March, or at farthest

¹ "Mr Hog hath some particular circumstances of some accounts of things in your History which I wish he had communicate to you before your History was printed, such as concerning Mr Alexander Smith, whom you give an account of as most barbarously dealt with. Mr Hog tells me he knew that he was, when in the thieves' hole, instrumental in the conversion of an eminent robber."—(*Black to Wodrow.*)

in the beginning of May. There are near two hundred sheets printed, and twenty, or thereby, more will end it. I am a little impatient for your amendments and additions to the first volume, that I may insert them in the second.

When that is done off, I'll presume again to give you the trouble of presenting the copies to his Most Excellent Majesty and their Royal Highnesses.

Our Jacobites and Episcopal people here, I am told, are very much fretted with the first volume; and the second volume, I fancy, may pique them further, since it contains yet more barbarous severities. They talked much of an answer to it some months ago; but I hear nothing more of this. They may nibble at my style and method, Scotticisms and the like; but facts are stiff, ill-natured things; and for my share, I cannot yet see what they can say to these.¹ But it becomes me, a party, to say little, till I see what they can advance. Forgive me this trouble, and accept of my most hearty acknowledgments of all your favours, and let me hear from you by post as soon as you can. I am, Dear Sir, yours, &c.

Feb. 1, 1722.

LETTER CCXXXIV.

ANOTHER EXCEPTION TAKEN TO THE HISTORY.

To Sir William Cunningham of Cunninghamhead.

DEAR SIR,—By a letter from Edinburgh last post, I am told that exceptions are made against a passage of my History, (vol. i. pp. 494, 495,) where I say Dunbar of Grange was cornet to the troop of Angus gentlemen heritors, and committed the ravages

¹ It is a singular fact, that, while the disposition to “nibble” at Wodrow's History still continues as strong as ever, no attempt worth noticing has been made to answer the “stiff, ill-natured things,” so quaintly alluded to above.

upon your house and land. I hear none of the particulars controverted, save that Dunbar of Grange was concerned in that ravage.

I am told that this present Dunbar of Grange was then a minor, and that his father was a Whig, and I am called upon to produce my voucher for this fact. When I turned over to the information you did me the honour to send me, I find what I have printed exactly agrees with it; and I have no doubt, but you either personally know that this gentleman was concerned in this attack, or have certain information of it, so that I am in no fear as to the fact I have advanced. However, I thought it my duty to acquaint you that it's called in question, either by Grange or some of his friends, upon reading of it. I am glad I have this opportunity again to thank you for the useful information you sent me. If ever you have occasion to look to my History, you will see I have omitted nothing material in it. You'll oblige me by letting me hear from you on this subject by the Irvine post. Permit me to assure you that I am yours, &c.

Feb. 8, 1722.

LETTER CCXXXV.

ERRATA IN THE HISTORY.

To Colonel Blackader.

DEAR SIR,—I have yours dated (on that never-to-be-forgotten) November the 13th, some time in December last, for which I heartily thank you. Immediately I turned over to my vouchers, but could by no means find your first letter till this day, when I have been taking down the scaffolding of my History, and sorting any papers relative to it the best way I could, and happily I found your letter, wrapped in a very large information your brother sent me, mostly relative to his wife.

Had you not desired a copy of that part of your letter which led me, it seems, into a mistake in the *errata* of the first volume, I would

not have given you the trouble of it in my justification ; but straight have helped the mistake in the amendments on the second volume, which shall be done. But, at your desire, I have transcribed it. (*Vide Letter.*) *He died, then aged 65.*

You observe, p. 393, vol. i., that from your brother's account, I asserted he died in the Bass. But when I got your letter, which to me did not import *his dying there*, as in your last you lead me to understand it, but his age precisely, and compared this with the two peremptory council acts for his liberation, which I have set down from the Registers, v. ii. p. 480, I was led to that account of him you'll find vol. ii. p. 174 ; and to make the two hang, since I could not help what was printed, I insert the passage you have in the *errata*. And from your silence as to his dying there, and the positive acts for his liberation, I could not but conclude that he did not die there.

Thus you have all I know in this matter. Since it is certain your father did die in the Bass, I shall, in the amendments to be printed with the second volume, erase the erratum in the first, and insert what you think proper to obviate the mistake, as it stands printed, (before I got your last,) v. ii. p. 174. And that you may the more distinctly give me what you would have said in the amendments, I shall transcribe here what is printed vol. ii., with the Council Acts.

Vol. ii. p. 174, "A petition," &c. The Council Registers (which I thought, with your silence on the head, might warrant me to think he was liberate, though I was in some difficulty as to the date, June, in yours, and November and December in the Registers) follow. November 12, &c. p. 480.

After all, the circumstance does very little affect the matter, as you observe ; yet I shall be very willing to amend it in the close of the second volume, as you shall direct me.

I am glad the first volume is any way satisfying to you. You'll send a hint of this to your brother at Edinburgh, who, according to his usual fervency, was much concerned about the erratum, when I saw him last. I am, Dear Sir, yours.

Feb. 12, 1722.

LETTER CCXXXVI.

OPINIONS OF THE HISTORY.—ROBERT BAILLIE'S WORKS.—
SPOTTISWOOD'S HISTORY.

To James Fraser, Esq. London.

DEAR SIR,—I have yours of the 15th last post, for which I humbly thank you. The more of yours I have, I still observe the more kindness, and a concern about me and my book, which I never deserved. Any labour and toil I have been at in collecting and ranging what is in it, which was much greater than I was aware of when I first engaged in this History, is more than recompensed by the satisfaction you tell me candid and disinterested persons have from it. The Earl of Ilay's favourable opinion of the first volume is what I must construe to flow from the honour I had of his acquaintance when at Glasgow. Indeed, I could scarce think his Lordship would have minded any thing of me; yet it seems there are some secret remains of what we call school-fellowship, that have led him to a better opinion of my book than it deserves. He was then a careful reader of the Roman authors, and hath since improved himself in all the valuable parts of polite learning, to that pitch, that he is generally owned to be one of the best judges of books in Europe. I presume by this to offer him my most humble respects. It's a vast pleasure to me to find that her Royal Highness the Princess has condescended to look into the copy I did myself the honour to send her, and that in any measure she is satisfied with it. As soon as the second volume is finished it shall be carefully transmitted. The Lord Chancellor and Earl of Sunderland's favourable opinion of my integrity is what very much encourages me; and I hope fairness and truth were in mine eye in compiling it.

I shall be sorry if any where I even but seem to allow of a persecuting spirit. It was never my design to justify it, and more than once I have shown my abhorrence of it; and, indeed, the

longer I live, I grow in my abomination of it. I did regret, in the Preface, that I had not time to look over my History; and that it's printed very much as it first dropped from my pen, and there may be some passages in it that are not so well expressed; and all such I am most willing to retract. But, if I mistake not, that passage about the Quakers, which I cannot at present cast up, is only comparative; and I aggravate the severities used by the prelates and others against Presbyterians, from their softness to Quakers and Papists, though their own laws led them to act as much against them as against us. This is all I designed; and if I have expressed it wrong, I am ready to disclaim every thing that may favour persecution.

The Archbishop of Canterbury's judgment of my History I'll be fond to hear, if ever he shall read it; though, I am apt to fear, he is little changed in some things from what he was, when you licensed a sermon of his, 1689 or 1690, which I have. Sir Peter King these many years I have reckoned among the greatest and best men of our age; and I'll be impatient to have his judgment, if he shall do me the honour to look into my History.

As soon as you fall on your remarks, you'll send them. They will be extremely acceptable and useful; and were I not writing to yourself, I would, without flattery, say they came from one of the best judges of books now alive.

You raise my appetite by the hint of the new books and pamphlets you promise me. I have yet seen none of them. The taste our countryman, Mr Ridpath, gave us of the Dedication of the Independent Whig, pleased me much; but I have not seen the book. I hear some say that he is a little severe on the clergy; but, till I see otherwise, I hope it's only against such of us as go to heights. Dr Sykes has written well in defence of the Bishop of Bangor; and I'll be fond of him, and the Irenicon, and any other thing you like, for I am sure your taste is good.

The Rev. Mr Robert Baillie, as you'll observe by what I said of him in the History, is one of my favourite writers, and I know nothing of his in print that I want. These papers you mention of

his I have ; his Review of Bishop Bramhall's Warning against the Scottish Discipline, which contains many things as to our History ; his Parallel of the Liturgy and Mass Book, 4to, London, 1661 ; I have likewise his Answer to the Reply to his Limited Episcopacy, 1651. His pieces he wrote in the debate with the Protesters contain also many things as to the History of this Church. Besides what he hath printed, I have four large folios of his Letters, from 1637 to 1662, which give the best account I know of, of the change, 1638 ; the proceedings of the Scots Commissioners in England ; the Assembly at Westminster ; and the treaty with the King, 1650 ; and all other important matters in that period. It was from a few of these letters Mr William Spang, a cousin of Mr Baillie, published his *Historia Motuum in Scotia*. I have likewise a discourse of Mr Baillie's upon Episcopacy in Scotland, 1638, in five or six sheet, never printed, and several other papers of that great man.

Some time or other, (if the Lord will,) I shall give you a hint of what manuscripts I have relative to our Civil and Church History of Scotland, of which I have been lately forming a catalogue, which is pretty large. I have not, indeed, compared Mr Baillie's citations from Spottiswood with the print, and I wish you may do it with your copy. I noticed Bishop Burnet, in his third volume of the History of the Reformation, observing Spottiswood's History *castrate* in some passages, and I am wonderfully pleased to hear that you have a copy collated with two manuscripts, and the differences on the margin. I have Gordon of Straloch's Remarks on Spottiswood. And the late Bishop of Carlisle, now of Derry, told me he had the copy of Bishop Spottiswood's History, as designed for the press, and he had noticed no small alterations made by the publisher. I'll be fond to have some of the most important variations from the manuscript from your margins. Any thing I have relative to the history of our country, which you desire to see, shall be communicate ; and it will be a pleasure to me if I can, in any measure, show you how willing I would be, if able, to pay some of that debt you have laid me under, by so many favours as you have

done to, Dear Sir, in the greatest sincerity, yours most affectionately,
R. W.

Feb. 26, 1722.

LETTER CCXXXVII.

SUBSCRIBERS AND NON-SUBSCRIBERS IN IRELAND.

*Mr William Macknight to Wodrow.*¹

["Mr MACKNIGHT was a native of Ireland, where his ancestors, descended from the family of M'Naughtane, in the Highlands of Scotland, had resided for more than a century. He early displayed very popular talents as a preacher; and having, it is said, accidentally officiated in the Church of Irvine, some time after the death of the former incumbent, he gave so much satisfaction to the hearers, that he was soon appointed to supply the vacant charge. In this situation he continued during life, universally esteemed for genuine piety, purity of morals, and integrity of character." He was the father of Dr Macknight, the well-known author of "A Harmony of the Gospels," "A Translation of the Apostolical Epistles," &c.—(*Account of the Life and Character of Dr Macknight, prefixed to his Harmony of the Gospels.*)—Ed.]

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—Yesternight I received a letter from a subscribing minister, in the North of Ireland, giving an account that affairs in that Church, in reference to Subscribers and Non-subscribers,² are in most deplorable circumstances, and that a

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xx. No. 155.

² In 1719, the disputes in the North of Ireland, about subscriptions to Confessions of Faith, as tests of orthodoxy, commenced, and were carried on with great heat, until they issued in an open rupture. The origin of this controversy is to be

paper war is broke out. Our brother, who writes this letter in the name and at the desire of his subscribing brethren, earnestly entreats that I would consult with some ministers of weight and experience, whether or no a letter in favour of the Subscribers in Ireland might be procured from our General Assembly; because, if there were ground to hope that the request would be granted, it's resolved by the Subscribers to send over one or two of their number to petition our next General Assembly for this favour, and to do what other good offices they shall think of, as most proper for supporting the cause and interest of subscription, in a neighbouring Presbyterian church, that has been frequently, in old time, sympathised with under distress, and relieved, by their good offices in writing letters, and sending commissioners to comfort and encourage that poor people.

traced to those debates on the subject of subscribing tests of orthodoxy, and on the doctrine of the Trinty, which some time before raged among the Dissenters in England, who at last divided into Subscribers and Non-subscribers. The two parties in Ireland bore the same names with those in England. The Non-subscribers, while they declared themselves hostile to the Confession of Faith, as a term of ministerial communion, and, indeed, to all fixed tests of orthodoxy, denied that they were against the doctrines of the Westminster Confession of Faith; but alleged that they could not "subscribe it, for that were to betray their Christian liberty, and the light of their conscience."—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xx. No. 136.)—The Subscribers, on the other hand, suspected that the Non-subscribers were infected with Arian and Arminian errors, and that their attempts to discard subscription to the Confession of Faith, under pretence of Christian liberty, were intended to open a door for dangerous errors. "As to our affairs here," says Mr M'Crackan, "they are at present very dark. The English notions are espoused by some, who seem to carry very cunningly, not willing to take in the name, but yet, truly, manage the cause. For even those who will not subscribe, yet pretend they are for the Confession, they are no Arians nor Socinians, and some say they are not of Dr Clarke. And it is thought, seeing they refuse to subscribe, they are not truly Presbyterians, so that we know not what they are, or may afterwards set up to be."—(*Ibid.* vol. xx. No. 136.)—Another correspondent (George Lang of Loughbrickland) says, "The aversion of some among us to our Confession, as a term of ministerial communion, and indeed to all fixed tests of orthodoxy, seems rather to increase, and, which is far worse, we are not free of some apprehensions of Arianism having got some footing among us, some gentlemen taking the liberty to argue for it, and some ministers have not scrupled to say they would not refuse to communicate with an Arian . . . But, however it be as to Arianism, I am pretty sure that several ministers incline to the Arminian principles."—(*Ibid.* vol. xx. No. 145.)

Dear Brother, deal freely with me in this affair, which I have communicated to Principal Stirling and you, under secrecy, for advice ; and let me have your opinion with the next Monday's post, that I may give a speedy return to our brethren in Ireland, seeing the time of our Assembly's sitting down is very nigh ; and let me have your opinion with freedom as to the most proper methods the subscribing ministers should, at this juncture, take to obtain the assistance of our Assembly ; for you are well acquainted with the forms of introducing affairs into that Court. Though I know our Assembly would be loath to usurp without their own bounds, or stretch themselves beyond their own measure, yet, seeing the Dissenting Church in Ireland was, for the most part, a branch of the Lord's vine, planted in this land, I hope the loud cry of their present extreme necessity will stir up the bowels of Christian compassion, in our Church of Scotland, to help our younger sister at this critical juncture ; especially, seeing our ancient predecessors have given several precedents of this tender care and zeal to support and promote the interests of the Dissenting Presbyterian Church in Ireland. Our brethren in Ireland desire our sympathy and prayers. I am, Rev. Dear Brother, your affectionate brother and humble servant,

WILLIAM MACKNIGHT.

Irvine, April 13, 1722.

LETTER CCXXXVIII.

REPLY TO THE FOREGOING.

To Mr William Macknight, Minister at Irvine.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 13th, and would not fail to write by this post, since you are earnest for an answer. Last year, when at the Assembly, you remember I had a letter much of the same import with this from you, and, if my memory fails me not, I returned an answer; and, indeed, nothing now [more] offers to me now. I remember I laid the state of our brethren in Ireland before several of our brethren of greatest weight and experience, Professor Hamilton, Mr Mitchell, and others; and they were at a loss to know in what manner the General Assembly could interest themselves in that matter, to whom (were it found proper) they could write, or upon what head. Your letter last year, and this I am answering, holds in the general, and does not so descend to the particular things our brethren in Ireland would have this Church to do. I found a willingness in all I conversed with at Edinburgh to do every thing competent for a General Assembly to do, for the support of the dissenting interest in Ireland; but, till the proposal be more opened out, we could not fully judge of it, nor how far it might be proper for this Church to fall in with our brethren's desire.

There will be no difficulty as to the form and way of introducing any thing of this nature, when it's concerted before our Assembly. All the difficulty to me is, what is needful and proper to be done, without stretching ourselves beyond our line and measure. The matter in debate in Ireland, as far as I understand it, is of a very complex nature, and not at all entire. The pacific act,¹ as I

¹ This act was passed by the General Synod of the Presbyterian Church in the north of Ireland in 1720, with a view to compose the differences between the Subscribers and

take it, has given a larger door there than we allow in this Church, at least by any direct act of Assembly, and is as large a concession as, I think, could well be made to intrants. I suppose all the brethren there, save the Presbytery of Dublin, and some few in the South, have (till within these two years) signed the Westminster Confession, even the members of the Belfast Society themselves. The matter of the voluntary subscription before the last General Synod, I own has made a discovery, at least that the Non-subscribers at that time are against a subscription in their present circumstances; and I wish heartily they would speak out, and not trifle in generals, and talk of imposition, and such thread-bare things, and frankly own the passages they stumble at. This were the fair and generous method; and, if they cannot have satisfaction as to the matter in our Confession upon reasoning, my opinion is they ought not to sign it, and be allowed to retire their former subscription. But, as long as they keep in the clouds and generals, I cannot see what can be done. Their former subscriptions stand, and when they preach anything contrary to the Confession they may be prosecute.

I am heartily sorry that a paper war is begun, and I fear it be lodged at the door of one whom I shall ever highly value—our friend Mr M'Crackan.¹ The answer to him, published by Dr Fer-

Non-subscribers. It required that, according to a former act of Synod passed in 1705, all who were licensed to preach the Gospel in that Church should "subscribe the Westminster Confession of Faith to be the confession of their faith; and promise to adhere to the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of this Church; and, also, that those who are licensed, and have not subscribed, be obliged to subscribe before their being ordained among us." But it contained the following clause:—"If any person, called to subscribe, shall scruple any phrase or phrases in the Confession, he shall have leave to use his own expressions, which the Presbytery shall accept of, providing they judge such a person sound in the faith; and that such explanations shall be inserted in the Presbytery books; and that to be a rule not only in relation to candidates licensed by ourselves, but to all intrants into the ministry among us, though licensed or ordained elsewhere."—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xx. No. 143.)

¹ Mr Boyse of Dublin, in a letter to Wodrow, dated December 13, 1720, says—"Your friend, Mr M'Crackan, has wrote a pamphlet on that side, [the side of the Subscribers,] with bitter reflections on the other, and such insinuations concerning them, as appear to us very uncharitable, and tending to increase, rather than extin-

guson, certainly wire-draws some of his expressions; but I wish his unguarded expressions and assertions had not given him too much occasion to triumph at the rate he does, though it appears neither very Christian nor generous to write in the loose manner that writer does.

In these circumstances, alas! what can our Assembly do? I very much doubt if we could even approve of the pacific act itself; and general overly advices to unite and leave off debates, what will they amount to? and what further can be done in a letter, unless there were an application to us from the General Synod, which I do not expect? I doubt how far an application, from a few brethren extrajudicially, would be a proper call for this Church to mix in, unless some prospect were given of good effects that might follow. We are in quite other circumstances than our brethren in Ireland. Our laws, you know, bear us out in requiring a subscription; and I hear it said that the Belfast Society themselves would subscribe if required to do it by civil authority. But they reclaim against Church power requiring this; and so, I imagine, any interposition from our Assembly could have no weight at all with them. The Subscribers in Ireland are still by far the majority;¹ and, if they continue joint, and unite among themselves, I hope they shall weather out this storm.

Not but I am of opinion this Church ought to give them all the assistance lies in their power, though our case vastly differs, you know, from what it was in the former Presbyterian times. But, till I be informed further in what things, and after what way, they desire our assistance, I can say no further on this head. Nobody shall be franker than I to go in to every thing that is for the support of the reasonable cause of subscribing confessions. But what

guish, the flame of contention; and has, besides, asserted several things utterly untrue in fact; and yet, after all the applications made to him, his paper is now here in the printer's hands, and, if published, like to kindle such a paper war as we lately saw, with grief, among the London ministers."

¹ There were upwards of a hundred Subscribers, while the Non-subscribers did not number above fourteen or fifteen.—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xx. No. 159.)

that is, I want to be informed. The spring of all this, as far as I can guess, is either, which I most unwillingly suppose, some change of opinion in doctrine from their former subscription, or a fond inclination to be, in every thing, on the same foot with the Dissenters in England, who, I fear, generally speaking, are against national established Churches, and Church judicatories, except for advice and consultation, and really for Independency.

Thus you have my thoughts with the same freedom you require; and, indeed, I fear I have wearied you. Let me have all your last accounts from Ireland, and any thing done in their particular Synods, which I think meet in January, February, and March; and what you hear is to be before the General Synod in June. And, whenever you get further accounts from Ireland, in communicating them by post, you will very much oblige, Dear Brother, yours most affectionately.

April 16, 1722.

I hear of none answering the reply to Mr Dunlop's Preface; and really there is so little argument and so much ill-nature in that paper, that it seems very little to need any answer.

LETTER CCXXXIX.

LETTERS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1722.

*Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 1.*¹

MY DEAREST,—I came in safe yesternight, and had an excellent day. All the people at Hamilton remember you. H. Aikman seems a-dying, but is a choice Christian. I have no news, not having been in the street. I hear nothing, but the Commissioner's

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xv. Nos. 106-12.

instructions are favourable enough.¹ What the Commission does this day I know not.

Take a care of yourself; let me know how your rheum and eyes are. Don't stress them. I remember the children. Let me know what they incline to have from this. The Lord be with you! I am your own.

Edinburgh, May 8, 1722.

LETTER CCXL.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 2.

Edinburgh, May 9, 1722.

MY DEAREST,—Yesterday the Commission met, and we presently fell upon the consideration of the twelve brethren's answers to our queries,² and called for a report from the Committee appointed in March to make remarks upon them, and had a long paper of remarks as long as the brethren's answers very near, which took up our whole forenoon's sederunt to read. In the afternoon, it was remitted to the Committee for Purity of Doctrine, who sub-committed them again to a few of us, Mr Mitchell, Principal Stirling, Principal Chalmers, Mr John Hunter, Mr David Anderson, Professor Hamilton, and me, and we spent several hours in forming a short paper of about half a sheet, as the final issue of the Commission on the whole; and is to this purpose:—The Commission having vindicated the Assembly's act in their meeting in August, and at their after sederunts proposed some queries to the brethren, that they might have opportunity to clear themselves as

¹ The Commissioner was Hugh Earl of London.

² These Answers are printed in Brown's Gospel Truth, and in some of the late editions of the Marrow of Modern Divinity. They have often been admired as among the most luminous and masterly pieces of theology in the English language.

to some things supposed disagreeable to the doctrine of this Church, in the representation given in to the last Assembly, and received their answers, they find seven or eight particulars, (which I cannot resume,) wherein are ways of expressing themselves that are disagreeable to the Scriptures and Confession of Faith, and some most injurious and groundless calumnies cast upon this Church; and overture upon the whole that the General Assembly refuse the petition in their representation for repealing the Act 1720. And as to the other clauses, that the Assembly discharge all speaking, teaching, preaching, or printing the above particulars, in time coming; and that Presbyteries and Synods, where the brethren are, take notice of their observation of this Act; and that the brethren declare before the Assembly their subjection and acquiescence in this condemnation, under pain of censure. What censure the aspersions cast upon the Church deserves, is left to the Assembly. This was unanimously voted in the Commission, save Mr Muir, minister at Stirling, who gave his Not. Whether the Assembly will go into this, I know not; but this is what the Commission have transmitted to them. The most remarkable passages condemned are the asserting that there are no precepts in the Gospel, properly and strictly taken—that a full persuasion is of the essence of faith—that the consideration of hell is not to be a motive in the believer's obedience—that holiness is not a federal mean of obtaining eternal life, and some other things I cannot now resume. There was one particular the brethren were called in upon, and a query put to them, on a consequence we thought naturally arose upon one of their answers about unbelievers, their being obliged to seek life in the way of a covenant of works; which consequence they renounced, and so we left it out. Whether the brethren will disown several other things in their answers we have marked out to the Assembly, I cannot say; but unless they do, it seems hard to conceive how they will escape censure. The Lord bring this unhappy matter to a comfortable issue!

I have no other news to write this day. What offers to-morrow you shall have. I am told that there is drawing up, by the Epis-

copal party, a History of the Sufferings of their Church, from the 1637 to the 1660, and from the 1688 to this day, with a preface, wherein I am to be taken in task. The recriminations will not much answer me; and I doubt little can be advanced that way but what has been already answered. What they will remark in the Preface, on my book, I know not, and shall consider it when it appears. I hear Mr Stewart of Hartwood has got a post of about L.150 a-year, supervisor of the tobacco, or some such thing. Sabbath was eight days, there was a Popish mass in the Duchess of Gordon's lodgings in the Canongate, with about fifty persons, beside the family. Bailie Hawthorn, B. of the Canongate, forced open the doors, and seized them when together, and the ladies were bailed; but the priest, Wilson, or Walson, if I remember his name, and another man, are in prison. The priest owns himself an apostate; that he was ordained a Protestant minister about thirty-five years ago, and is now a Papist; but will not own himself a priest. The Advocate's opinion was taken that he should be imprisoned, and by his advice he is continued in prison. Several persons of high names have appeared for his liberation; but the Advocate stands firm. It's feared it will be hard to get it proven that it was a mass, and he a priest.

May 10.

This day, in the morning, we had certain accounts of my Lord Rothes' death yesterday, about five in the afternoon. This day the Assembly was opened by Mr Black's sermon on Matt. xvi. 18,—“On this rock will I build my Church.” We had an excellent sermon, and very little of politics. The commissions were passed only by reading the names, which, in my opinion, though it saves time, it does not promote business. We had next the commission for the Earl of Loudon, in common form, and the King's Letter, which is even warmer and more affectionate than it uses to be; and twice warns us to take care of such as would break and divide us, and take advantage of any present distractions. I mind no more, but the appointing of committees, where I observed the whole As-

sembly were put on the Bills and Overtures. I forgot to tell you Mr Mitchell was, save three or four votes, chosen unanimously Moderator. I shall have no more to write from the Assembly this week; so it may be I shall not write on Saturday, because I'll be throng, yet if I can I shall write a scrape.

My Dearest Peggy, I am perfectly well. I wish I could hear as much from you. Mr Reid tells me you are some better; but I long for to-morrow's post. Pray take a care of yourself. By the other side you'll see that I have not been idle [since] I came here. Now, my work is over as a member; and I shall be in case to haste my book to a close; about which I have not yet so much as had time to meet with Mr Watson. I hope I shall have time to write to you by every post; but though I do not, be not uneasy, for it will be only from some incident that hinders me to win to the post-office. Let me know how Peggy's shoulder is. The Lord be with you and the children! I remember Mr John and parents, &c., in the west. Great grace be with you! I am your own

R. W.

May 10.

LETTER CCXLI.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 3.

May 11, 1722.

MY DEAREST,—I wrote at so much length yesterday, that I need be the less large here. You'll be pleased to hear of my Lord Rothes' Christian death. Colonel Blackader, who was with him at his death, tells me he was never witness to so Christian, sedate, and courageous death. Some days before his death he called his children, and spoke to them at great length. But a few hours before his death, when my informer was present, he called them one

by one, and took his leave of each of them, and spoke to them in particular, and to them all, for near two hours, with the greatest seriousness and solidity, recommended religion to them, as what only would be of use when they came to his circumstances. He adds, that scarce did he ever hear a person so much master of the Scriptures, and make a more proper use of them. After he had taken his leave of them, he called his two ministers, Mr M. Wood and Mr Clow, and before them all declared the grounds of his faith, and hope of salvation, in the most sensible, distinct, and moving manner ever he heard; and, after he had signified these were the things he went upon under the immediate views of death, besought them to deal freely with him, and let him know if in any thing he was wrong, and set him right. Both of them, and all present, were extremely satisfied; and after prayer, in a very little he died in the greatest serenity and peace.

This day, in the Assembly, we had five or six prayers, where, indeed, I cannot say but the Lord was [present;] the Moderator, Principal Wishart, Mr A. Rodgers, Mr Brisbane, Mr Blackwell, and Mr Tait. Mr William Stewart of Perth, and Mr James Christie, are to preach next Sabbath. In the afternoon, the Committee of Overtures had the Answer to the King's Letter before them, which was passed without any debate. Then came in the affair of the Principal of Edinburgh his commission. The affair cost a vast deal of time, near four hours, and the Masters have got their rights waved. The matter was this:—The Committee for Commissions brought in their overture, that Mr Wishart should be a member of the Assembly by the College vote, the Magistrates' commission being within the forty days. There were vast reasonings on all hands, and the matter came to this, whether, since both the contenders did agree in one person, there should be any further debate? The Committee's overture was alleged to enter upon the question of right, and determined it to be without the magistrates, which could not be till they were heard. The Masters desired to be heard; the Magistrates waved it, and at length an overture, with a vast debate, was gone into, to sustain the com-

mission, without entering at this time into the debate about the rights. The Advocate was away, and the President, my Lord Grange, and all on the throne, were for the hushing this matter.

Things look very gloomy in public affairs abroad and in England, as you will see in the prints, to which I refer you.

I am assured there is a letter to me printing, of about six or seven sheets of paper, by an advocate, Mr Alexander Bruce. It will be published, they say, in two or three days. I can say nothing more till I see it. The person is under no good fame; and I am told he has the assistance of some of the Episcopal clergy. For what I see, my second volume will be printed off before I can see it.

May 13.

This day the Assembly approved the Answer to the King's Letter. Mr Chalmers' brother is transported to some parish in the North. I hear my answer is to be out this night.

LETTER CCXLII.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 4.

May 14, 1722.

MY DEAREST,—After I had writt on Saturday, whether by an express or otherwise I know not, but the Justice-Clerk gave orders to M. Le Clark to look after the castle here, and call in all the soldiers by eight of the clock, and to have the guards set and gates shut. There are vast shoals of persons in the late Rebellion, who were attainted, come over; and particularly Arthur, who was concerned in the plot on the castle, is in the streets, and the Jacobites are uppish, and very big in their hopes. By Saturday's letters we had the accounts of designs discovered at London to betray the Tower, and some say of a design upon the King, whom God preserve. The discovery of them is another wonderful providence of

God to us, for which we can never be thankful enough. Orders were given, Monday last, at London, that none presume to enter Whitehall by the back stairs. The guards were doubled, and a train of artillery and tents brought out of the Tower, and three regiments encamped in Hyde Park; and Cadogan, now Commander-in-chief, lay in the fields that night. Orders are given so to dispose the forces as they may be drawn together near the city in twenty-four hours. Six or eight regiments are ordered over from Ireland. An attempt from Spain is talked of, though the King of Spain (as the letters say) has given assurances to our ministers there that his armament is not designed against us. The King's journey to Hanover is laid aside. The Parliament, which was prorogued to June 5th, is to sit. And part of the design from abroad is said to be upon Scotland; but whether from Muscovy or Spain is not known. This is news enough for one post. The Lord make them better! The plague is broke out at Orange.

On Saturday the Committee of Instructions met, where there is matter enough for the Assembly. Yesterday Mr Stewart in Perth lectured, Eph. i. 1-7, and preached excellently on verse 17, "The spirit of wisdom and revelation;" and Mr James Christie in the afternoon upon 2 Cor. xii. 9, "My grace is sufficient." The second part of the Marrow was published on Saturday, with a long preface and appendix, which is confidence enough in the Representatives, who are upon conferences for peace.

This night we have the post, and I need not insist on the contents. No doubt they will be in the Edinburgh Courant. In short, we have the King's letter to the Lord Mayor at London, wherein he acquaints him of his having certain accounts of a wretched conspiracy to raise a rebellion in this kingdom, to raise a wicked rebellion in favour of the Popish Pretender to these kingdoms, to the utter overthrow of all our civil and religious liberties; but that he has certain advice that no foreign princes or states are in the least assisting to this design, and therefore he hopes that, through the blessing of God, and the assistance of his subjects, he shall be able to quash it. A proclamation against Papists, and another upon

tumultuous assemblies, are in the press. We have had no expresses since Saturday ; and we ought to be extremely thankful for the discovery of this design. The Jacobites now give it out that this is only trumped up for maintaining a standing army. In a little, things will open out. It's certain we are in a most divided and defenceless state ; and divisions on the one hand, rancour and malice on the other, and a wretched indolence among too many, bring us to a vast danger in case of confusions. But the Lord liveth !

The Assembly had the case of two ministers in the Presbytery of Arbroath, deposed for immorality, before them this day, Mr Mill and Mr Lisk. I was not in the house. The process [proof] against the first seems to be scrimp, and he is reponed. What is done with Lisk I know not. The answer to my first volume is not yet published. We expect it every day. Part of the Grey Horse are come in, and a camp is to be formed, they say, in Scotland and Ireland. The stocks are rising.

May 15, 1722.

This day the Assembly met, and had a letter from the Synod of Lithuania before them, owning the receipt of L.4000 [Scots,] and some odds. There was a petition for a Polish Lithuanian bursar, which is to be maintained by this Church, and is gone into very cheerfully. Then the affair of the Marrow came in from the overtures, and a debate rose, whether to read the papers before they were transmitted to a committee, which lasted three hours, where was a great deal of hedging and political disputing. Great were the heats on all sides, and intimations made that the twelve brethren were ready to come to terms, and that, it might be, the representation might be withdrawn. But no assurance of this could be given. And at length it came to the vote, Read their papers, or Remit to a committee, and it carried Read in open Assembly before Remitting, by 43. This vote is reckoned unfavourable to the Representers.

This day the Provost of Edinburgh had a letter of the same import with that to the Lord Mayor of London ; and this day William

Erskine, brother to the Earl of Buchan, who was in the Rebellion, is laid up in the castle. Not one attainted Jacobite is to be seen in the street this day; though the days bygone the street was crowded with them. This night I am to have my answer, as I am told.

LETTER CCXLIII.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 5.

May 16, 1722.

MY DEAREST,—This day the Assembly met in the forenoon, and the whole time was spent in reading papers, the brethren's Representation, and the Commission's overture in August, and ours last week. And the matter was by the Assembly referred to the Committee of Overtures, who met in the afternoon; and there all the members of the Assembly were, and a very throng house. A question fell in at the entry, what method to proceed in, whether to go on and consider the Commission's overture in August and May, or to call in the brethren, and ask if they had any thing farther to offer, and hear them upon any part of their Representation, or the overtures of the Commission. After long discourses it was agreed to call them in. When they came in, they complained the Commission's overture in August was passed without their being heard, and offered to speak upon it as to every article. That was endless, and so was not gone into. Many speeches were made before they came in, as to their good disposition; but little of it appeared. They insisted that the Commission had groundlessly blamed them for calumniating the Assembly and Church. They were told that it was expected they would desire a conference with a smaller committee. They answered, they were content to argue the matter before this committee, or any others, at length. With much difficulty they said they desired a lesser committee, which was appointed. I cannot mind them all; the Moderator, Mr Allan

Logan, Mr James Smith, Mr William Boyd, Mr William Hamilton, Mr James Brisbane, Principal Stirling, Principal Haddow, my Lord Grange, President Cullen, Sir James Stewart. They are seventeen or eighteen in all. What they will bring the brethren to I know not, nor what overture they will bring in, so as to save the Church's authority and preserve peace.

I hear Mrs Veitch at Dumfries is dead, and the old man very near death. You would hear of my Lady Ruthven's death. I can add little as to the plot and rebellion. Two hundred warrants are come down to serve suspect persons. Those whose names are filled up are not bailed; such as are insert here in the blank warrants are admitted to bail, as one James Gordon and some others. It seems certain that an assassination was designed; and I hear the Jacobites talked of it, and were wagering on it some weeks ago. There are associations and oaths of secrecy among them of that sort going about in Fife, and my Lord Rothes' death is already felt there. They pretend now to set up upon liberty and Whig principles. I got this day Mr Bruce's printed letter to me, which is so flat and scurrilous that I doubt if I shall take any notice of it.¹ In the sub-committee a fast seemed agreed to this morning, to be appointed by the Assembly. Mr M'Bride, in Ballymony, is come over here, to advise with brethren here what those who appear for

¹ "Wodrow appears, from his correspondence, to have received with comparative indifference, some scurrilous attempts to depreciate his labours by the Non-juring Episcopalians, or rather by one of their adherents, Alexander Bruce, Advocate, first in an anonymous tract, 'The Scottish Behemoth Dissected, in a Letter to Mr Robert Wodrow,' &c. Edinburgh, 1722, folio; and then in the Preface to a Life of Archbishop Sharp, 1723, 8vo. Mr Bruce announced in 1724 a great work, 'An Impartial History of the Affairs in Church and State in Scotland, from the Reformation to the Revolution,' in two volumes, folio. He did not survive long enough to make much progress in this work, which was taken up by Bishop Keith, who published only the first volume in 1734, bringing the History down to the year 1568. Keith's History is only important as a collection of materials, for the author was equally destitute of acuteness and liberality. To what extent he may have profited by Bruce's labours is no where stated."—*Encyclopædia Britannica*, last ed., Art. *Wodrow*. Wodrow refers to Bruce's Letter above mentioned, at the end of the preface to the second volume of his History.

the Confession of Faith in Ireland shall do at their next Synod of Derry.

May 17, 1722.

The Assembly has been three hours upon Mr Lisk's, deposed minister in the Synod of Aberdeen, his case. How it goes I know not yet. Late yesternight the sub-committee about the twelve brethren met, and came to no issue at all. The brethren declined to speak severally, but would answer in a body. When posed about faith, they answered in terms of the Confession of Faith and Catechism; but when questioned about persuasion essential to it, they declined to answer. How this will end I know not.

We have no more this post about the plot, but what you'll see in the prints. The King knew of it for some time; and ten thousand men are ready to be embarked, if need be. People say that my Lord Sunderland's papers were the occasion of publishing the account so soon, and that the Lord Mayor of London was privy to the rebellion, but choaked by the assassination, and made the discovery.

My Dearest, I continue perfectly well, and wish to hear the like of you and ours. You may, in case I do not write otherwise on Saturday, cause Barnet come off with the horses on Tuesday next. I hope to get off from this on Thursday thereafter, and to reach home on Friday or Saturday. The Assembly probably may rise Monday or Tuesday, and I believe I shall not be on the Commission. Grace be with you! Send word what I shall bring to the bairns. I sent yesterday a little bundle of pamphlets with John Fauls in Neilston, and Mrs Stewart sends somewhat or other to Mrs Dunlop, which, if you receive, (but it may be he may leave it at Glasgow,) send in to her. Remember me to all friends. I hope Miss Lillias is better, since I have no letters this post. You see I fail not you.

LETTER CCXLIV.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 6.

May 19, 1722.

MY DEAR,—I have very little to write since my last. Matters are yet before sub-committees, and tedious, unedifying debates cast up. On Thursday night we had the committee of the whole house, and the twelve brethren before it. They were heard fully upon the Commission's act and overture in August, when Mr Williamson spoke near two hours, and gave us an abstract of the first dialogue, of which now I am ready to think he is the author. After we were wearied with their discourses full three hours, the committee recommended the overture to Mr Smith and Mr Haddow, to compare the citations, and this was all done that night. Yesterday the same committee met at four in the afternoon, and sat till near twelve at night. The Commission's act was gone through, paragraph by paragraph, and the objections against it fully taken off, and it was put in a form to be passed by the Assembly. The clause about believers not being under the covenant of works was matter of tedious debate; and after some hours a committee was sent out to put the passage in write as amended. The rescinding the Act, 1720, was plainly enough argued for, as to the former clause, by Mr Brisbane, Lord Grange, Mr Forbes Lesley, and other favourers of the Representers; Mr Logan was for owning a mistake in it. The overture brought in is very plain and distinct, that the Assembly, having brought those passages in the sense of the Marrow for a proof of the error condemned, did condemn them, and in no other sense; and the safe sense is asserted as not condemned. This was gone into; but it being so late, and the house so thin, the matter was sub-committed till this day, where, I doubt not, we shall have new debates. Yesterday the Assembly passed the address against Popery,

without an amendment. It's drawn by the Advocate, and a long memorial with it. Then Mr Russel's affair was referred to the Commission ; and the Presbytery of Perth their petition for removing Mr Inglish of Kilspindie his sentence by the Commission was refused, and the Commission took approven, and committees appointed to choose another. It's like to be Tuesday or Wednesday before the Assembly rise.

This day the Assembly had the Synod books before them, and remitted several things to the Commission. I am just going to the Committee for Overtures, or the whole house, on the Marrow, which I wish the Lord direct.

They talk of twelve or sixteen ships seen off the north of Aberdeen or Moray ; but I do not yet believe it. An express came this morning at two or three. The contents are secret. They talk [that] Southesk was here in woman's disguise, and is gone North ; that there is to be a meeting at a race in Annandale next week. Certainly our danger is not over.

My Dearest Peggy, I continue very well. You may send off the horses on Tuesday. It will be Thursday before I'll get off, if then. My service to all friends. Just now I have both yours together, and am glad you are no worse, and remember Miss Lillias. Be not in pain about the letter published ; for all I am to say at this time is in four or five lines in print, and, indeed, he is an adversary to be neglected. I am glad to see your write, but don't stress your eyes.

LETTER CCXLV.

Wodrow to Mrs Wodrow, No. 7.

Edinburgh, May 21, 1722.

MY DEAREST,—On Saturday, after my last, the Committee of Overtures, or of the whole house, met upon the Marrow. The sub-committee that had been appointed Friday's night, Professor Hamilton, Mr Smyth, Mr Allan Logan, Mr Brisbane, Mr Haddow, the President and Advocate, to whom the Commission's act in May was remitted, sat from nine on Saturday till six at night, and brought in their report. They class the propositions, six or seven of them, in the Representation, which are condemned, and discharged to be preached, taught, &c., on pain of censure, and three or four taken out of some prints, (but the prints are not said to be the Representatives' answers to the queries, because this would have obliged the Assembly to read that long paper,) and are declared to be of ill tendency, though some of them are capable of a good construction, and no acknowledgment is required, but the Representatives are to be rebuked by the Assembly, in hopes of gaining them, and with a declaration they deserve a greater censure; and their petition for repealing the act, 1720, is refused. There were some reasonings against this by Mr Brisbane and Mr Alexander Hamilton, and when it came to the vote, it carried Transmit to the Assembly, unanimously, save Mr Brisbane, Mr Forbes, and a third Not. Mr Hamilton was silent, and several others. How it will carry this day in the Assembly I know not; but it's expected it will carry. My Lord Grange came in late, and did not vote. The appointing of a fast is like to be left to the Commission, the Commissioner not being particularly instructed about this.

Yesterday Mr Finlater lectured before the Commissioner, on Matth. v. 1-16, and preached on Prov. xiv. 22; and Mr M'Bain in

the afternoon on Prov. xxviii. 20. We have nothing this post, save that the plague is spreading in France, and broke out again in Marseilles and other places. A private letter from London bears that the plot, so mercifully discovered, has been the best and deepest laid of any since the Revolution. But we have no particulars as yet.

This day the Committee of Instructions met, when an overture for an act about elders and church officers keeping worship, &c., was passed, and the rest of the instructions gone through. We had another overture from a sub-committee, which had a relation to renewing subscription to the Confession of Faith, and all ministers, as well as members of Assembly, their being obliged to sign the Formula, 1711, with a declaration, by way of introduction, as to the usefulness of signing Confessions of Faith, in favour of the Subscribers in Ireland; but the President opposed it, and we had no time to spare for debates.

From twelve of the clock to near four, we had very great thunder and lightning. About half-three the lightning broke in upon an hospital, I think they call it Croft's Hospital, and all the children were in it, and part of the house was broke down; but no hurt was done to any person; for which a note was sent in to the Assembly to praise God for this deliverance. At three the Assembly [should have] met; but it was five ere we met. The reason was out of tenderness to the Representatives, and from the fear of a breach, which the Commissioner insisted upon, that it might by all means be prevented, as unfit in our present feared confusions. It was urged that the clause anent censure should be left out of the sentence. The Moderator and Principal Haddow went into this; but Professor Hamilton, Mr Smith, Principal Chalmers, Principal Stirling, Mr Horsburgh, and others called to converse on this head, insisted for holding by what was voted in the Committee on Saturday. At length the Assembly met; and a question arose in the entry, whether the brethren should be called in and heard: because, though they had been heard at full length before the Commission and Committee of Overtures, or of the whole house, yet they had not been heard before the Assembly. This was over-

ruled; and the Commission's act in August, and the shape their act [took] in May was turned to, was read over, and then paragraph by paragraph. Some few inconsiderable amendments were made. When we came to the statutory part, a debate arose as to the taking out of the position condemned, that the law has neither threatenings nor promises, and Mr Logan and others insisted for dropping it; but this was not yielded; but the clause stands, only (if they mean the moral law) is added. Then another debate arose about the clause in the sentence should be altered. It was, "*sharply rebuke*," and it was moved by Mr Logan that it should run "*gravely admonish*." Mr Smith observed that *admonish* related to the time to come; and if it looked back, it was the same as *re-buke*, and the word *sharply* was left out, and the whole put to a vote, Approve or Not. Before the vote Mr Brisbane had a speech, wherein he declared his weakness, that he could not condemn all the propositions condemned, but was willing to submit to this Church, and be loyal. The vote was very harmonious; there were five Not, Mr Brisbane, Mr Drummond, Mr Forbes, Mr Linlithgow, and Sir Wa. Riddel; five *Non-liquets*; several were silent, as Lord Grange, Mr Alexander Hamilton, Mr William Stewart of Perth, and Mr N. Campbell, and about a dozen others; and 134 Approves. When the brethren were called in, the Moderator spoke to them at some length, that the vote was most harmonious, that it was the sense of this whole Church, and much more so than it had been passed by last Assembly, since papers had been spread, and presbyteries considered it fully, and he believed the warmth they were in had led them to indecent expressions towards this Church, for which it was an uneasy task to rebuke them; but it was laid on him, and he did it. Mr Hog desired the sentence might be read. They were told the sentence as it concerned them was intimate, that there was to be no speaking after sentence. They would have extracts. Mr Kid gave in a paper, as he said, in name of the rest, and desired it might be read, which was refused after sentence. He left it on the table, and gave gold with it, but

it was not received, and the Assembly adjourned. What will be done to-morrow I know not.

May 22.

This day the Overtures met, and reported a motion about renewing a subscription to the Confession. The Assembly met. There was no insisting by the brethren for the Marrow. They think their protestation, though not received, continues good, but it's wrong. Their protestation I saw. They adhere to our old Confessions, National Covenant, Solemn League, Confession of Faith, and Catechism, and complain of the Commission's queries, and then declare they cannot submit to the act, 1720, or this act, but will preach the truths forbid, and protest against what the Assembly hath done or what may follow, in the name of all that will adhere. The Commission was named and voted. You'll be glad I am not a member. We passed all other things and the ordinary forms, and rose in great peace and harmony, which was not expected, and is matter of praise. I have no other news.

My Dearest Peggy, I am now longing to be home; and this will be my last from this place at this time, if I come off on Thursday. Worthy Mr Veitch was buried Friday was eight days at Dumfries. I wish Mr John send in Mr Nimmo's Diary with the horses. I forgot to write for it. If it be not come in I'll send it with my Lord's horses. If I get not off on Thursday I shall write by post. I doubt I win not off till Friday, if then. I am your own.

LETTER CCXLVI.

MISREPRESENTATIONS OF MR M'BRIDE.

To the Rev. Mr Charles Masterton, Minister at Connor, Ireland.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—Having the opportunity of our brother, Mr M'Bride, in his return home, I take the liberty to renew the old acquaintance I had the benefit of when my dear father was alive at Glasgow, and to wish for the privilege of your correspondence now and then, as your leisure allows. I cannot pretend to make you any tolerable returns on this side; but am very fond to have particular accounts how matters are going with a Church who once reckoned themselves almost a part of the Church of Scotland, and I hope many still do so.

Mr M'Bride was at Edinburgh a few days towards the end of the meeting of our General Assembly; and by the groundless jealousies of some people, who suspect plots and designs, of I don't well know what, projected here, he may come to be misrepresented in Ireland. Forgive the seeming uncharity in the supposition; I shall be glad it be groundless. But when I observe him followed by an express, and letters insinuating as if our Assembly should assume a foreign jurisdiction, I can't help suspecting that some people may; that such a case is possible even from persons I very much honour, and who profess no small charity and adherence to Gospel rules.

Having been present in the Assembly, and that Committee who had some things before them, though they came no further than a committee, before Mr M'Bride came to Edinburgh, I could not but endeavour to prevent any misrepresentations in this matter, as far as my testimony will go. There was a motion came from one of our Synods to the Assembly, that all ministers who are suspected of declining from our Standards should be called upon to renew their

adherence to our Confession of Faith ; which cast up from a particular case in that Synod of some brethren¹ who declined adhering to their subscription, save in a consistency with a peculiar Representation they had given in. This motion was soon made, but, by reason of much more important affairs following, could not be considered till the very last diet of the Assembly's meeting, and then there was no time to ripen it, and so it never came further than the Committee ; though, had it been got completed, in my opinion it would have passed.

Mr M'Bride neither was nor could be concerned in this matter ; and in his conversation in private with brethren, where it may be I had occasion to be as much present as many, he carried as became him ; and when the subject of your differences in Ireland fell in, with pleasure I observed him speak with much value and tenderness of ministers with you, whom he could not justify in their opinion about Confessions. He was very far from charges of error upon them, and I wish they themselves had been present to observe the charity and brotherly respect he manifested to them. I have had instances of surmises and groundless jealousies of other reverend brethren who have been here, from some in the North of Ireland, and that engages me to prevent, as much as I can, anything of the like innuendos as to him. We are indeed come very low when such things must be guarded against ; but so it is, and I am sorry for it.

I would willingly enough give you a hint of matters with us at present, but probably Mr M'Bride will see you at your Synod, and can give you a better account than I have time now to write.

You'll oblige me by letting me know the state of affairs with you, at and after your next Synod. By post, direct for me to the care of the Postmaster at Glasgow, or by private occasions to Port-Patrick, Irvine, Saltcoats, or Greenock. May the Lord be with you in all the branches of his work ! Forgive this trouble in, Rev. Dear Brother, yours most affectionately.

May 28, 1722.

¹ The Marrow Men.

LETTER CCXLVII.

SUBSCRIBERS AND NON-SUBSCRIBERS.

To Mr Robert M'Bride, Minister of the Gospel at Ballymony, to the care of Mr Nathaniel Wilson, Merchant in Belfast.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—It's only this night that I have the result of the Conference you were present at in Edinburgh, together with the opinion of such as conversed upon the same subject after you left the town. I am informed that a copy of this comes to you directly from Edinburgh, committed to Mr Montier, who is to send it to Belfast, with orders to send it thence to you by an express.

But knowing how earnest you will be to have this, I have sent another copy of it here to Mr Macknight, that if a vessel be coming off from Irvine he may send it straight to you as directed, or if that do not offer, I have desired him to send it by post to Belfast, and have signified to Mr Wilson my desire that it may be forwarded to you without delay.

For my own share, I go in heartily with what are the sentiments of that occasional meeting, and presume further to add, that as the pacific act was a step of brotherly condescension to scruplers at subscription, and the lowest that, with any safety to the purity of doctrine, you could come, so by all means the observance of it ought to be looked to, and the breakers of it admonished; and if they refuse and separate, the breach lies at their door.

I shall only take the liberty to add, that the brethren who have given their thoughts upon this subject, and whom you know, did not find it necessary to sign the paper, neither was it proper in my opinion; but I can assure you we will not refuse to own and stand to this, if it be any way useful or necessary for the support of our

reverend and dear brethren in Ireland. Principal Chalmers did not send west your book, so you must send me the Vindication, the Queries, More Light, and all published since you left Ireland. I know you will not fail to send by post a full account of your Synod, and I shall be a canal to your friends at Edinburgh. I presume to give my humble duty to worthy Mr Upton, and all my brethren with you of my acquaintance; and am, Rev. Dear Brother, yours most affectionately.

June 11, 1722.

LETTER CCXLVIII.

BRUCE'S LETTER AGAINST WODROW'S HISTORY.

To the Rev. Mr Archibald Napier, Minister at Kilmadock.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours of the 18th by the bearer, and as I am much satisfied with your good opinion of the first volume of my History, so I am in your debt for sending me the print letter directed to me, which please to receive again with the bearer.

When you see my second volume, you'll find that I have answered Mr Bruce, who is said to be the author of that scurrilous paper;¹ that is, I have said all I thought proper to be said at that time to the printed letter; and since it seems the second volume is not come to your country, I have enclosed a double of what you'll see in print when it comes. This is what my friends at Edinburgh thought enough, and several of them more than enough, and, indeed, the most whom I consulted were of opinion so general and unmannerly a paper did not deserve any notice at all.

¹ Of this Letter see before, p. 647. It was dated May 10, 1722, and signed *Philanax*.

The ill-nature in the three first pages is such general assertions and plain raillery, that unless I should learn banter and Billingsgate, which I still thought below a historian, there is no answering it. The rest is only a scheme of what is further said to be designed. When that appears, it will be time enough to consider it. All my facts in the first volume remain in their strength, as far as I can observe, after all he has said. I remember nothing that he advanceth, save that I give Sir George Mackenzie the lie ; indeed, I contradict him, and give my reasons for it : That I tell not where my vouchers are, save the Registers—where in all the world can they be, but in mine own hands, where every body is welcome to see them ? That I have my informations from rebels and rebels' children—from whom should I have them, but from the people who could give them, and were personally present ? And that I have mixed in extraneous things, as the debates betwixt the Primate and Bishop of Dunblane—I have given the reasons of this in my preface, and the History itself. These are all the facts at present I remember he advanceth ; and, really, such things are scarce worth noticing. And if the opposite party with you have no more to produce in their defence than the letter writer has brought, or, for what I can observe, even promises to bring, their noise seems ill grounded, and their bulwarks weak.

However, Dear Brother, since you have read the letter, and know much better than I the improvements our common adversaries make of it, I shall be very glad you draw up your thoughts on it, and if you'll please to communicate them with me, you shall have my opinion most frankly. Another hand than mine may be in many respects fitter to chastise Mr Bruce, and may retaliate him in his own coin with a better grace than it's proper for me to do ; especially that I have already printed my thoughts in the enclosed. I return you my kindest respects and thanks for your brotherly concern in this matter ; and am, in haste, Dear Brother, yours most affectionately.

Eastwood, June 19, 1722.

LETTER CCXLIX.

LIVES OF EMINENT MEN.—WODROW'S MS. COLLECTIONS.

To James Fraser, Esq., at his Lodgings in Haymarket, London.

DEAR SIR,—I have yours of the third by post, for which I heartily thank you. Being abroad for some days, I could not return this to you so soon as I otherwise would have done. My second volume was published in May, and I would, ere this time, have sent up your copies, and a copy for his Majesty, the Prince and Princess, had I not been waiting to hear from you, whether I might promise myself the pleasure of seeing you once more in Scotland, which I was extremely fond of. Since you have put off your journey to us till the spring, I shall, as soon as I hear from you again, order up the copies for the Royal Family, and your own, when you acquaint me how to direct them to your care, which I beg you'll do by post as soon as this comes to hand.

I thank you for your remarks on the first volume, which I shall carefully keep, and if I have any opportunity I shall make the amendments and additions you purpose. You'll be so kind as to send me your remarks on the second volume when it comes to hand.

You'll have heard of a printed letter by a Jacobite reviewer, Mr Bruce, an advocate, upon my first volume, which is so flat and low, that I was in a strait whether to take notice of it at all. You will see what I have said upon it at the end of the preface to the second volume.

You have extremely obliged me by acquainting me with the design of your ingenious friend upon the lives of great persons. A biography of eminent persons in Britain is a work I have been much longing for, and you'll see in several places of my History I regret our want of a Scotch Biography. I was glad to observe a

declared inclination to write the lives of our remarkably learned men, in a person for whom I have a very high value, though I have not the honour of his acquaintance, the worthy and laborious Mr John Chamberlain, signified in his late dedication of the Abridgment of the Memoirs of the French Academy of Sciences, to my Lord Chief-Justice Parker. No doubt, this excellent person being Secretary to the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, is of your acquaintance, and when I read yours, he presently came into my thoughts ; and it will add to the pleasure of your account if he be the person you point at.

But, whoever it be that is engaged in that excellent design, and especially that he is your friend, [he] may command any thing in my power as to Mr Henderson and Mr Gillespie, or any other of our Scotsmen ; and if your friend will do me the favour as write me, by post, a hint of the method he takes in forming the lives he designs, and the particulars he would be satisfied in as to these two, I shall labour to give him as much light as I can, from any papers I have. At present, I remember that I have several original letters of Mr Henderson, and some papers formed by him, 1638, &c. I have a copy of his reply to the King's last paper in their debate, which you know is printed, and I doubt not but I may be in case to gather several other things from the collections of Mr Baillie, as to Mr George Gillespie, beside what hints are in his printed papers. I have twenty or thirty of his original letters when at the Westminster Assembly ; his speech giving an account of his procedure at London to our General Assembly on his return ; and I know his notes which he took of what passed in the Westminster Assembly, in twelve or fourteen volumes, are yet remaining in his grandchild's hands, a minister here of my acquaintance. If your friend do me the honour to write to me, let him direct to the care of the Postmaster at Glasgow, and it will come safe to me three times a-week. Any thing in my power to gratify you or any of your friends when I know of it, is a peculiar pleasure to me, and were it otherwise, I should be unaccountably ungrate, since my obligations are greater to you than I can possibly express ;

and you have added to them by the valuable passages in Spotswood's MSS. you have caused transcribe for me, which I am longing for ; and they will be no small addition to my collections of papers relative to our Scots affairs, which I am so vain as to say are perhaps as numerous as in any private person's hand here ; my press of manuscripts consisting of forty folios, about a hundred quartos, and about thirty octavos, mostly relative to the History of our Nation and Church. Forgive my folly in this. I never signified so much to another, and my aim is, if the Lord preserve us till next spring that you come down, to tempt you to come the length of Eastwood, where you shall see them, and I hope they will divert you a day or two in this retired place. And as soon as you advertise me, I'll come in to Edinburgh and wait on you west hither.

A day or two since, my Lord Ross, who has you kindly remembered, told me he had some things you sent with him to me, but he has quite forgot what they were. If you mind the pamphlets or books you were so kind as to trouble him with, let me know by your next, and I'll easily fall on them among what pamphlets and books my Lord has brought down.

When your painful companion, the gout, does not trouble you, allow me the pleasure of hearing as oft from you as possible, by post, and send me your direction again. I wish this reach you, and I'll be impatient to hear that it's come to hand, because my address here, I fear, be too general. Meanwhile, I am, Dear Sir, in the greatest sincerity, your most affectionate and obedient servant.

Eastwood, July 24, 1722.

LETTER CCL.

WODROW'S HISTORY.—RELIGIOUS NEWS.

To the Rev. Dr Cotton Mather, Minister of the Gospel at Boston.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—It was with no small regret that I found Captain Watson come in to Clyde from Boston, without any letter from my much-valued friends in New England ; and the more, that it's now more than two years, if I forget not, since I had the pleasure of hearing from you. I cannot permit myself to think but you have writt since, but your desirable letters have not come to my hand, which is my great loss.

It were unpardonable ingratitude, however, in me, not to lay hold of every occasion which offers, to acknowledge the ties I am under by your former letters, and even those you write to me, that come not to my hand ; and having the opportunity of this ship, though I have little of any importance to communicate with you, I could not [but] send my most humble duty to your aged parent, who, I hope, is still alive, and bringing forth fruit in his old age ; and you'll please to accept of my kindest remembrance.

When I hear not from yourself, I am pleased to know by a letter from Mr Stirling to his father, that the first volume of my History of our Sufferings is come to you, and I very much long to have your sentiments and remarks upon it, and your venerable father's, if it was worth his while to look into it. It has abundantly ruffled the spirits of our Jacobites and Prelatists here, and I had a very virulent and ill-natured letter sent me in print, where I was glad to find none of the facts I had advanced convell'd, and so I wrote what I thought such an address deserved, in a few lines at the end of my preface to my second volume, which, if Captain Watson please to take the trouble of, shall be sent you with this letter ; and

by your next I'll promise myself the satisfaction of your observes upon both together.

I have little to acquaint you with from this country since my last. Our General Assembly, in May last, brought our troublesome debate about the Marrow of Modern Divinity to an end, of which it's not worth your while to give you a detail. I hope, through the Divine goodness, Antinomianism shall never take root in this Church.

We enjoy much peace and pure ordinances ; but we have much reason to lament the departure of power and glory. And the alarm of the pestilence has been far from amending us, and, therefore, I fear many are hardened by it. The Gospel has very little fruit, and the ignorant and unholy continue so still, and matters will continue worse and worse until the Spirit be poured down from on high. And we may have a spirit of judgment and burning. Oh ! that it may be a preface (if it shall be sent) to our Lord's merciful return.

May I hope, I am sure I wish it, that things may be better with you in New England ? Your last to me bare that you wanted not a share in the general decay that is almost everywhere upon powerful godliness and practical religion. I shall rejoice to have better accounts. You have our prayers here, and I question not but the Church of Scotland has a share in your wrestlings.

I have more than ordinary work before me in the dispensation of the Supper to this congregation, and must break off with my earnest desires to have a large account of matters with you, and your last account of the Missionaries in the East Indies. Anything from them these three or four years will be most welcome to me, and your sentiments of this dark and cloudy day on all the Churches of Christ. I am, Rev. Dear Sir, yours most affectionately,

R. WODROW.

August 1, 1722.

LETTER CCLI.

CONTROVERSY IN IRELAND.—HALYBURTON ON DEISM.

To the Rev. Mr Benjamin Colman, Minister at Boston.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—It was no small disappointment to me when I found a ship come in to the Clyde from Boston, and no letters from you. I can impute this to nothing but your not knowing of the vessel's coming here ; and I earnestly beg you may give yourself the trouble to get notice of any ships coming to us, that I may not be so long in hearing from one of my dearest friends. It's now running to three years since I have heard from you, which is not easy to me. However, it's somewhat satisfying that I know from Mr Stirling that the first volume of my History is come to your hands, and I hope by him or some others to hear from you.

No occasion that I can come to the knowledge of shall be missed in writing to you, though I have little of consequence to impart. You have had our sympathy here under the raging distemper of the small-pox at Boston ; and it has been no small pleasure to me to read your Essay upon Inoculation, and the Letter answering the difficulties objected against it, published by Mr Neal at London. The solidity and judiciousness of that account is very much observed by any here that have read it, and I very heartily thank you for it.

Matters here are much as when I wrote last. Our Assembly, in May, brought that troublesome affair of some ministers that had made a Representation in favour of the Marrow of Modern Divinity to an issue, and declared the unsafe tendency of several propositions advanced by them. I wish the matter may end here, and the brethren abstain from some ways of expressing themselves, which are not for edification.

You'll have heard of the debates among the Dissenters in Ire-

land about Confessions last year; and I send you a copy of the Resolutions of their last General Synod upon that head,¹ in case it be not come to your hand from some other airt.

My second volume of the History of our Sufferings was published May last; and if the captain of this ship, Mr Watson, can be prevailed with to take the trouble of it, you'll receive it; and I hope you'll send me your remarks upon it and the former vo-

¹ This Synod met at Londonderry, June 23, 1722. The following is a copy of their Resolutions:—"The Synod, seriously considering the vast importance and necessity of our continuing in that close union among ourselves, which hath ever been the happiness, security, and glory of this Church, and the fearful mischiefs that would inevitably ensue upon a rupture or breach of communion among us, in order to the removing of all grounds of division, and preserving our peace, came to the following Resolutions:—

"1. Considering how the Holy Scriptures are perverted by many heretics in the visible Church, and pleaded in defence of their various errors, this Synod, therefore, resolveth, that declaring articles of faith only, in Scripture words and expressions, shall not be accepted as a sufficient evidence of a person's soundness in the faith by this Church.

"2. This Synod resolves most firmly and constantly to adhere to the Westminster Confession, as being founded on the Word of God, and agreeable thereunto.

"3. That this Synod does and will cleave unto and maintain the Presbyterian government and discipline hitherto exercised among us, according to our known rules, agreeable to the Holy Scriptures.

"4. This Synod, though they adhere to the subscribing of the Westminster Confession of Faith as a test of orthodoxy, yet they desire to exercise Christian forbearance towards our brethren now actually in the ministry in this Church, with respect to their different sentiments on this head, provided always they govern themselves according to the Acts of Synods in this Church, and do not disturb the peace thereof.

"5. Though this Synod will not impose upon the consciences of such of our people as scruple submission to the ministry of our Non-subscribing brethren, yet we earnestly and most seriously exhort all of them to condescend, as far as their consciences will allow them, in adhering to their pastors."

Mr Masterton, who communicates these resolutions to Wodrow, adds:—"You must know that the Non-subscribing members gave no vote in any of the within Resolutions, but they made no opposition to them. All the rest of the Synod voted for them, except two ministers, who dissented. Many of the people are much displeased that the Non-subscribing ministers were not either obliged to subscribe the Confession, or declared to be no members of the Synod. Very few congregations will allow these Non-subscribing ministers to assist as formerly at the Lord's Supper. I am much afraid our wounds are but slightly healed, and are likely to break out afresh."

—(*Letters to Wodrow*, vol. xx. No. 168.)

lume. Our prelatists here, who are all Jacobites, are not a little grated by it, and, when they cannot controvert the facts I have advanced from the public registers, they are turned to the low game of raillery and Billingsgate. I had a letter of this make, printed and sent me, to which you'll see the return I made at the end of the preface to the second volume.

Please also to receive a book in quires of a very eminent divine here, Mr Halyburton, Professor of Divinity in one of our Universities, against the Deists. He died some years ago, and his widow, who printed this and some other of his books, and has a numerous family, has some hundreds of them upon her hand, importuned me to send over a copy to my friends at Boston, to see if some dozens of them could be disposed of with you. I have taken the liberty to send this copy to you, and to beg you'll peruse it, and see if any of your booksellers will take any of them; and, if there may be any sale of them, I'll send over fifty or a hundred copies to be disposed of. There are about sixty sheets, and to booksellers the widow will give them in sheets at three shillings and fourpence. If you can, after perusal, recommend them, it will be a service to a worthy widow and family of an eminent servant of Christ. The book is above my recommendation, as you'll soon perceive upon the reading of it. As you shall advertise me by your next, I shall send to your care by the first occasion. Forgive this freedom that I take.

I have the sacrament of the Supper before me in this place, and I must break off, with my earnest desires to hear from you, with a full account of matters with you. And so, with my most earnest prayers for the Lord's presence with you in your labours, and his rich blessing on your endeavours to promote his kingdom and glory, I am, Rev. Dear Sir, yours most affectionately and sincerely,

R. W.

Eastwood, August 1, 1722.

Please to send me what you have published since your last, and any of the labours of your reverend brethren, especially Mr Wadsworth, whom I highly honour.

LETTER CCLII.

PRESENT OF THE SECOND VOLUME TO THE KING.—WODROW'S MSS.

To James Fraser, Esq., at his Lodgings in Haymarket, London.

DEAR SIR,—I am in your debt for two letters of the 7th and 23d of August. The reason why I have not made a return sooner was, in part, my expecting your friend's Memorial you give me ground to look for, and especially, that I waited till I could advertise you that the copies of the second volume of my History, for his Most Excellent Majesty, and their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, are upon their road to you. They came off from Edinburgh last week by the land-carrier, in a box, for the safety of carriage; and ten copies, exactly collated, were shipped off for yourself at Leith. They are to be delivered to Mr Walter Hood, at the White Periwig, in Devereaux Court, without Temple Bar. I wish they come safe to London; and I hope, as soon as this comes to hand, you'll cause call there for them, and take the most proper time for presenting them to his Majesty, Prince and Princess. They are a present unspeakably below their notice; but since I have had the extraordinary honour of inscribing this History to the best as well as the greatest of Kings, I have presumed to offer, in the humblest manner, the other volume to him and their Royal Highnesses, with my most unfeigned acknowledgments of their goodness in accepting the former volume. The manufacture is altogether Scots, and the subject-matter of the book, I hope, may let the world see the necessity and justice of the never-to-be-forgotten Revolution, and the inexpressible favour of Divine Providence in his Majesty's accession to the throne, when we were on the brink of being sent back to those horrible times I have described. I'll be fond to know when this comes to hand, that you

have received the copies for the Royal Family; and when you have the hour to present them, you'll likewise acquaint me. The Earl of Buchan has desired me after this to send all my letters to you under his cover, which I will do when I hear he is come; and I hope frequently to hear from you by him and Shawfield, and when they do not offer, spare me not by post, and let me know what is remarkable from the learned world, and the books and pamphlets that are published.

I shall say nothing further as to your friend's design upon the Lives of Messrs Henderson and Gillespie. Any thing I have shall be carefully communicate when I have the Memorial. I ask pardon for the mistake in my last, of the Isle of Wight for Newcastle, which dropped in from want of thought and haste. I am making inquiry into the Duke of Hamilton's papers, and thank you for the hint you give me. I doubt they are in such confusion that I shall get little from them; but I have a project in my head to see what may be done, and have some hopes of access to the archives of the family of Douglas and the Earl of Loudon, whence I hope for some accession to my collection. But these things take some time.

I shall, by my next, give you some hint of my manuscripts, as you desire in your last, and the titles of some of the most remarkable of them. I have no view of parting with them, but am most willing to communicate copies and extracts to any lovers of truth, and such who are willing to set any branch of our history in its just light. I had only an account last post of the sending up the copies to London, and would not fail to acquaint you by this post. By my next you shall have a longer trouble from, Dear Sir, in haste, your most affectionate friend and servant,

R. W.

Eastwood, Sept. 14, 1722.

LETTER CCLIII.

EXCEPTION TO WODROW'S HISTORY.

To Daniel Campbell of Shawfield, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—I have the favour of your kind letter of the 25th only this night late; and though it be Saturday night, I could not delay my acknowledgment of your kindness in it. Some weeks ago, when Mr James Stirling wrote to me that your lady was troubled at that passage you cite, I wrote to him what then offered. Perhaps he has not communicate them with your lady, as I desired him, and, therefore, you will allow me to resume the substance as far as I remember.

When I read over that part of the copy for the press, I did indeed observe nothing in the passage, as you are pleased to do me the justice to suppose, that reflected on Sir William Denholm's memory, which I very much honour, otherwise I had never let it slip. And when I look to it as it stands in print, I can scarce suppose any one who reads distinctly as it's pointed, can reasonably join Sir William to the murderers of the Archbishop more than any named before them. You'll observe the paragraph you cite is not my words, but the abstract of the rewards the Council offer for apprehending those they termed traitors and fugitives, and in all their proclamations they never fail to mix in the Archbishop's murderers with such. The proclamation itself, which I am here giving the detail of, stands in full length in the Appendix, as you'll see page 156. When I compare them I see the Council's words are just according to my citation of them. I can scarce think the Council had any view to join Sir William with the murderers of the Archbishop; far less, you'll believe, that I in repeating their words; and by comparing both it will appear plain that *the murderers of the Archbishop*

will only knit with *Balfour and Fleming*. Certainly, any body that reads this volume, either as to that murder or the character which more than once I give to Sir William, can never think he was one of the murderers, more than any other of the excellent persons for whom they offer premiums in that proclamation ; so that I cannot but hope Sir William's memory cannot be lesed by this passage.

But if you, and better judges than I may be, shall think otherwise, and direct me to any proper method to set this matter right, I shall most willingly fall in with it ; for I assure you of my utmost regard to that excellent person's memory, and I owe yet a greater concern to truth and justice.

Upon Monday I go to the Synod at Irvine ; and if you be not soon going to the Parliament, I'll come in afterwards and wish you a safe journey, and receive your commands, and know your opinion on this matter, as I have, according to my view of it, laid it before you. I give my most humble duty to your lady ; and am, Dear Sir, your very much obliged and most humble servant.

Eastwood, September 29, 1722.

If I shall not be so happy as to wait on you before you go to London, I'll be glad to hear from you there, where I have given you so much trouble.

LETTER CCLIV.

WODROW'S HISTORY.

To James Fraser, Esq., at his Lodging, Haymarket, London.

DEAR SIR,—I had yours last post of the 3d, which I was impatient for, and am much pleased to find the copies for the Royal Family are come safe to your hand. The copies for yourself were sent up by sea about the same time the other came by land. Our

coasting voyages are so uncertain that it seems the ship is not arrived ; but I have written to my bookseller at Edinburgh to know what advices he has about that ship. Meanwhile, if you have no further accounts about them, let me know, and I'll make further inquiry.

It will be very proper you delay the presenting of the King's copy till you have a fit opportunity ; but whenever that offers, never stop for want of your own copies ; for by this I give you a commission in my name to call for as many copies as you want, for gratifying the great men about court, from Mr M'Ewen's factor, and when your own comes to hand, you may fill up their room with these. But I would fain hope by this time there will be some account of them.

The gratification you are so kindly concerned about is what I neither deserve nor am anxious about. I have only done my duty ; and the honour allowed me to dedicate the History to my most gracious Sovereign is a sufficient recompence. Our Jacobites and the enemies to the King and the Succession in his family are galled and fretted with the accounts I have given of the severities of the period I undertook, and the transient hints in favour of King George's undoubted right, and against the Pretender ; and from them I expect no quarter. But I am easy that way ; it's a good cause to suffer in.

The *nefandum scelus* the minister of Hamilton was charged with was sodomy. I could have given other instances of atrocious villainies on the other side ; but for the sake of the common interests of Protestantism, and the credit of our country, I chose to draw a veil over them. The gentlemen of the other side, as you justly observe, would not be so very tender of us, had they matter to go upon ; but they are a miserable rule to copy after.

I have the first edition of Calderwood's *Altare Damascenum*, with the answer to Spotswood at the end of it, of which you acquaint me ; and a compend of this large work, which he entitles *The Altar of Damascus*. I have several things of this great man and honour to our country, in manuscript, and am in quest of more.

By my next, if you desire, I shall give you a taste of some of our Scots historians I have among my manuscripts, several of which deserve well to see the light. Meantime, at your convenience, haste to me the castrations of Spotswood. And when your friend's Memorial about Messrs Henderson and Gillespie comes, I shall give the best return to it I can.

I shall now be in some better case than I was to do somewhat that way, since these several weeks bygone I have been forming a list of my manuscripts and pamphlets, of which I have a pretty large collection, some more than three hundred volumes, according to the years they relate to, and the various subjects and persons they give account of. This I hope to get through in a week or two; and then I'll be better in case than formerly to make use of them myself, and communicate the contents of them with my friends.

Meanwhile, pray let me hear frequently from you, with all that is going as to new books and pamphlets, the state of learning, and the late progress of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, and the Missionaries in the East Indies particularly. You may write to me under Shawfield's cover, and for a change under my Lord Buchan's cover, to whom I give my humble respects. I humbly thank you for all your favours, and pray the Lord may continue you in health for the encouragement of learning, the comfort of your friends, and, in particular, of, Dear Sir, in the greatest sincerity,
yours most affectionately,

R. W.

Nov. 12, 1722.

LETTER CCLV.

SUBSCRIPTION CONTROVERSY IN ENGLAND.—NEWS.

To Mr John Evans, Preacher of the Gospel at London.

DEAR MR EVANS,—I have yours of the 22d instant this night, which was extremely welcome when I saw your hand on the back of it. Your complaint in the entry touched me very nearly, but would have been heavier to me had I been guilty of silence after my earnest and sincere desires of a correspondence with one whom I shall ever dearly love, after the receipt of two from you. Indeed, I had a short line from you a few days after you arrived at Shrewsbury, which was extremely welcome, that it brought me the account of your safe arrival. I ask your pardon that I did not answer it, and hope to receive it, when I tell you that little offered at that time worth writing; but the true reason was, that you made me to hope very soon for another, which it seems has lost its way to me, and that I regret. I still waited for it, and frequently inquired at Glasgow if there were letters from you to others. I found you had writ about that time to some of our friends, but still expected your second, till I began to think you might be removed from Shrewsbury somewhere else, where your first direction might not find you. Now that you have delivered me from this fear, you shall not find me negligent in writing; and I heartily thank you for writing the third time. It's a token of your regard to me, I, indeed, did not deserve, and had your second either not been promised or come to my hand, I should not have been so deep in your debt as now I confess I am. Afterwards let us make mutual allowances for those incidental things, when at such distance. You have cast me a good copy, and I hope to follow it.

It grieves me to the heart to hear that the differences 'twixt the

Subscribers and Non-subscribers are, after they seemed to be sopited, breaking out again.¹ Nothing that has fallen out in my time has affected me more than these lamentable breaches, because they very much affect our common interests as Protestants, and expose us extremely to the Papists. Pray fail not to acquaint me with all that passes upon that unhappy subject. I glanced the Appeal to a Turk, and am almost tempted to differ from the Rev. Mr Watts' opinion of it, and to attribute his opinion of that paper to his own extreme modesty. The proofs he brought for the important doctrine of Trinity are, and, on such a subject, must [be,] of various kinds, and some of them of brighter evidence than others. But I have not observed any of his strongest and most convincing proofs weakened.

It pleases me to hear that Dr Waterland's answer to Jackson is ready, and likewise that he has communicate it to Dr Calamy and Mr Watts. That debate, when extended to the mazes of the Fathers' expressions, turns very dry and tasteless to me; and I was quite wearied with the idle and forced criticisms this way in Mr Jackson's last piece. If I may venture to say any thing on this subject, from my small reading of the Fathers of the three first ages, that performance lies very open to the Doctor's remarks.

¹ "I find, unhappily, that the differences between Subscribers and Non-subscribers are again renewed. Mr Reynolds, in his printed funeral sermon, [on the death of Mr Pomfret,] had some flings at the Non-subscribers, wherein they thought themselves injured. This one of that party answered, viz. Mr [Simon] Brown, in 'A Letter to Mr Reynolds,' which he is now considering and preparing his remarks for the press. Mr Brown's Letter, in some passages, carries too much keenness and satire. For my part, I am troubled at the heats and passion of both sides, and, since my coming, have preached for the one and the other."

"I suppose you have seen the Appeal to a Turk or an Indian, in answer to Mr Watts' book on the Trinity, who owns it deserves a serious consideration, and will not trouble the world with his thoughts on that head, till he thinks he has something to purpose, for he confesses the answer has given him to see the weakness of some of his proofs that he laid no small stress on. Yet he can't see any reason to alter his thoughts as to the point of dispute. Dr Waterland's answer to Jackson's last performance is now in the press, and will be out very soon."—(Evans to Wodrow.)

Mr Dunlop's sermons are near printed off. How far they may be hindered by the printer's death, I cannot say; but as soon as published, I'll send them to you, as soon as you direct me how and where to cause leave them at London. That letter to Mr Allan Logan was given at Edinburgh to my Lord Grange; but I can scarce believe him capable of writing such a paper. Indeed, I can't say who has writ it. Mr Dunlop wanted not his enemies when alive, and people very ungenerously take more liberty with him when he is not to answer for himself. There was another paper yet more empty and bitter, published in May last—Reasons why Mr Dunlop's preface should not be added to the Confession of Faith. Those, and the performance of the Author of the Occasional Paper, may be thoroughly considered when the third volume of our Confessions is published, which I likewise fear may be retarded by Mr Watson, the printer, his death.

Any accounts I can give you at present of our affairs in Scotland are of little importance; yet, that you may see how willing I am, had I any thing worth your while to communicate, I shall not pass them altogether.

The Commission met on the 14th, and sent up an address to his Majesty, which you will see before this reach you; and, to awaken us to proper duty at such a dangerous juncture, wrote a letter to presbyteries, warning of our present danger, and exciting to prayer and unity. Probably it will be in your English prints also. Mr M'Laren, for whom you and I have so just a regard, was unanimously transported to Glasgow. He appeared passive in the matter, and his fitness for that place nobody can doubt; and these are the cases wherein transportations only ought to be granted. The only difficulty was his being planted in a Highland congregation. To answer that, it was represented that at Glasgow there are four or five hundred Highlanders who do not understand the English, so far as to attend ordinances; and these were disjoined from the other ministers, and put under his inspection, with a recommendation to the [rest of] his colleagues to ease him of common work, in proportion to that additional charge.

When I am at Glasgow, I am sorry that I cannot tell you their breaches are healed. In October a virulent pamphlet was published, entitled, *The Case of the College*, full of bitter and injurious reflections upon the Principal, Professor of Divinity, and Mr Carmichael, where all the late differences are raked up, and set in a very unfair light. Our poet is alleged to be the author of it. The magistrates seized the impression. In short, matters are very little mended since you left us.

Our Jacobites are very uppish, notwithstanding the discovery of the plot, and we are informed that within these eight days upwards of a hundred of those in the Rebellion are come from France.

From Ireland, I find matters are but skinned over; and it's to be wished their breaches be not soon renewed, as yours seem to be at London. By my last letters from Boston, I find they have set up a yearly lecture for a course of sermons as to the youth and rising generation, which I am pleased to hear. But why should I trouble you with accounts from other places when at London, where you cannot miss to have better accounts from all the churches of Christ than we can pretend to here?

Let me put an end to your trouble, by begging you'll not spare me post. If I encroach not on your more important business, let me hear from you once a month, and as much oftener as you please. One thing I am persuaded of, that you can never want matter wherewith to entertain me while at London. And if the Lord, in his Providence, order out your continuance there, I'll promise myself a great deal of pleasure in a stated correspondence with you. Let me have your accounts of the new books and pamphlets that are coming out. Let me have what you'll glean up as to the state of all the Churches of Christ, from your excellent conversation. What are your Societies for Reformation of Manners doing? Is your Society for Propagating the Gospel doing anything further than spreading Liturgy and Prayer-books? What are your last accounts from the Danish missionaries in the East Indies? Who is preaching at Boyle's Lectures? I have seen nothing since Dr J. Clerk's overly and loose performance. Will this Parliament do anything for the

Dissenters? Is there any talking of a comprehension bill? I long to see Mr Watts' Treatise on Psalmody he promised some years ago. What is Dr Samuel Clarke a-doing? Is he turned over frankly to the Socinians, or still setting up for himself? You know my Athenian temper, and what answers my taste, and cannot want abundance to satisfy it. You'll likewise guess at the poor returns to be expected from this retired corner. But your goodness in promising to write to me, and your particular kindness in continuing to write when I was silent, and the friendship you still have favoured me with, give me good hopes you'll write often, and at as great length as possibly you can. I'll inquire for that Mr Hamilton you speak of, whom I wish you had more particularly described. Your address is likewise a little indefinite; but I send this at a venture as you direct, and I'll be impatient till I hear you have received it. My wife remembers you most kindly. Fail not to write as soon as you can. Great grace be with you! I am, Dear Sir, in the greatest sincerity, yours most affectionately.

Nov. 28, 1722.

When you have any occasions to Edinburgh or Glasgow, send me any books or pamphlets a-going, and keep account of them, and I'll remit the money to you as you direct, or send you equivalents. You know my taste, and what you would wish to see were you here and I at London. Repeat your accounts in your last. What has the Convocation done that they are adjourned? What is Mr Pierce doing?

LETTER CCLVI.

ROYAL DONATION TO WODROW FOR HIS HISTORY.—THE LIFE OF
ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

*Mr James Fraser to Wodrow.*¹

London, December 4, 1722.

REV. SIR,—My last to you was of Saturday was se'nnight, in which I sent you the castration of Spotswood's History, in three sheets of a close hand, with the leading words and pages where they were to be inserted; and now I send you an account of the three copies you sent me for the King and their Royal Highnesses, which I have all delivered. That to the King I had the honour to present to his Majesty on Friday last, being St Andrew's, the Lord Viscount Townshend being by. I made a short speech to the King, importing the value of the book, and the pains and integrity of the author, asserting nothing but what was avouched by the journals of Parliament, of the Council and Justiciary Court; justifying the Revolution more undeniably and unanswerably than all the books that have appeared since the Revolution; that the behaviour of the Established Church of Scotland, and of all the Protestant Dissenters in England and Ireland since that period, has been an irrefragable demonstration of fact, that all the sermons preached in King Charles the Second and King James the Second's reign, wherein the Dissenters have been maliciously calumniated, as anti-monarchical, republicans, and seditious, principles that would bear with no government, were groundless, by their unexceptionable behaviour since the Revolution, that allowed them the free exercise of their religion; that no sort of persons were more entirely affectionated to

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. xxi. No. 21.

his Majesty's government and family than the Established Church of Scotland ; that their addresses to his Majesty proceeded from their hearts, and not from their lips only ; that none of those denominations had been concerned in any riot, sedition, or rebellion, during [any] period ; and that no nation in the world produced more illustrious instances of courage, Christian heroism, and firmness of mind in suffering to the last for their religious and civil rights, than those of Scotland ; and that they underwent more hardships, oppression, and illegal treatment, in two years after the Restoration, than they had done in twelve years before, under the English usurpation. A great deal more to this purpose I took the liberty to declare to the King, which his Majesty was pleased to allow of, and inquired particularly of you as the author of the book. Whereupon his Majesty was pleased to gratify you with a present of a hundred pounds, which my Lord Townshend undertook to get delivered to me for your use, and as soon as it comes into my hands, it shall be immediately remitted to you. Yesterday morning I waited on their Royal Highnesses, and delivered them, in their distinct apartments, your book. I had the honour to talk to the Prince near half an hour in commendation of the usefulness of your book, on the same topics I did to the King, which his Royal Highness graciously received with abundance of thanks to you. I had the same honour in addressing myself to her Royal Highness, and omitted nothing that was fit to be said on the occasion, and all was graciously received. It has given occasion to some eminent persons, especially some of the Judges, as the Prince's Chancellor, to be desirous of the books, and I addressed them to Mr M'Ewen's factor here in London to satisfy their curiosity in that point. The Bishops of Lincoln, Durham, and some others, are fond of having both the volumes, and are directed to the same place for their satisfaction.

My friend that I mentioned to you in my former, who is gathering materials for Mr Henderson's Life, desires of you to be informed of the following particulars. 1. What family and extract he was of. 2. The time and place of his birth. 3. Where he made his studies. 4. Where he was ordained, and by what Bishop.

5. What his motives were to leave the Episcopal Church. 6. What book it is where Mr Gillespie confutes his pretended recantation, and a transcript of that passage is required, and a copy of his last paper, in answer to King Charles the First's last printed paper; and what moved him to suppress it. This is all at present from your most affectionate friend and humble servant,

JAMES FRASER.

LETTER CCLVII.

REPLY TO THE FOREGOING.

To James Fraser, Esq., London.

DEAR SIR,—I am at a loss what returns to make to yours last post, December 4. It brings, with a great deal of pleasure, to my mind a deep sense of the undeserved kindness you have heaped on me ever since our first happy rencounter at Glasgow. It's some satisfaction to a grateful mind to think upon the obligations to their friends, even when they have little prospect of being able to make any proportioned returns, which is my case. Your first letter to me from Edinburgh, after your glancing over my History in MS., and the favourable opinion so good a judge expressed of it, brought me over not a few difficulties, to serious thoughts of letting it go abroad to the world. It will be but troublesome to you to repeat your after favours, of which I shall still retain a fresh sense. But if there be in my History anything useful, you have a very great share in this, more than any other breathing.

Once and again I signified to you, that as I had undeserved honour allowed me by the King's Majesty, in permitting me to publish this work under his patronage, so I neither expected nor deserved any gratification; and I can, in the utmost sincerity, say no such thing was ever in my view. And now, when you signify his Majesty's gracious acceptance of the work, and the great and

unmerited mark of his royal bounty he has been pleased to put upon me, in ordering so handsome a present, in the greatest humility I presume to return my most unfeigned and hearty acknowledgments.

You'll please to let me know whether, upon my receiving the King's present, it be fit that I write to my Lord Townshend, and beg he make my humble acknowledgments to the King for so great a favour. I know these returns from persons in my mean circumstances are not worth the while of great men, who have so much business. But I would not willingly be wanting in any thing that is decent and ordinary in such cases. When I know you have received the King's compliment, I shall direct you how to dispose of it.

This I can say, that the kind acceptance of this work by his Majesty, the information you have had the honour to give to the best of Kings, of the state and loyalty of Scots Presbyterians, and our brethren on the same bottom of reformation and liberty with us, the Non-conformists in England and Ireland, and the vouchers of this, if his Majesty shall ever have the leisure to cast his eye upon the History, with the evidence of regard (may I say) his Majesty has been pleased to show to the Church of Scotland, whose sufferings I have described,—bear much more bulk in my eye in this matter, than the generous gratification the King has bestowed on me.

Be assured, I shall set about answering your queries as soon as may be ; as to his birth,¹ &c., I doubt I shall be able to give little information ; but I shall write to my acquaintances in Fife and at Edinburgh, and get what hints I can, and give you all I can gather from his letters, and other things of his I have.

I almost forgot to thank you for the castrations of Spotswood, which contain some very considerable things. My edition is the third, London, 1668, and your references agree for a hundred pages, and then I lose you. I am looking about for the fourth edi-

¹ The birth, &c. of Alexander Henderson. These queries are answered by Wodrow in a Memorial, which occurs early in vol. iii. of this Correspondence.

tion you refer to, but have not got it. Receive enclosed a taste of some of my MSS. relating to our Scots history in general, which with a good many others you shall see, if it please the Lord you come down to Scotland, where I'll be fond to wait on, that I may acknowledge my inability to make any suitable returns to the vast obligations you have laid me under, by word of mouth. Till then, and ever, believe that I am, Dear Mr Fraser, yours, &c.

Dec. 12, 1722.

LETTER CCLVIII.

M'MAIN'S ACCUSATIONS AGAINST WODROW.

To William M'Farlan.

SIR,—I have yours of the 21st, and by the proposals you send me, I see the paper is not that of Mr Brown, which I have; neither is it that valuable history of Mr M'Ward I was telling you I heard of, but had not seen; though I am ready to fear the publisher of the proposals takes it for his History of the Defections of the Church of Scotland, when he says it's much valued and desired by many.

The use of printing any more upon the divisions about the Indulgence I have not seen, and have declared my opinion publicly enough against reviving our flames upon that head; and so I must decline encouraging any thing of this kind, especially till I know that the papers designed to be published are his whose you say they are. I have a great value for Mr M'Ward's memory, and know many papers were handed about, said to be his, that were not so; and unless your friend have more to evict them to be Mr M'Ward's than Mr Goodal's saying so, (if he be the person, I mean,) it's not enough.

The letter of Mr M'Ward's I promised to let you see, is bound up with many other papers in a large volume ; and you may see and compare it with what of it I have printed, if you come out here. But you seem not to consider the value and importance of original manuscripts, when you talk of my sending them in to John Gillies's. Every body is welcome to see any of the vouchers of my History ; but it's fit they be still in mine own hands, and not sent abroad at an uncertainty. I do not expect that any body would blame me for lending any thing that is my own, as you insinuate twice, and give your word that I shall not be blamed. For the imputation you threaten me with, at the close, of partiality, I can see no reason for it ; so, till it be further explained, it can have no weight with me. I remember something like this was at the close of Mr M'Main's letter ;¹ but it's a strange way of reasoning, that I must be partial if I communicate not with him my manuscripts. He, or any body who blames me for partiality, in any thing I have published, may determine the matter by seeing my vouchers, as I have said. I am, yours affectionately.

Dec. 20, 1722.

LETTER CCLIX.

MARROW CONTROVERSY.—SCOTS BIOGRAPHY.

To Mr John Warden.

DEAR BROTHER,—Your memory fails you, when you think I have had two or three letters since I wrote ; for your last I an-

¹ Mr M'Main seems to have been a character in some respects resembling Patrick Walker, whom we shall afterwards notice, and, like him, an ardent admirer, and out-and-out defender of the old Cameronians. In his publications he is styled, "John

swered, and have writ my opinion once or twice about your Essay on Baptism. But I am the more in your debt, for your writing to me when under such thoughts of my negligence. As to your Essay, bating the things that I remarked, I am fully pleased with it. If you want any more on that subject, I send you enclosed a list of pamphlets I have upon it. I have been sometime classing my pamphlets, and am to fall, if the Lord will, to class my books according to their subjects; but I suppose you had several of my books on that head. I am afraid, if you read much more on it, your Essay turn too large, and so lose much of its design.

The complaints you make as to the present lamentable state of things among us are too just; and, indeed, we are fast going off that foot we were on when our Books of Discipline were formed, and our Covenants entered into. And, were the principles upon which our Books of Discipline go observed, we would not have had such unnecessary debates as we had two years ago; but I see we are not able to bear any change, though never so much to the better, till the Lord give another spirit. The disputes about the Marrow make no impressions I know of in this country; and I have heard almost nothing from that side since the Assembly.

I heartily approve what you acquaint me with, and shall keep it

M'Main, M.A., Schoolmaster at Libberton's Wynd-foot, Edinburgh." In 1723, he edited M'Ward's "Earnest Contendings," &c.; and in the following year, Shields' "Life and Death of James Renwick." In his Epistle to the Reader, prefixed to the latter work, he throws out several reflections against Wodrow, particularly for characterising the principles and proceedings of the Society people, as "*heats, heights, flights, extravagancies, extremities*, and the like." He accuses our historian too, not without some reason, of speaking with too much indifference of the noble, though unsuccessful, struggle made by the martyrs against the tyranny and usurpation of the Stuarts, and too much "in favour of that woeful tyrannical power, as if it were lawful authority." M'Main, however, does not appear to have sided with the followers of Mr M'Millan in denying the lawfulness of the civil government after the Revolution. He seems to have taken his stand on the ground occupied by Renwick, who suffered for refusing to own James VII. to be his lawful Sovereign, on account of his tyranny and oppression,—for maintaining the unlawfulness of paying cess exacted for the avowed purpose of suppressing the free preaching of the Gospel,—and for teaching the duty of carrying arms for self-defence and resisting unjust violence;—crimes which were held to be virtues after the Revolution.

as close as you can wish ;¹ and when you communicate it to any, I'll put in for a share. There may be a right hand error in too much reserve here.

I do not at present expect to be in Glasgow till our Synod, and am as little there as I can. I before wished you would order John to come out to me at his conveniency, and stay a night. You may acquaint him that he will be very welcome ; for I am sure you will not question it.

I am gathering together my scattered papers relative to a Scots Biography ; but whether I shall ever put them in any shape, I cannot say. I wish you would give me any hints you can gather as to ministers and Christians in your bounds, in former times, and at present, and past remarkable providences. Much of God's grace and goodness, and wonderful steps, are like to be buried. Receive the Proposals for Mr Robert Millar's book. It speaks for itself. I have read it, and, as far as I can judge, it will be very useful and satisfying. Whatever encouragement you can get, give receipts, and I shall give you signed receipts for as many as you think you will get. I give my respects to yours, and my niece and her husband. I am, yours most affectionately.

Dec. 27, 1722.

Send Strong, and what else you have of mine, when done with them.

¹ " I tell you a secret which none knows, that I would gladly leave some testimony to the truths of God, in his word, from my own experience ; but mine is so poor, that I design it only for my children and dearest acquaintances, and will leave it as a charge that it never be printed. I have already wrote 124 pages of it in quarto ; but it consists more of my sins than my graces, and my infirmities than my attainments. This, I know, you will keep as it becomes a Christian comrade, for no minister here shall, while I live, hear of it from me."—(*Warden to Wodrow.*)

APPENDIX.

No. I.

PROPOSED ADDRESS TO THE KING ON THE ABJURATION OATH.¹

(See pages 103, 230.)

UNTO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY, THE HUMBLE ADDRESS OF THE
MINISTERS OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, WHO COULD NOT TAKE THE AB-
JURATION AS NOW IMPOSED.

May it please your Majesty,

ALTHOUGH we appear before your Majesty with some disadvantage as not having come up to that particular test of loyalty required by the Oath of Abjuration, yet we can, with a good conscience, declare and vouch before your Majesty our stedfast and inviolable loyalty to your Majesty's person and government, and the most hearty concern for the succession in your Royal Family.

We had occasion, in the late Queen's reign, to give testimony of our entire satisfaction in and zeal for your Majesty's succession, both in our public administrations and frequent declarations in the judicatories of the Church, and the whole of our conduct ; and, therefore, your Majesty's happy and peaceable accession to the throne was by us entertained with a peculiar joy, since which happy period we have not ceased to bless God for you, and to pray, in express terms, for your Majesty and their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, and all your Royal Family ; and have not failed to impress our people with a sense of God's

¹ Letters to Wodrow, vol. x. No. 161.

goodness to this island, in filling the throne to such advantage, and with a sense of their duty to your Majesty, as our only and undoubted rightful and lawful Sovereign.

And now, upon occasion of the present Rebellion, we have laid ourselves out to the utmost of our power to guard our people against the infection of it, and to stir them up to exert themselves in defence of your Majesty's government, and our religion and liberties ; and several of us have been obliged to leave our flocks and families, which they choosed rather to do, than comply with any, even the least demand of the enemy. Nay, we were unanimously ready with person and estate to oppose those ingrate and daring rebels ; and, without vanity, we may say, that we have not come behind any of our brethren in a vigorous appearance for your Majesty's honour and government, in opposition to your rebellious enemies. Wherefore, we most humbly beseech your Majesty, that no impressions may be admitted as if we had any taint of disloyalty, as the foundation and at the bottom of our refusing the Abjuration, which is abundantly well known here, however some may misrepresent us ; insomuch that the very rebels themselves are sufficiently apprised thereof.

There is no difficulty with us as to Allegiance and Assurance, which some of our brethren have gone into already, and others are ready to do the same when duly called thereunto. And for the Abjuration, it is not any regard to the Pretender (whose pretensions and claim we renounce with the utmost abhorrence) that determines us to refuse it ; but that we still conceive (even after the amendment made to ease us) *that it carries in it or infers something not agreeable to our principles ;* but we are absolutely agreed, in so far as concerns the disclaiming and renouncing the Pretender's title, and the supporting, maintaining, and defending, to the utmost of our power, the succession of the Crown in your Majesty's Royal Family, being Protestants, to which, *if the Oath were confined, scruples would be removed.*

We are not a little grieved, that besides all the other penalties that level us with Popish recusants, it is declared in the act imposing the Oath, that our office, which we hold only of Christ, is declared void and null, putting us in the same case with officers civil and military, that hold absolutely of the Crown. It also bears hard upon us, that candidates for the ministry, though firmly loyal to your Majesty, and such as

may be very useful in the Church, may be hereby barred from public service; and besides, that the imposing this Oath does not concern us alone, but several worthy gentlemen are hereby incapacitated, that might be very serviceable to your Majesty and their country.

May it therefore please your Majesty to show favour to such a company of loyal and faithful subjects, who are ambitious to stand fair in your royal sentiments, who have unbosomed themselves to your Majesty, humbly beseeching your Majesty may, in your royal wisdom, find out some expedient to prevent the inconveniences [of] the present state of things, with respect to the Abjuration.

DECLARATION.

We, undersubscribers, Ministers of the Gospel, and other members of the Established Church of Scotland, considering that by an act of the British Parliament we are required to take the Oath of Abjuration, declare, that after mature deliberation, we apprehend it does import our consent to and approbation of some qualifications required of the successor to the Crown, and some other things established by the laws of England, that agree not with our principles, besides other reasons to be offered if necessary; and, therefore, to prevent misconstructions, and to defeat the effect of representations that may be industriously made to our prejudice, we not only declare our firm allegiance, and sincere loyalty to his Majesty King George, as our only rightful and lawful Sovereign, and disown all allegiance to the pretended King James the Eighth, believing he has no right nor title to the Crown, of which loyalty some of us have already given a proof by taking the Oath of Allegiance to his Majesty, and subscribing it with the Assurance, and others are willing to do the same when duly called to it.

But further, to remove all jealousies of us, how groundless soever they may be, we are willing also to abjure the Pretender by the following oath, if it might be allowed, instead of that imposed now by law.

"I, A. B., do solemnly upon oath declare, that I believe our Sovereign Lord King George is the only rightful and lawful King of these realms, and the right of succession to them is only in the heirs of his

Majesty, descended from the Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess-Dowager of Hanover, his royal mother, and I promise and swear to support, maintain, and defend the succession to the Crown in his Royal Family, being Protestants, against the pretended King James the Eighth, and all other pretenders whatsoever."

Hereby we agree to all that's contained in the first oath which is of any real security to his Majesty's government, and the succession of the Crown in his Royal Family. And seeing we are willing to do so, we hope our not taking the Oath, as it stands, shall not be constructed to proceed from any thing but an innocent desire not to contradict our principles; but if this cannot be allowed, after we have thus exonerated ourselves before the world, and used what means are proper for our relief, and the relief of such as may hereafter succeed us in the ministry—if there is no remedy, but we must be under the greatest hardships Popish and Jacobite recusants are liable unto, we will have the satisfaction to suffer with a good conscience; and we expect the impartial world, and even posterity, will judge more favourably of our actings in this matter than some are now pleased to do.

Edinburgh, Dec. 8, 1715.

No. II.

THE FRANKIAN SCHOOLS.

(See pages 153, 214, &c.)

These Schools, about which Wodrow makes such anxious inquiries at his correspondents, were founded in 1698, by Augustus Hermann Francke, or Frankius, a German divine of singular philanthropy, who was born at Lubeck in 1663. They were commenced at first for the benefit of the children of the poor, but were gradually enlarged, and in 1715, divided into seven different establishments—The Royal School, the Citizens' School, the German Schools, the English House, the Oriental Seminary, the Teachers' or Normal Seminary, and the Bible Establish-

ment, the latter being, in fact, a Bible Society, which has been instrumental in circulating millions of copies of the Scripture. Of Dr Francke, the founder of these institutions, Dr Cotton Mather remarks, in a letter dated 1715, "He is truly a person wonderful for his vast erudition, but much more for his shining piety, and yet most so for his peerless industry, and most of all so for the astonishing blessing of God upon his undertakings, to advance his kingdom in the world. Of this great man, who yet lives for ever in the lowest humility, and will know nothing but self-abasement, a gentleman writes me this brief but just account: 'Professor Francke is the wonder of Europe for the vast projects he has laid for religion and learning, and his success in executing them. Whoever considers what he has done in the compass of about 30 years past, would compute it to be the labour of *one hundred and fifty years*, under a succession of as able men as himself. He has such an art in recommending his great designs, that there is scarce a Protestant Prince in Europe that is not, as it were, tributary to him, and some even of the Romish Princes have been allured by his charitable charms.'"—*Wodrow MSS.*, 8vo, vol. xi. No. 8. Dr Francke published various works on Theology. Two or three of his smaller pieces have been published by the London Religious Tract Society. The reader will also find some account of him, and his philanthropic exertions, in Gillies' Historical Collections, vol. i. Book ii. Chap. 4.

No. III.

REPORT ON PROFESSOR SIMSON'S CASE.

The Report of the Committee is dated Edinburgh, September 1, 1716. They begin by saying, "The Committee, conform to their commission and instruction given them by the General Assembly, anno 1715, and renewed by the last Assembly, having at divers meetings with great pains gone through the process of Mr James Webster against Mr John Simson, read, and maturely considered the libels and answers, and whole papers in process, did draw out the propositions charged, and classed the same under distinct heads, viz., those which are contrary to

the Word of God, Confession of Faith, and Catechisms of the Church ; Secondly, Those which are controverted amongst orthodox divines, and not determined by our Confession of Faith and Catechisms ; Thirdly, Such as are not clearly contained either in the Scriptures or the writings of orthodox divines." Then follow the different articles in the libel, classed according to this order. And after stating the favourable testimony given to Mr Simson's orthodoxy by the witnesses for exculpation, the Committee thus conclude their report: "As to what concerns the probation of the erroneous propositions libelled and classed as aforesaid, the Committee, having advised all the proofs they had by witnesses or writ, found that there was nothing proven of the charge of Socinianism, Arminianism, and Jesuitism, and that none of the foresaid propositions belonging to the first class were proven ; and, therefore, are of opinion that Mr Simson ought to be assoilzied by the venerable Assembly ; and as to his publishing the libel and answers before the meeting of the last Assembly, the Committee having called him to an account, he gave in his Answers, which are hereby referred to the Assembly ; and in respect Mr Webster has succumbed in the proofs of his charge of Arminianism, Socinianism, and Jesuitism, and of all the other errors charged as contrary to the Confession of Faith, the injustice of which charge the Committee is of opinion is aggravated by what he did in the time of the last Assembly, by publishing a printed pamphlet, sold in the street while the Assembly was sitting, and that without making any application to the Assembly itself, in which he offered, that if the Assembly would allow this affair but one hour of their time, he would make evident that Mr Simson was guilty of Arminianism, Socinianism, and Jesuitism, and that not by strained consequences, but by plain categorical expressions, under his own hand. The Committee referred all this to the consideration of the General Assembly, and the Committee agreed humbly to overture to the reverend Assembly, that though it appear from Mr Simson's answers, that several things advanced by him against which exceptions have been taken, have been advanced out of a good design on his part, to solve difficulties in divinity, and to remove objections of adversaries, yet the Committee are of opinion the Assembly should, for preserving the purity of doctrine, and in regard to the peace of the Church, enjoin him and all the other Professors of Divinity, and all the

ministers of this Church, to forbear such expressions as are apt to be mistaken, and have been used by adversaries in a wrong sense, though they may admit of a sound meaning when rightly explained ; and to forbear teaching such positions not necessary in divinity, whereat offence is taken, and which tend to excite strife and differences in this Church ; and likewise, that the Assembly should recommend it to the Faculty of the University of Glasgow, and Presbytery there, to see this injunction observed in that University, and also should give the like recommendation to the Faculties of the other Universities, and the Presbyteries where they have their seat, that they take care to have this injunction observed in the said Universities respectivè ; and also the Assembly should recommend it to all the Presbyteries of this Church to see it observed, so far as it concerns ministers : And the General Assembly should seriously recommend to all to be careful of maintaining the purity of doctrine, and the unity and peace of this Church ; and that they avoid strife and contention, and all uncharitable judging and reproaching one another, about points that our Church hath not thought fit to determine ; and that all would study to make the right use of the excellent doctrines of the Gospel, in applying them for the purifying and governing of their hearts and lives, in order to the great ends thereof, their glorifying God, and obtaining eternal happiness in the enjoyment of him through Jesus Christ.”—(*Wodrow MSS.*, 8vo, vol. xiii. No. 4.)

No. IV.

OVERTURES CONCERNING KIRK-SESSIONS.

These Overtures, 1. Provided for the establishment of General Sessions in cities ; 2. Declared Principals and Professors of Divinity to be members of the said sessions ; 3. Authorised the minister of a congregation to act as moderator of the session *ex officio* ; 4. Gave the minister a negative upon the sentence of the majority of the elders when they were of different sentiments from him. They contained the following passage : “ The ministers and elders ought always to study harmony and unanimity. But if any question fall out in a session, nothing

ought to be concluded unless it be agreed to by the minister and the plurality of the elders. And in a collegiate session, where there are two ministers, one of them agreeing with the majority of the elders, or both with the half of the elders, shall decide a cause. If more ministers than two, then a majority both of ministers and elders, or an equal half of the one agreeing with the majority of the other, is necessary for a decisive sentence."

The paragraph in the Overtures establishing General Sessions was objected to, as unwarrantable and novel, as tyrannical, and as contrary to the Divine rights of particular kirk-sessions. Mr Dunlop, in his "Vindication of the Overtures," a large part of which he devotes to the answer of these objections, gives the following account of the origin of General Sessions :—" In the first period of our Reformation, till some considerable time after the composing of the Second Book of Discipline, there seem to have been in the Church neither presbyteries nor kirk-sessions of particular congregations ; the only three judicatures which then took place being Assemblies, Synods, and General Sessions ; that is, a Session consisting of the ministers and elders of several congregations ; and this constitution obtained universally both in town and country. After Presbyteries were erected, particular sessions were also appointed in country parishes, the many inconveniences hereof being evident enough. Notwithstanding whereof, in all burghs only one session was authorised ; and this continued a long time after the undisputed constitution of the Church, as it does at this day in all the burghs of Scotland except two ; in several of which there are three or four ministers, and two congregations. At length the two greatest cities, Edinburgh and Glasgow, had particular kirk-sessions erected in them ; it being, confessedly, very expedient that it should be so for dispatch of discipline, which, in these populous cities, became too laborious a task for one session. But, at the same time, all the matters of public and common concern to the whole burgh, the chief articles whereof are mentioned in the Overtures, were reserved to the sole cognizance and determination of the General Session, which was, indeed, the only proper court for them ; and they also still maintained their natural superiority over particular sessions, and exercised this power in giving them directions and admonitions, and providing for the uniform and vigorous administration of

discipline by them," (pp. 15, 16.) That part of the Overtures which gave the minister a negative on the sentence of the majority of elders excited much opposition, and was represented as an encroachment on the privileges of the Christian people. Wodrow, however, in his Letters to Mr Warden, defends the negative with a good deal of ingenuity.

END OF VOLUME SECOND.

